



# THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

FRom Death, and darke Oblivion (neere the same)
The Mistresse of Mans life, grave HISTORY,
Raising the World to good, or evill FAME,
Doth vindicate it to ETERNITY.

ligh PROVIDENCE would so: that nor the Good Might be defrauded, nor the Great securd, both might know their waies are understood, And the reward, and punishment assurd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamy hand
Of TRVTH, which fearcheth the most hidden springs,
And guided by EXPERIENCE, whose streight Wand,
Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things;

She chearefully supporteth what she reares: Aissisted by no strengths, but are her owne. Some note of which each varied Pillar beares, By which, as proper titles, shee is knowne,

Times Witnesse, Herald of Antiquitie, The Light of Truth, and Life of Memorie.





## THE PREFACE.

Ow vnfit, and how on worthy a choice I have made of my Jelfe, to undertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason, though exceeding weake, hath sufficiently resoluted me. For had it beene begotten then with my first dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open

to felfe to my younger yeares: and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might jet well have doubted, that the darkones of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Mee, long before the performance. For beginning with the Creation: I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (Some few Sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, wichin this our renowned Iland of Great Brittaine. I confesse that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of sohosetimes are runne out in other trauailes; to have set together (as I could the vnioynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the ouniverfall: in whom, had there beene no other defect, (who am all defect) then the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempessuous life, drawne on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soulepeircing wounds, which are ever aking while vncured: with the defire to fatisfie those few friends, which I have tryed by the fire of Aduer ficie; the former enforcing, the latter per swading; have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and my felfethe subject of every opinion wife or weake.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For, Prosperity and Adversity have ever more tyed and ontied over all feetions. And as we see it inexperience, That dogs doe alwayes barks at those they know not; and that it is their nature to accompany one another inthose clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude. Who, wanting that vertue which wee call Honesty in all men, and that especiall gift of GOD which we call Charity in Christian men; condemne, without bearing; and wound, without offence given: led there-onto by oncertainereport only; Damonolog, 1, which his Maiesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Blame 3.6.1. no man (saith Siracides) before thou have enquired the matter the teste, derstandsirst, and then reforme rightcously. Rumon, res. sine teste,

fine judice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witnesse; without judge, malicious and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that Landaria bonis gaue St. Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of times. & ame: good men, & detested that of the euist. And herein no man hath given a beter refor, de ira, 13. rule, then this of Seneca; Conscientia satisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, sequatur vel mala, dum benè mercaris. Let vs satisfie our owne consciences, and not trouble our selues with same: beeit neuer so ill, it is to be despised so we deserve well.

For my (elfe, if I have in any thing served my Country, and prised it before my private: the general acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time than doth a faire sunshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack, & the contrary no other harme than an outragious tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still bonor in the duft; though further then the defence of her excellent person. I neuer persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what deuice they did it: He that is the Supreame Iudge of all the world, hath taken the accompts so as for this kinde of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath beene begotten for them: I can neither enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, inmany particulers.

To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzy, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travell the World without a paß-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility, to per wade by the mouth of one Aduocate, even Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which GOD hath east up Slime and Dust: as that among those that were, of whom we read and beare, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a severall picture of face, and every one a divers picture of minde; every one a forme apart every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherin Nature fo much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it commeth that there is found so great diversity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many naturall and onnaturall; wife, foolish; manly, and childish affections; and passions in mortall Men. For it is not the visible fa-Sbion and Shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme

And though it hath pleased GOD, to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe: yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Trees so doethe

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outward workes of men ( so farre as their cogitations are acted ) give vs whereof to gueffe at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neare the life: did not craft in many, feare in the most. and the world's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compasse it bath, to qualifie & maske over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeite behauiour the thinges that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their owne natures. Neither can any man ( faith Plutarch (o change himselfe, but that his heart may be sometime seene ar his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if wee direct our selues to the Multitude: Omnis honestæ rei malus iudex est vulgus. The common people are euill Iudges of honest things, and whole wisedome ( saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised; if to the better fort; every onderstanding bath a peculiar judgement, by which it both cen-(ureth other men, and valueth it selfe. And therefore wato me it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthles papers torne with Rats: feeing the flothfull Censurers of all ages have not spared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition, the feuerest men to themselues, with Hypocrifie; the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine-glorie. But of these na- Ecd. c. 15 tures which lye in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, seeing Nibilfacilius, Salomon complained long fince: and that the very age of the world ren-dercaliam, ders it every day after other more malitious; I must leave the professors to their easie wayes of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common and approved custome of those, who have left the memories of time past to after ages; to give, as neare as I can, the same right to History which they have done Yet (eeing therein I should but borrow other mens wordes; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it hath beene honoured; in this one it triumphethouer all humane knowledge, That it hath given vs life in sur onderstanding, fince the world it selfe had life and beginning, even to this day: yea it hath triuphed over time, which besides it nothing but eternity hath triumphed ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of so many thousands of yeares, and given so faire and peircing eies to our minde; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great World, Magni Dei sapiens opus, the wise worke ( saith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it I say it ts, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and againe repeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes have florished and fallen; and for what evertie and piety GOD made prosperous; and for what evice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe vnto History, that it hath made vs acquainted with oun dead Auncestors; and, out of the depth and darkensse of the earth, delivered evitheir memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of History apolicy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore passed miseries, with our owne like errours and ill deservings.

But it is neither of Examples the most lively instructions, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hat hyet so wrought in our blind and stupisted mindes; as to make visremember. That the instructed wises and wisdome of GOD doth peirce through all our pretences; as to make visremember, That the instice of GOD doth require none other accuser; than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formallitie; which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, cover from his knowledge. And so much did that Heathen wisdome confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any sfaith Euripides) having in his life committed wickednesse, thinke he can hide it from the everlasting gods,

hethinkes not well.

To repeat GODS indgements in particular, copon those of all degrees, which have plaied with his mercies; would require a volume a part: for the Sea of examples hath no bottome The markes, let on privat men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeed and have not seene the fall of others, doe not feare their owne faults. GODS indements upon the greater and greatest, have beene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost bath guided; and secondly by their wertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkeable in the world. Now to poynt farre off, and to speake of the conversion of Angells into Deuills, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnawne the graße of the earth with beafts, for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wife working of Pharao, when he sue the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the policy of Iczabel, in covering the Murder of Naboth by atrial of the Elders, according to the Law: with many thousands of the like: what poere it other, than to make an hopeleffe proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For Tobo hathnot observed, what labour, practife, perill, bloudsbed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make them-selves and their issues maisters of the world : And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, noe fruit, flower, grasse, nor leafe, springing opon the face of the earth, of those seeds : No; their wery roots and ruines doe hardly remaine. Omnia que manu hominum facta funt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel stando &duran. do deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either ouerturnd by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing confumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diver sly given by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes and States have fallen ( (ay the Politicians ) by outward and forraine force, or by inward neeligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both: Others obforue, That the greatest have funck downe under their owne weight; of which Liuie bath a touch : eo creuit, vt magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the divine providence (which Ctatippus obiected to Ponipey ) bath (et downe the date and period of every estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my felfe a day over to resolue.

For seeing the first bookes of the following story, have condertaken the discourse of the sirst Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to travaile after and over-take farre of Antiquity, and to iudge of it.; I will, for the present, examine what proste bath beene gathered by our owne Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who baving beheld; both in divine and humane letters, the success of infidelitie, instice, and crueltie, bave (notwith standing) planted after the

Same patterne.

True it is that the indgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred up a like with examples of like nature. But every one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne private; Or otherwise best suteth with his apprehension. But the indgements of GOD are for every onchangeable; neither is his we wearied by the long processe of time, and won to give his blessing in one age, to that which hee bath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisedome, if it be not greatly be strue and well grounded; will be able to discerne the bitter fruites of investigious policie, as well among shose examples that are found in ages removed farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no less appeare by evident proofe, than by assentation. That ill doing bath atwaies been extended withill successe; I will here, by way of petface, runne over some examples; which the works ensuing bath not reached.

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Among our Kings of the Norman race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Iustice, upon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, hee had dispossed overreacht, and lastly made blinde and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne sonnes Lords of this Land. GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with above a hundred and sifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of

the King dearely beloved.

To passe over the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the issue of blood then made, though it had sometimes of stay and stopping, did againe breake out; and that so often and in such aboundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very sew excepted) dyed of the same disease. And although the young yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible satt no more then suspicious: yet in that he afterwards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then supposed to be living; the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which was indeed treason in him-selfe, had his Vnclesintelligence been true) this I say made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it other-

poife; though be caused Mortimer to dye for the same.

This cruelty the secret and consearchable judgement of GOD reveneed, on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and foit fell out, even to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried puder the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent bloud For Richard the second, who saw, both his Treasurers, bis Chaucellor, and bis Steward, mith divers others of his Counsailours, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet he alwayes tooke himselfe for over wife, to be taught by examples. The Earles of Huntington and Kent, Montague and Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those dayes, as others have done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themselues, by the Murder of Gloucester; died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully then did that Duke. And as for the King himselfe ( who in regard of many deedes, conworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot bee excused, as she disauowing him selfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons, and Patents) He was in the prime of his youth deposed; and murdered by his Cofen Germane and wasfall, Henry of Lancaster; afterwards Henry she fourth.

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This King, whose Title was weake, and his obtaining the Crowne traiterous: who brake faith with the Loraes at his landing, protesting to intend onely the recovery of his proper inheritance; brake faith with Richard himselfe; and brake Faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he [worethat the deposed King should line. After that he had enioyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had beene set voon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from conspiracies and rebellions: he saw (if Soules immortall (ee and discerne anythinges after the bodies death) his Grand-childe Henry the fixt, and his Son the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which he had caused So much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race; and by the Isfues of his Enemies worne and enjoyd: Enemies, whom by his owne pra-Stife hee supposed, that he had left no lesse power lesse, than the succeshon of the Kingdome questionless; by entailing the same uppon his owne Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, bumane reason could have judged no otherwise, but that these cautious provisions of the Father, seconded by the valour and henall victories of his sonne Henry the fift, bad buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the despaire of all reconquest and recouery. I say, that humane reason might so have judged: were not this pass. sage of Casaubon alsa true; Dies, hora, monumentum cuertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatæ; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to have beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry the fixt, whon whom the great storme of his Grandsafathers grieuous faultes fell, as it formerly had done whom Richard the. Grand-childe of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince; yet as he resused the daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Nauatre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom hee was affianced (by which match he might have desended his Inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Aniou, (by which he lost all that hee had in France) so as in condiscending to the winworky death of his Vncle of Glocester, the mains acd strong Pills of the house of Lancaster; Hee drew on himselfe and this kingdome the greatest in ont is may truly be said which a Counsellor of his owne spake of Henry tht third of France, Quil estoit vne fort gentile Prince; mais son reigne est aduenu en vne fort mauuois temps. That he was a very gentle Prince; but his raigne

happened in a very vnfortunate season.

It is true that Buckingham and Suffolke were the practifers & contriuers of the Dukes death: Buckingham and Suffolk, because the Duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the Queene had bin absolute, the Queene, in respect of her personal wound, spretaque in initia forma, because Glocester dissanded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the successe to the Counsaile. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew op so fast, as hee dared to dispute his right both by arguments and armes; in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke: yet his sonne the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, despoyled Henry the Father, and Edward, the some, both of their lines and Kingdomes. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other then this, That she lined to behold the wretched ends of all her pertakers: that she lived to looke on, while her Husband the King, and her onely sonne the Prince, were hewen in sunder; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it. Shee lived to see her selfe despoyled of her Estate, and of her moueables: and lastly, her Father, by rendring up to the Crowne of France the Earledome of Prouence and other places, for the payment of fifty thousand crownes for her Ransome, to become a starke Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Stracides calleth fine but vnrighteous: for other fruit bath it never

veelded fince the world was.

And now it came to Edward the fourths turne (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of Lancaster mere rooted wpp; One onely Earle of Richmond excepted . whome also bee had once bought of the Duke of Brittaine, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a Plantation, as could any way promise it selfe stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelvies) beheld and allowed the flaughter, which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragicall Actors, there was not one that escaped the iudgement of GOD in the same kinde. And Hee, which (besides the execution of his brother Clarence, for none other offence then hee him-selfe had formed in his owne imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Honry the fixt, his Predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his owne sonnes and Successors Edward and Richard. For those Kings which have sold the blood of others at a low rate; have but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Maister in mischiefe of of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedie, hee had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, then all the rest; yet hee so well fitted every affection that playd with him, as if each of them had but afted his owne interest. For he prought so cunningly poonthe affections of Hastings, and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred, as hee The Preface.

eafily allured them to condiscend, that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Maternall Vncle and halfe brother, should (for the first ) be severed from him: se. condly, hee wrought their consent to have them imprisoned, and lastly ) for the arroyding of future inconvenience) to have their heads severed from their bodies. And having now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common precept, which the Deuill hath written on every post, Scelera seclenamely, To depresse those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom Sen: de clem. they had deprest; Hee orged that argument so farre and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yong king himself, and of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into Bucking hams head, That when soeuer the king or his brother, should have able yeares to exercise their power; they would take a most seuere revenge of that curelesse wrong,

offered to their Vncle and Brother, Rivers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose sidelity to his Masters Sonnes was without suspect: and yet the Divell, who never dissipades by imposibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when hee found by Catesby, who founded him, that he was not fordable: He fir ft resolved to kill him sitting in councell: wherein having fayled with his [word; He set the Hangman copon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could move his appetite; He caused his head to be stricken off, before he eate his dinner. A greater judgement of GOD, than this ropon Hastings, I have never observed in any storie. For the selfe same daie that the Earle Rivers, Grey, and others, were (without triall of Law, or offence given ) by Hastings advice executed at Pomfret : I (ay Hastings him-selfe in the same daie, and ( as I take it ) in the same boure, in the same law-lesse manner, had his head stricken off in the Tower of London. But Buckingham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And having received the Earldome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne; after many grieuous vexations of mind, and vnfortunate attempts, being in the end betray. ed and delinered op by his trustiest scruant; He had his head senered from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peeres. And what successe had Richard himself after all these mischefes and murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion: and after such time, as with a most mercilesse hand be had presed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords; other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end, ere himselfe could well looke over and discerne it the great outery of innocent blond, obtaining at GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonor, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King, Henry the seauenth cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of GODS instice. A politicke Prince hee was

if ever there were any, who by the ingine of his wisdome, beat downe and overturned as many strong oppositions both before and after hee ware the crowne as ever King of England did: I say by his wisdome, because as he ever left the raines of his affections in the hands of his prosition, so he alwaies wayed his condertakings by his abillities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humaine actions. Hee had well observed the proceedings of Loys the eleventh, whom hee followed in all that was royall or royal like, but hee was farre more just, and begun not their processes whom hee hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

Hee could never indure any mediation in rewarding his servants, and therein exceeding wise, for what so ever him-selfe gave, he him-selfe received backe the thanks and the love, knowing it well that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so reddely as by benefits) were traynes that better became great Kings, than great subjects. On the contrary, in what so-ever he greeved his subjects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found sit ministers for such actions. How-so-ever, the taking off, of Stanles head, who set the Crowne on his, and the death of the young Earle of Warwick, sonne to George D. of Clarence, shews, as the successe also did, that hee held somewhat of the errors of his Ancesters, for his possession in the first line ended in his grand children, as that of Edward the third and Henry the fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and Patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many servants did hee ad. uance in half (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more defert gaue hee aboundant floweres from whence to gather hony and in the end of Haruest burnt them in the Hive? How many wives did he cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the bloud (whereof some of them for age could hardle crawle towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our comonon Chronicles have kept the accompted did he execute eyea, in his very deathbed, and when hee was at the point to have given his accompt to GOD for the aboundance of blond already (pilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Nofolke the Father; and executed the Earle of Surrey the some; the one, whose deseruings he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his owne honour, and the Kings (eruice; the other, never having committed any thing worth of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised; the other, no lesse valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But befides the forrowes which he heaped opon the Fatherlese, and widdowes at home: and besides the vaine enterprises abroade, wherein it is thought that hee consumed more Treasure, than all our victorious Kings

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Kingesdid in their severall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell warres did he make woon his owne Nephew King lames the fift? What Lawes and Wills did he deuise, to establish this Kingdome in his owneissues? whing his Charpelt weapons to cut off, If cut do wene those branches, which sprang from the lame roote that him felfe did. And in the end (not withstanding these bis (o many irreligious provisions) it pleased GOD to take away all bis owne, without increase; though, for themselves in their severall kindes, all Princes of eminent wertue. For these wordes of Samuell to Agag King of the Amalikites, have beene verified woon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childleffe: fo shall thy mother be childleffe among other women. And that blood, which the lame King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen out in the North, GOD bath diffused by the sunshine of his grace: form whence His Maichty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whome I may say it truely, That if all the malice of the world were infused into one eie: yet could it not discerne in His life, even to this daie, any one of those foule (pots, by which the Consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect ) have beene defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent blood on the sword of his iustice, with which the most that fore went him, have stayned both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of England; it may truely be a worked . That he hathreceived it even form the hand of GOD, and bath stayed the time of putting it on, how soeuer he were prouoked to hastenit : That Hee neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that sought to put him beside it. That Hee refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princesse did. That his Maiesty entred not by a breach, nor by blood, but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right set open; and into which, by a generall love and Obedience, Hee was received And how ocuer His Maiesties praceding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes (witnesse the Treaty at Gambray in the yeare, 1559) yet hee neuer, pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Pradecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long raigne.

Neither ought weeto forget, or neglect our thankefullnesse to GOD for the voniting of the Northern partss of Brittany to the South, to wit of Scotland to England, which though they were severed but by small brookes and bankes, yet by reason of the long continewed warre, and the cruelties excrifed voon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitly severed. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Maiesty bath brought with him conto this Land: No, put all our petty greenances together, and heap them op to their hight, thy wil appears but as a Mole-hil sompared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historians since

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then; have acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest happinesse (Christian Religion excepted) that euer this Kingdomereceived from GOD, certainely the peace betweene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, befides the sparing of our british blood, heretofore and during the difference so often & aboundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more inable to recouer her auntient honor and rights. and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, to, licies and conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1 588, ioyned the army which hee commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the fouth coast; and bad his Maiesty at the same time declared himselfe against ous in the north: it is eahe to divine what had become of the liberty of England, certainely we would then without murmur baue brought this ronion a farre greater praise than it bath fince cost rus.

It is true, that there was never any Common weale or Kingdome in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the world and not about it. They are not infinit to examine every mans cause, or to re leiue enery mans wants. And yet in the latter, (though to his owne breiudice )His Maiestey bath had more compassion of othermens necessities, than in sal. I. K.4. of his o'mne Coffers. Of whome it may be faid as of Salomon Dedit Deus Salomonilatitudinem Cordis : Which if other men doe not winder frand with Pineda, to be ment by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledge: ver may it bee better spoken of His Maiesty, than of any King that ever England had; who as well in Divine, as Humane runder standing, hath

exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the Kings Maiestey, without flatterie: did I not fearethe imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queene Elizabeth, made by runskilfull and common Painters; which by her owne Commandement, were knockt in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beauty of the externall: and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leave to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and Princely minaes, a most defective reprasentation. It may suffice, and there needes no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whome for that purpose I have inserted this breife discourse) with His Maiesties temperate, revengelesse, and liberall disposition: I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them in fly, and with an even hand: and withall but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so inst cause to complaine, as the King him-selfe hath. Now

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Now as we have told the successe of the trumperies and cruesties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we fiende, that GOD is every soberethe same GOD. And as it pleased him to punish the vosurpation. and connatural cruelty of Henry the first, and of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: (o dealt He with the sonnes of Lovs Debonaire, the some of Charles the great, or Charlemaine. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eies of Bernard bis Nephen, the sonne of Pipen, the eldest sonne of Charlemaine, and heire of the Empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Roberthis eldest brother: there followed nothing but murders ropon murders, poysoning, imprisonments, and civil warre; till the whole race of that fa-

mous Emperour was extinguished.

And though Debonaire, after he had rid himselfe of his Nephero by a violent death; and of his Bastard Brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with fure gard, all the daies of their lives, within a Monasterie) beldhim felfe secure from all opposition: Yet GOD raised op against him ( which hee suspected not) his owne somes, to vex him, to inuade bim, to take bim prisoner, and to depose him; his owne sonnes, with Phome (to satisfie their ambition) hee had shared his estate, and given them Crownes to weare, and Kingdomes to governe, during his owne life. Yeahis eldest some Lothaire (for hee had foure, three by his first wife, und one by bis second; to wit, Lothaire, Pipen, Loys, and Charles ) made it the cause of his deposition, That he had vsed violence towards his Brothers and Kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew ( whome bee might have delivered) to be flaine, eo quod, faith the Text, fratri-recher. 1,5.0.1. bus et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterar, interfici permiserit. Because he vsed violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffred his Nephew to be slain whom he might have deliucred.

Yet did heethat which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his cruelties. For among many other things, which hee performe in the Generall Aßemblie of the States, it followes. Post hac autem palam se errasse cofestus, & imitatus Impe ratoris Theodofii exemplum, pænitentiam pafq Ibidem spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum propriu nepotem gesserat. After this hee did openly confesse him-selfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodofius hee vnder-went voluntary penance, as well for his other offences,

as for that which hee had done against Bernard his owne Nephew. This bee did: and it was praise-worthie. But the bloud that is vniustly spile, is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

This King, as I have said, had foure Sonnes. To Lot haire his eldest he gave the Kingdome of Italy; as Charlemaine, his Father, had done to Pepin the Father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second sonne he gave the Kingdome of Aquitaine: to Loys, the Kingdome of Bauier: and to Charles, whome hee had by a second wife, called Iudith, the remainder of the Kingdome of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his sonne Pipen out of A quitaine; thereby to greaten Charles: which, after the death of his sonne Pipen, he prosequed to effect, against his Grandchild bearing the same name. In the meane while, heing invaded by his sonne Loys

of Bauier, be dies for greife.

Debonaire dead: Loys of Bauier, and Charles after wards called the bald, and their Nephew Pipen of Aquitaine, joyne in league against the Emporour Lothaire their eldest Brother. I hey fight neare an Auxerre the most blody bastle that ever was stroken in France: in which, the marueilous losse of Nobility, and men of warre, gave courage to the Saracens to inuade Italie; to the Hunnes, to fall wpon Almaine; and the Danes, to enter woon Normandy. Charles the Bald by treason seizeth upon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster, Carloman rebells against his Father Charles the Bald, the Father burnes out the eies of his sonne Carloman; Bauire inuades the Emperour Lothaire his Brother, Lothairequits the Emperour, Hee is assailed and roounded to the heart by his owne conscience for his rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monestarie. Charles the Bald the Vncle oppreseth his Nephewes the somes of Lothaire, hee cosurpeth the Empire to the prejudice of Loysef Bauire his elder Brother, Bauiers armies and his sonne Carloman are beaten, bee dies of griefe, and the Vjurper Charles is poysoned by Zedechias a lew his Phistian, his sonne Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke Beque had Charles the simple, and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman, they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the younger is slaine by a wild Bore; the sonneof Bauiere had the same ill destiny and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions Charles the große becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire held in Germanie, wherewith not contented, hee inuades Charles the simple, but being for saken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding, hee dies a distracted begger. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes, and lastly being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to die in the prison of Peron: Loyes the some of Charles the simple breakes his Neck in Chafing 4 Wolfe, and of the two (onne of this Loys, the one dies of poylow, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whome Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French, makes him-selfe King. The [e These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire: who after hee had once apparrelled iniustice with authority, his somes and successions tooke vp the fashion; and wore that Garment so long without other provision, as when the same was torne from their shouldiers, every man despised them as miserable and naked beggers. The wretched successe they had, (saith a learned French-man) shewes, què en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait deshommes que de Dieu, ou de la iusticè: that in the death of that Prince, to wit of Bernard the sonne of Pepin, the true heire of Charlemaine, men

had more medling, than either GOD, or Iustice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certaine that Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fact ) that ever the French men had. did neuer enion him-selfe; after hee had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Prouence. which poore people were there-vpon burnt, and murdered; men, woemen, and children. It is true, that the (aid King Francis repented him felfe. of the fact, and gaue Charge to Henry bis some, to doe inflice opon the Murderers; threatning his sonne with GOD Studgmeuts, if he neglected it. But this unseasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry him selfe was slaine in sport by Montgomery; we all may remember what became of his four e Connes, Francis Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And not-with-standing their subtilty, and breach of faith; with all their Massa. cres, upon those of the religion, and great effusion of bloud, the Crowne was fet on his head, whom they all laboured to dissolue; the Protestants remaine more in number than ever they were; and hold to this day more strong citties than euer they bad.

Let vos now see if GOD be not the same GOD in Spaine, as in England and France. Towards whom we will looke no surther backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the third, and the great Euan Vasilowick of Moscouia, were but pettie ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, having beene the most mercilesse. For besides those of his owne bloud and Nobility which hee caused to be slaine in his owne Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis the great Master of Calatraua, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, and Don Iohn of Arragon, whom he cut in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: Is ay besides these, and the slaughter of Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great commander of Cattile; He made away the two Infants of Arragon his Cosen-germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzmã, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes

de Toledo-

de Toledo, Guttiere his great Treasurer, and all his Kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after hee had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived fixteene yeares, and the other, foureteene; hee murdered them there. Nay hee spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly as he caused the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Deane, to Histo. of Spaine bee killed of purpose to enjoy their treasures: so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar King of Barbary, with seauen and thirty of his Nobilitie; that came onto him for succour, with a great summe of money, to leuy (by his fauour) ome companies of souldiers to returne withall. Yea. be would needs assist the Hangman with bis owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Vrban declared him an enemie both to GOD and Man. But what was his end? Having beene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster. He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Astramara, who disposses tall his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer beene in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallell any man with this King, it must bee Duke Iohn of Burgoigne: who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of Orleans, eaused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancelour of France, the Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reverend Church men, the Earle of gran Prè, Hector of Chartres, and (in effecti)all the Officers of iustice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasurie, and Request, (with fixteene hundred others to accompany them) to bee suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while he hoped to governe, and to have maistred France: He was soone after strucken with an axe in the face, French inucn: in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his in 1870.1418, misseds, presently staine. These were the Louers of other mens mise-

ries: and miserie found them out.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which lived both with Henry the feuenth, Henry the eight, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first: and the first that layd the foundation of the present Austrian greatnesse. For this King did not content him selfe to hold Arragon by the vsurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten thererunto the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but mo ft cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Nauarre; and, contrarie to faith, and the promise that hee made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no meanes left for any army to innade it. This King I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick Kings

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Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne bloud, and by double alliance ried vnto him; fold them to the French; and with the same Army, sent for their succour under Gonsaluo, cast them out; and shared their Kingdome with the

French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wife and politique King, who fold Heauen and his owne Honour, to make his sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: (am bim die in the flower of his yeares, and his wife great with childe, with her ontimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest daughter married onto Don Alphonso Prince of Portugall, beheld her first husband breake his neck in her presence, and being with childe by her second, dyed with it. A iult iudgement of GOD poon the race of lohn, father to Alphonso, now poholly extinguished - who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the flaughter of their children; but had formerly flaine with his owne band, the some and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Duchesse of Visco. The second Daughter of Fordinand, married to the Arch-duke Philip; turned foole; and died mad and deprined. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eight, He saw cast off by the Kine: the mother of many troubles in England; and the mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeale shed a world of innocent bloud; lost Callice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude: all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand baue maisters of a new name; and, by a strange family are governed and possest.

Charles the fift, sonne to the Arch-duke Philip, in whose vaine enterprises vpon the French, vponthe Almans, and other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Captaines, were consumed who gave the while a most perilous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendome, to be taken; was in conclufion chaced out of France, and in a fort out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire; Stole away from Inspurg; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice, having hoped vo swallew op all those dominions, wherein hee concolled nothing faue his owne discraces. And having, after the Slaughter of so many Millions of men , no one foote of ground in eyther : Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred Rether. Hip. thousand Duckers by the yeare to his sonne Philip; from whom he very slow-

lyreceived his meane and ordinary maintenance.

His Sonne againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zelund, (wrefled by his ancestors from Laqueline their lawfull Princesse) and to possesse in peace many other Provinces of the Netherlands persuaded by that mischieuous Cardinall of Granuile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperour by the Nobilitie of those countries; not

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Histo: of the Netherlands.

onely forgot the present, made him opon his entrie, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot, that hee had twice most (olemnly sworne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preserve their auncient rights, priviledges, and customes, which they had enloyed under their thirty and five Earles before him, Conditional! Princes of those Provinces: but beginning first to constraine them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impouerish them by many new deuised and intollerable impositions; Hee lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make him-selfe not onely an absolute Monarch over them, like onto the Kinos and Soueraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread under his feet all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, Priviledges. and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation of his former Oathes (which Dispensation was the true cause of all the warre and bloudshed since then) and after he had tryed what hee could performe, by dividing of their owne Nobilitie, under the government of his base fifter, Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinall Granuile: Hee employed that most mercilesse Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of Toledo, Duke of Alua, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gauare; and Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made. away Montigue, and the Marquis of Bergues; and cut off in those fixe veares (that Alua governed) of Gentlemen and others, eighteene thousand and fixe bundred, by the hands of the Hangman, befides all his other barbarous murders and massacres. By whose ministry when hee could not vet brings his affaires to their wished ends, having it in his hope to worke that by subtlety, which hee had failed to performe by force: Hee sent for gouernour his bastard brother Don John of Austria; a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But hee, whing the same Papall advantage that his predecessors had done: made no scruple to take Oath poon the Holy Enangelists, to observe the treaty made with the Generall States; and to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, and other strangers, therein parrisond. Towards whose Pay and Passort, the Netherlands strained them-selves to make payment of fixe hundred thousand pounds. Which monies received, He suddenly surprised the Citadells of Antwerp and Nemoures: not doubting (being onsuspected by the States) to have possess him-selfe of all the maistring places of those Provinces. For sphatsoever bee overtly pretended . He held in secret a contrary councell with the Secretary Escouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny; formerly practifed, and now againe intended. But let vs now see the effect and end of this periurie, and of all other the Dukes cruelties. First, for him-selfe; after hee had murdered so many of the Nobilitie; executed (as aforesaid) eighteene thousand fixe hundred

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in fixe yeares; and most cruelly staine Man, Women, and Childe, in Mecklin. Zurphen, Naerden, and other places : and after hee had consumed fixe and thirty millions of treasure in fixe yeares; notwithstanding his Spanish want. That hee would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milke-tubbs: He departed the country no otherwise accompanied. than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation leaving his Maifters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than bee found them at his first arrinall. For Donisohn, whose haughty conceipt of him-selfs over-came the greatest difficulties; though his judgement were over-weake to mannage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brother sicalouse and aistrust; with the ontimely death that feized him, even in the flowre of his youth. And for Escovedo his sbarpe-witted Secretaries, who in his owne imagination had conquered for bis Maister both England and the Netherlands, being sent into Spaine ppon some new project, He was at the first arrivall, and before any accesse to the King, by certaine Ruffians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his ) rudely murdered in his owne lodging. Lastly, if preconfider the King of Spaines carriage, bis counsaile, and successe in this buffres; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkeable. For hee hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above foure bundred thousand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; and for revenue, did equall his VVest Indies: for the losse of a nation, which most willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despiebt of all his forces become free Estate, and farre more rich and powerfull, than they were, when hee first beganne to impowerish and oppresse them.

Oh by what plots, by what for swearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poylonings, and under what reasons of State, and politique subtestie, have these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon them-selves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers! and in the end have brought those things to passe for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrary to all their owne counsailes and cruesties; as the one could never have hoped for themselves; and the other never have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever beene made. GOD bath said it and performed it ever: Perdam sapientiam sapientium, I will destroy the wisdome of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the liuing, the fal and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; I the children of the present time, wil still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times we have we hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at least wee hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit

the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our felues:

or perspade our selves, that GOD bath given os letters patents to pursue

things; and of eternal grace; but by revelation. No meritale then that our thoughts are also earthlies: and it is less to be wondred at; that the words of worthlesse men cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Glosse couchs afed to inhabite;

have not performed it. For as the Propher Elai cryed out long agone, Lord, who hath beleeved our reports? And our of doubt, as Elai complained then for him selfe and others: so are they less eleeved, every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every

mans mouth, yea in the discourse of every woman; who for the greatest number are but Idols of vanitie; what is it other than an value sall dissimulation? Wee professe that wee know GOD, but by workes wee deny him.

For Beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of divine things, but in a

divine life: for the Divells know them better than men. Beatitudo non eft divinorum cognitio, sed vita divina. And certainly there is nothing more to be admired; and more to be lamented, than the private contention; the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetual warre, mas-

sacres, and murders, for Religion among Christians: the discourse where of hath so occupied the World, as it bath well neare driven the practise there of out of the world. Who would not soone resolve, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which

dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heaven; and that the World it selfe were but ofed as it ought; and as an Inne or place, wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our celestiall habitation? when on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward professions.

fion, the soule bath nothing but hypocrific. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while we act in gesture and voice, divine vertues, in

all the course of our lives were renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play.

For Charities, lustice, and Truth, have but their being in termes, like the

Philosophers Materia prima. Water and a contact of the to

Neither is it that wisdome, which Salomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we give it our good word; but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly; by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it.

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These indeed be the markes, which (when wee have bent our consciences to the highest) wee all shoote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future and yet when wee have enthered the greatest abundance. wee our selves enion no mone thereof than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, Hee that had the greatest wisdomes, and the greatest abilitie that euer man had, hath told vs that this is the vie : VV hen goods increase Ealef 5. 10. (faith Salomon) they alfoline cafe that cafe them; and what good commeth to the Owners; barthe beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that deuour the rest, and follow is in faire weather: they againe for sake win the first tempest of missortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winder leaving to sto the malice of our destinies. Of these, among athousand examples, I will take but one out of Maister Dannet, and vie his owne words: VV hilest the Emperour Charles the fift, after the resignation of his Estates, stayed at Vlusting for winde, to carry him his last fournie into Spaine, Hee conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Fordinands Embassadour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldins should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his feruants, and no bodie answering him (for those that attended vpon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest a sleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle him-felfe, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires; and so did, notwithstanding all the refiftance that Seldius could make. And when Hee was come to the staires foot, He said thus vnto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when hee shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast knowne in thy time environed with so many mighty Armics, and Guards of fouldiors, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned. and forfaken, yea even of his owne domesticall servants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD; which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reverend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done wnto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their instice and piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which what is the appliance of the Multitude, but as the outcrie of an Heard of Animals, who without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) have ever beene applauded; the most vertuous (if conprosperous) have ever beene despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune her-selfe rides the Man. Who, when hee is descended and on soote: the Man taken from his Beast, and

C 3

Fortune

Paul to Titus Ch.1.ve.10. Fortune from the Man; a base groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt

fournes at the other, with equal libertie. A should the same ( State of the The second, is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom wee leave behinde cus. Certainly, of those which conceine that their foules departed take any comfort sherein, it may truly be faid of them. mbich Lactantius fake of cereaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapien-Lan. de false tes funt in restulta. For when our spirite immortal shall be once seperate from our mortall bodies, and disposed by GOD ithereremaineth in them no other toy of their posteritie which succeed, them obere doth of pride in that flone, which fleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Ralace; nor any other forrow for their pouertie, than there doth of hame in that, which beareth op a Bees. Aug decure gars cotage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam Janti, quid agunt viui, etiam

corum filij, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viuentium non interlunt. The dead though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their owne children: for the loules of those departed, are not conversant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustines

wee cannot of lob; who sels vs, That wee know not if our fonnes shall be honourable; neither shall we understand concerning them, whether they shalbe of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth:

Enlosse 1.2. Man walketh in a shadow, and disquiereth him-selfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing ( (aith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can shew ynto man, what shall be after him ynder the Sunne ? Hee therefore accompteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the world not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wife man should enion the fruits thereof: which made mee ( saith hee) endeauour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. And what can other men bope, whose bleffed or sorrowfull estates after death GOD bath reserned? mans knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet Esai confes (eth of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant of ys, and Ifrael knowes Vs not. But hereof wee are affired, that the long and darke night of death:

(of whose following day we shall never behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed over it) Shall cover no over, till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall againe receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the feats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the bleffed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second

or lesse ion; nor any neturne of foregone and mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether wee shall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any fort distinguish them: no man can assure vs.; and the soifest men doubt. But on the contrary, If a divine life retaine any of those

faculties, which the foule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so divide the loyes of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory The Preface.

of their felicities which remaine in the World. No; be their estates greater than ever the World gave, wee shall by the difference knowne onto ps) even detest their consideration. And whatsoever comfort shall remains of all forepast, the same will confift in the charity, which we exercised living: and in that Pietie, Justice, and sirme Faith, for which it pleased the insinite mercy of GOD to accept of vs, and receive vs. Shall wee therefore evalue honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as onnecessary and vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdome of GOD, which hath distinguished his Angells by degrees : which hath given greater and less light and beauty, to Heavenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beafts and birds: created the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub; and among stones, given the fairest tincture to the Rubie, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posteritie, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and onderstanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing Siracides preferreth Death be-Side. 40.7.28 fore Beggery: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the milerable succour of other mens pitty; I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that speeraise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For as Plato Pladeleg. 1.2. doth first preferre the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the forme and Gazin Gorges. beauty, and thirdly, Diuitias nulla fraude quæsitas: so Hieremie crves. Voe ynto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and 107,227 13: their chambers without equitie: and Esai the same, VVoe to those that spoyle and were not spoyled. And it was out of the true wildome. of Salomon, that hee commandeth vs, not to drinke the wine of vio-Pros. 1.18.12. lence: not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to swallow them vp aliue, 8.9.25.9.8. whole riches we couet: for such are the wayes ( saith hee) of every one that is greedy of gaine.

And if wee could affoord our selves but so much leisure as to consider, That be which bath most in the world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing init : and that he which bath the longest time lent him to line in it, bath yet no proportion at all therein, letting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for ever: I (ay, if both, to wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of onderstanding, that wee so much prise the one, which hath (in effect) no being : and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending : coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selves after the world were

But let euery man value his owne wisdome, as hee pleaseth. Let the Rich

Gala. 6.7.

Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance, the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that have not trodden downe their opposites; the Politician, all grosse, that cannot merchandize their faith: Tet when wee once come in fight of the Port of death, to which all windes drive vs; and when by letting fall that fatall Anchor, which can never be weighed againe, the Nauigation of this life takes end: Then it is I (ay, that our owne coeitations (those sad and seuere cogitations, formerly beaten from vs by our Health and Felicitie) returne againe, and pay vs to the vttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lines past. It is then that were crie out to GOD, for mercie; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty towards others: and it is onely then, that wee are strucken through the soule with this terrible sentence, That GOD will not be mockt. For if according to Saint Peter, The righteous scarcely be faued: and that GOD spared not his Angels : where shall those appeare, who having served their appetites all their lives, presume to thinke, that the sewere Commandements of the All-powerfull GOD were given but in sport; and that the short breath, which wee draw when death present vs, if wee can but falbion it to the found of Mercy (without any kinde of latisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith areverend Father, Cum hac spe ad aternos labores & bella descendunt: I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it faid, that we ended well, for we all defire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall wee call a disesteeming, an apposing, or (indeed) a mocking of GOD: if these men doe not appose him, disesteeme him, and moske him, that thinke it enough for GOD, to aske him forgiuenesse at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwise, that die this kinde of well-dying, but fay onto GOD as followeth? Wee befeech thee O.GOD, that all the fallboods, for wearings, and treacheries of our lines past, may be pleasing onto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have bad no leisure to doe any thing for thine ) change thy nature (though imposfible) and forget to be a just GOD; that thou wilt love injuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdome, and charitie foolishnesse. For I shall preiudice my sonne (sobich fam resolved not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to have beene priust, (which I am too proud to doe) if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly, these wife worldlings have either found out a new GOD; or have made One; and in all likelihood fuch a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleventh ware in his Cappe; which, when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to bekilled, he would take it from his head and kiffe it: beseeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last, which (as at other times) hee did; when by the practife of a Cardinall and a falfified Sacrament, hee caused the Earle of Armagnack to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be ysed towards a Leaden, but not towards the

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euer-living GOD. But of this composition are all the devout lovers of the World, that they feare all that is durelesse and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practises of their opposites, and their very whisperings: they feare the opinions of men which beat but vpon shadowes: they flatter and for sake the prosperous and vnprosperous, be they friends or Kings: yea they dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble stone, that's but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour, against the terrible judgements of the All-powerfull GOD: yea they shew themselves Gods against GOD, and slaves towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If wee truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom wee call fortunate; and of the poore and oppressed, whom wee account wretched: wee shall finde the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by GOD to the very instant, and both so subject to enterchange (witnesse the sodaine downefall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy oprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so concertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that hee may be deprived of either or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vesper vehat, incertum est, VVhat the evening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet yee cannot tell ( faith Saint Iames) what shalbe to morrow. Iam. 4. 14. To day hee is fet vp; and to morrow hee shall not be found: for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasseth advertities be very obscure: yet therein wee better discerne GOD, than in that shining light which environeth worldly glorie; through which, for the clearenesse thereof, there is no vanitie which elcapeth our fight. And let adversitie seeme what it will; to happy men, ridiculous, who make them-selues merry at other mens misfortunes; and to those under the crosse, grienous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For be it that wee have lived many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all wee have reioyced; or be it that wee have measured the same length of daies, and therein have ever-more forrowed: yet looking backe from our prefent being, we finde both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the woe, failed out of fight; and death, which doth pursue vs and hold vs in chace, from our infancie, hath gathered it. Quicquid atatis retro est, mors tenet: VV har-so-euer of our age is past, death holds it. So as whoso-euer hee be, to whom Fortune hath beene a seruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for wee have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserued eyther of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights, what it hath saued,

that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of what-ever else the amorous Spring-time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then onualuable; and hee shall finde that all the art which his elder yeares have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavy, secret, and sad fighes. Hee [ball finde nothing remaining, but those forrowes, which grow up after our fast-springing youth; ouer-take it, when it is at a stand; and ouer-top it cutterly, when it beginnes to wither : in so much as looking backe from the very instant time, and from our now being; the poore, diseased, and captive creature, hath as little sence of all his former miseries and paines; as hee, that is most blest in common opinion, bath of his fore-passed pleasures and delights. For what-so-euer is cast behinde vs, is iust nothing: and what is to come, deceiptfull hope hath it. Omnia quæ cuentura funt, in incerto iacent. Onely those few blacke Swannes I must except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retayning the comfortable memory of a well acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glory.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the forrowes of this life, are but of two forts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first wee complaine to GOD against our selues, for our offences against him; and confesse, Et tu iustus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos, And thou O Lord art iust in all that hath befallen vs . In the second wee complaine to our selues against GOD: as if hee had done vs wrong, either in not giving vs worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs having had them; forgetting that humble and iust acknowledgement of lob, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt hee is either a foole or ungratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane so-euer his estate be, that the same is yet farre greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe so-euer his afflictions be, that the same are yet. farre lesse, than those which are due onto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the adversities of the world but tributa vivendi, the tributes of living: a wife Christian man ought to know them, and beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them man-like, and resolvedly; & not as those whining souldiers doe, qui gementes sequuntur imperatore,

For feeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, and appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, beene partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; That gaue conto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable begger, a begger begging water of an Enemie,

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to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Baiazet to play the Gran Signior of the Turkes in the morning, and in the same day the Footstoole of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also plaid, being taken by Sapores) that made Bellisarius play the most victorious Captaine, and lastly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least wormes, complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, every man weares but his owne skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weaknesse, prise the passages of this world otherwise (for faith Petrarch Magni ingenii est reuocare mentem a senfibus) it is by reason of that vnhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is subject: Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversitie worke all that they worke. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, what seuer Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all finkes but the Sorrow, to faue it. That were, as Seneca faith, Fortun & succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato, to fall vnder Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to found a retrait; and to defire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to drawthe picture of time past (which wee sall Historie) in so large a table,

may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of divine providence, every where found (the first divine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) have perswaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almightie be so neare, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implyeth the other: Creation, inferring Providence (for what father for aketh the childe that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation) Yet many of those that have seemed to excell in worldly wisedome, have gone about to distoyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the Aristotelian granting Prouidence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by Faith we understand, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a worke for Aristotles rotten ground to beare up, upon which he hath(notwithstanding)founded the Defences & Fortresses of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the imposibility of the contrary even in the iudgement of Naturall reason, wherein hee beleeued, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be maruailed

maruailed at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing Aristotle hath failed in this maine point; and taught. little other than termes in the rest) have so retrencht their mindes from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subjected them selves to the law of those Philosophicall principles, as all contrary kinde of teaching. in the learch of causes, they have condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers. are undoubted grounds and principles indeed, because so called? Or that ipsi dixerunt, doth make them to be such ? certainely no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in every question of Nature, and finite power, may be approved for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For faith Charron in his booke of misdome, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'authorite que l'autre. si la raison n' on fait la difference; Euery humane proposition hath equall authoritie, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the opright and onpartiall iudgement of man give a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence. 3 And to this purpose it was well said of Lastantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine vllo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab alijs pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdome, who without any judgement approue the inuention of those that fore-went them; and suffer them-selues, after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the advantage of which flouth and dulnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath set true Philosophie, Phisick, and Divinity, in a Pillory; and written ouer the first. Contra negantem Principia; ouer the second, Vertus specifica; and ouer the third, Ecclelia Romana.

But for my selfe, I shall never be perswaded, that GOD hath shut vp all light of Learning within the lanthorne of Aristotles braines : or that it was ever said vnto bim, as vnto Esdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intelle &us: that GOD bath given invention but to the Heathen; and that they onely have invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottome thereof; the same Nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these be the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience, without Art. . The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sowre Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowrenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophie, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason

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for the Grasse under his feete, why it should be greene rather then red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than him-(elfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heauens them-selues: Man salomon 1.9. ( (aith Salomon) that can hardly discerne the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs : that hath so short a time in the world, as hee no sooner beginnes to learne. than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his vnderstanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wifest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be hee) could never so much as define; but by the Action and effect, telling us what it workes (which all men know as well as hee) but not what it is, which neither hee, nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (for though I were perfect, yet I know not my foule, (aith Iob.) Man I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all the actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who ( [aith Iob) is so excellent as wee know 106 26. him not; and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Man-kinde had a beginning of being. Hee will disable GODS power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the mothes of the Aire for a cause; cast the worke on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Eternall: which latter opinion Aristotle, to make him-selfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours have maintained it; parati ac coniurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis inuictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who lived at once with, or soone after, Moses, Zoroaster, Musaus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaxi-Latt. 5. menes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melufus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus ) found in the necessitie of invincible reason, One eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the vniuersall. Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Prouidentiam vnam esse consentiant: siue enim Natura, siue Ether, fiue Ratio, fiue mens, fiue fatalis necessitas, fiue diuina Lex, idem esse quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (saith Lastantius) though vncertaine, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence, whether the same be Nature, or light, or Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or divine ordinance; that it is the same which we call GOD. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the world, though they have divers rifings, and divers runnings; though they some times hide them-selues for a while vnder ground, and seeme to be lost in Sea-like Lakes;

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Lakes; doe at last finde, and fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humaine capacitie hath; and after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiositie; in the necessitie of this infinite power, all the reason of man

ends and dissolues it selfe.

As for others; and first touching those, which conceive the matter of the World to have been eternall, and that God did not create the World ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistente: the Supposition is so weake, as is hardly worth the answering. For ( saith Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere, They seeme vnto me, which affirme this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune: insomuch as if God had not found this first matter by chance, Hee had neither beene Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniuersall. For were the Matter or Chaos, eternall : it then followes, That either this supposed Matter did fit it selfe to God; or God, accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselues to the Workmans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applyed himselfe, according to the proportion of Matter which he lighted vpon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter had beene made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no lesse, than served to receive the forme of the Vniuerfall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as served to finish the worke of the World: Or had there beene more of this matter, than sufficed; then God did dissolue and annihilate. what soeuer remained and was superstuous. And this must enery reasonable soule confesse, That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same art and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, be againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Againe, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all other, were the greatest idiotisme. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither produce it selfe, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neq; seipsum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth præcede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound them-

For the rest; Those that saine this matter to be eternall, must of necessitie confesse, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternitie. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part; who-so-euer will make choyce, rather to beleeue in eternall deformitie. or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madnesse of that kinde, as wanteth tearmes to expresse it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption bath not (tupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which wee can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra rerminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath anything wanting in it (elfe, either for matter or forme; yea for as many worlds (if such had beene GODS will) as the Sea hath (ands? For where the power is without limitation; the worke hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reason it selfe findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliuer from it (elfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Dionyfius his words, Deus in vna existentia omnia præhabet: and againe, Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod no vides; to wit, causaliter, or in better tearmes, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis. Neither hath the world minersall closed wh all of GOD: For the most parts of his workes (faith Siraciaes) are cap. 16.7.21; hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdome be opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes; That we seldome entitle GOD the all-shewing, or the all-willing; but the allmighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not fo saluage therein, as those are, which give an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word (nothing) be taken in the affirmative; and the making, imposed rupon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor Aristotle him-seife confesseth, quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipfumq; infinitum, That all the ancient decree a kinde of beginning, and the same to be infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainely, Principium eius est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse princi- sieue, Eug. l.3. pium, ac omnia complecti ac regere: it is strange that this Philosopher, phys, 3.20. with his followers, should rather make choyce out of falshood, to conclude fally; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if wee compare the world Vniuerfall, and all the vnmeasurable Orbes of Heaven, and those merueilous bodies of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, with ipsum infinitum: it may truly be said of them all, which him-selfe affirmeth of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and there-

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fore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionem) is no wonder in GODS power. And therefore Anaximander, Meliffus, and Empedocles, call the world vniuersail, but particulam Vniuersitatis and infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the vniuersalitie and the infinitieit selfe; and Plato, but a shadow of GOD. But the other, to prove the worlds eternitie, curgeth this Maxime, That, A sufficient and effectuall cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted: inferring, that GOD being for euer a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also have beene for ever; to wit, the world vniversall. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Maister, to confesse a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, (to wit, an almighty GOD) in his Antecedent; and the same GOD to be a GOD restrained in his conclusion; to make GOD free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet pnable to make choyce of the time when? For this were impioully to resolue of GOD, as of natural necesfitie, which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but worke matter being present; as fire, to burne things combustible.

Againe he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can worke, and doth not worke : if it after ward worke, it is either thereto moved by it selfe, or by some-what else; and so it passeth from power to Act. But GOD (faith he) is immouable, and is neither moued by him-selfe, nor by any other; but being alwaies the same, doth alwaies worke: Whence he concludeth, if the world were caused by GOD, that hee was for ever the cause thereof; and therefore eternall. The answer to this is very easie, For that GODS performing in due time that, which hee euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancie in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for ever, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answere, in it selfe sufficient, others adde further, that the patterne or Image of the World may be said to be eternall: which the Platonicks call, spiritualem mundum; and doe in this fort distinguish the Idea and Creation in time. Spiritu-Mor. Ficin. de alis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita immort. Anima. aquali est Architecto; suit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper, retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus. That representative, or the intentionall world (faythey) the sampler of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was aqually ancient with the Architect; for it was for euer with him, and ever shalbe. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come.

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The first point, That it was not for euer, all Christians confesse: The other they understand no other-wise, than that after the consummation of this World, there shalbe a new Heauen and a new Earth; without any new creation of matter. But of these things wee need not here stand to argue: though such opinions be not vnworthy the propounding; in this consideration, of an eternall and vnchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded effence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inseperable power, flowing from divine vnitie; and that the Worlds natural appetite of GOD sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a goodnesse and understanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (Saith hee) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; euen as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, doe by the same small degrees succeed; as the shadow of atree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renued, in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that euer the World had any beginning, withall denie that ever it shall have any end; and to this purpose affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer seene, no not by any reason perceined, that the Heavens have ever suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the Elder by continuance; or in any fort other-wife than they were; which had they beene subject to finall corruption, some change should have beene discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newnesse, and that they have not continued so long; than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receive answer by coniectures; it then seemeth that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were groffely sisk Ma. 2. mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt Zone, stab.1.3. were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sunnes heat; neither Bedaderations were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sunnes heat; neither tem. 114.32. paere the Seas, onder the Equinostial, nauigable. But wee know by Thom 1.9.4. experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sca, over which wee Navigate, passable enough. Wee read also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, divers places in the world were burnt vp, by the Sunnes piolent beat wayne har do be and and

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But in a Word, this observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certaine, That stone-wals, of matter moldring and friable, have stood two, or three thousand yeares: that many things have beene digged out out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to have beene buried by the generall floud; without any alteration either of substance or figure, yea it is beleived, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mynes, and Rockes, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have. not inuaded and corrupted: what great alteration should wee looke for in Calestiall and quintessentiall bodies? And yet wee have reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose helpe all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as here-to-fore. We have neither Gyants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse wertue, which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger discourse, wee might easily fetch store of proofe; as that this world shall at length have end, as that once it had

And I see no good answer that can bee made to this objection: If the World were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisedome, but that every Nature had beene a-like. eternall; and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equall: why not equal conditions to all? why should heavenly bodies live for ever; and the bodies of Men rot and die?

Againe, who was it that appointed the Earth to keeps the center, and gave Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should trauaile betweene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed those bounds, nor faile to performe that Progresse once in every yeare : the Moone to live by borrowed light: the first Starres (according to common opinion) to be fastned like Nailes in a Cart wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Loue, that the Sunne by his perpetuall travaile within those two Circles, bath visited, given light onto, and releived all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne have of his owne accord kept this course in all eternitie: Hemay iustly be called eternal Charity, and everlasting Love. The same may be said of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may also be called eternal vertues: the Earth

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may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and begger; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleiue againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more eods by Millions, than ever Hefiodus dreampt of. But in steed of this mad follie. wee see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason discerne it better; That the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: ... mselues they have not constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, qua illud determinauerit, Euery thing bounded hath some

efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errours vnto vs, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: so if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotles phisicks, or primo de Calo, or out of the fifth of his Metaphylicks; Isay that the best is but nominall, and seruing onely to difference the beginning of Natural motion, from Artificial : which yet the Academicks open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the VV orld: " give the first place to Providence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Prouidentia (by which they onderstand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But be it what hee will, or be it any of these (GOD excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath shoice or vnderstanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man bath avowed. For this is vnanswerable of Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam; Hee onely can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truely exprest by Ficinus: Potest vbique Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis Ficinis materiis, diuersa facere: sublata vero mediorum materiarumque diuersitate, vel vnicum vel similimum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diversity of meanes, or out of diversity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverfity of meanes, and the diverfity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being present. Now if Nature made choice of diversity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heauen and Earth, it had then both onderstanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne; reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finish; and power to gouerne: without which, all things had beene but one and the same: all of the matter of Heauen; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant Nature this will, and this understanding,

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this counsaile, reason, and power: Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should wee then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the first and highest place to Divine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesq; fummum locum diuino cuidam numini assignant. And this I savin Short; that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere funt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow, and rise, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

For the rest, I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his owne will; and maketh of one Earth, Veilels of honor and dishonor. It is Nature that can dishole of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good onto all, knowing and louing the good hee doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himselfe: Nature, nothing in it selfe. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which ts begotten by all things; in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it selfe it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the earth, that heauy things fall towards it? Shall wee call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these: by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things worke as they doe, (call it by forme, by Nature, or by what you please) yet because they worke by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the sepremest power we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lyes the wonder: and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, and such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet worke all things to their last and ottermost perfe-Etion. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to bimselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the worldhad; to wit; That there is a power infinit, and eternall (which also necessity doth proue vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith; and Reason, without the force of Authoritie) all things doe as easily follow which have beene deliuered by dium letters, as the waters of arunning River doe successively pursue each other from the first fountaines. This The Preface.

This much I say it is, that Reason it selfe hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur: quia 148.1.4.4.4 prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapience goes before, Religion enia. followes: because it is first to know God, and then to worship big. This Sapience Plato calleth, absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good: and another, scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpe-Isaac de defin. tuarum. For Faith ( Jaith Isidore) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples perswaded: fides nequaquam viextorquetur; sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confesse it, That to enquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what meane He created the morld: Or of his secret iudgement, and the causes; is not an effect of Reason: Sed cum ratione infaniunt, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it: For as it is no shame nor dishonor (saith a French Author) de faire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpasser, For a man to rest himselfe there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further : so what soeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, It acknowledgeth it to be so; as understanding it selfe not to be infinite; but according to the Name and Nature it hath, Quel of infito be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his own Art. For seeing both Rea-itendum na.u. son and Necessity teach vs (Reason, which is pars divini spiritus in corpus ram renmunii, humanu mersi) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how scientia. Arift. it was made, it cannot teach vs : and seeing the same Reason and Necessity "ofter make ws know, that the same infinit power is every where in the world; and yet how every where it cannot informe vs: our beleefe hereof is not weakned. but greatly strengthened, by our ignorance; because it is the same Reason that tels vs, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all con-

ceiued by man. I have beene already over-long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse : especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weake and defective. Among the grosest, the vasuable division of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not beene directed to inlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part finished. All men know that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it sutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this age, which speake too much, and yet say little; Ipfi nobis furto subducimur, We are stollen away from our selues, setting a high price on all that. is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I beleeue as hee doth; that who so thinkes himselfe the wisest man, is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, doe alwaies keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from

themselues, from selfe loue, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

Generally

Generally concerning the order of the worke, I have onely taken counsaile from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the downefall of Babel take up the first part, and were the sirst great Kings of the World, there came listle to the view of posteritie: some few enterprises, greater in same than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis excepted.

It was the story of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olympiads, that our came the consuming disease of time; and preserved it selfe, from the very cradle and beginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures wee are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same time, I am driven to relate by way of digression: of which we may, say with Virgil.

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;
They appeare here and there floting in the great gulfe of time.

To the same sirst Ages doe belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to vs; though most of the Authors Names, have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had diversity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobilitie, Pollicie in warre; Navigation; and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speake therefore of these (seeing in a general Historie we should have left a great deale of Nakednesse, by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is that I have also made many others: which if they shall be layd to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heape of humane error. For seeing wee digresse in all the wayes of our lives: yea, seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of Historie, and of the Kindes.

The same thath beene taught by many; but by no man better, and with greater breuity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught vs by the Prophets and Apostles; and every day preacht vnto vs. But wee still make large digressions: yea the teachers themselves doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest; after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldwans, and hadraised a great Monarchie, producing Actions of more importance then were else-where to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilest it so storished, that the affaires of the nations adiopning had reference there-unto. The like observance was to be wied towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground pointhe Persians, as also towards the affaires of Rome

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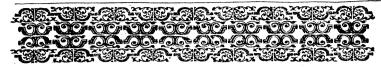
Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty then the Greekes.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carrhaginians, and other Nations, who refifted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement it seemed best to remember what was knowne of them from their sewerall beginnings. in such times and places, as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies; which in the end swallowed them op. And herein I have followed the best Geographers: who seldome give names to those small brookes, sphereof many, joyned together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become united, and runne in a maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weake, and the Stile not every-where like it selfe: the first, shewes their legitimation and true Parent; the second will excuse it selfe vpon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Ecloques, gracili auena. pled stronger pipes, when he sounded the warres of Aeneas . It may also be layd to my charge that I vse divers Hebrew words in my first booke. and else-where: in which language others may thinke, and I my-selfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I finde in Montanus; others in lattaine Carecter in S. Senensis, and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned friends. But (ay I had beene beholding to neyther, yet were it not to be wondred at, hauing had a eleven yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; How soeuer, I know that it will be said by many, I nat I might have beene more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, having beene permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answere, that who-so-ever in writing a moderne Hi-Gory, (hall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may happily strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and seruants into greater miseries. Hee that goes after her too farre off, looseth ber fight, and looseth him-selfe: and hee that walkes after her at a midle distance; I know not whether I should call that kinde of course Temper or Basenesse. It is true, that I neuer trauailed after mens opinions, when I might have made the best vse of them: and I have now too few dayes remaining, to imitate those, that eyther out of extreame ambition, or extreame comardise, or both, do yet, when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, betweene the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet liuing, in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainely if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall finde fau't with me for painting them over a new; they shall therein accuse themselves instly, and me fallly.

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For I protest before the Maiesty of GOD, That I malice no man onder the Sunne. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subiection to their private passions; but that they seeme divers persons in one and the same day. Seneca bath said it, and so doe I: Vnus mihi pro populo erat: and to the same effect Epicurus, Hoc ego non mulris sed tibi; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, Satis est vnus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I ondertooke this Worke. It pleased him to pervse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Maister: from which all that is presented, hath received both blowes and thankes. Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicij, in quo lis secundum plures datur. But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will iudge charitably : fo against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my prefent adversity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not farre to fall : and for rifing againe, as in the Natural privation there is no recession to habit; so it is seldome seene in the privation politique. I doe therefore for-beare to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promife a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much : and it is certaine, let 'ps claw the Reader with never so many courteous phrases; yet shall wee euer-more be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion; all the hope I have lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Loue towards them, and well-deserving of them, than ever I shall doe againe. For had it beene otherwise, I should hardly have had this leisure, to have made my selfe a foole in print.

THE



## THE CONTENTS OF THE

### CHAPTERS, PARAGRAPHES,

AND SECTIONS, OF THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD.

#### CHAPTER I.

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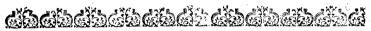
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King Philip was loft. Hannibal gives good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in Theffalie. The King retyres to Chalcis: where he marrieth a yong wife, an treuels away the rest of the Winter Vpon the comming of the Roman Conful, all forfake Antiochus. He with two thouf and Ecolians keeps the Streights of Thermopyla. He is beaten and flies into Afra: leaving all in Greece unto the Victors.

### d. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, haning with him Publius the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is fent into Greece. He grauntsiong Truce to the Etolians, that fo he might at leisure passe into Alia. Much trouble some bufinelle by Sea: and divers fights. Aninvalion wpon Eumenes his King aomem ich the fiege of Pergamus, rarled by an hanafull of the Achæans. L. Scipio the Conjul comes into Asia: where Antiochus most ear nestly desireth peace, and is denyed it. The battaile of Magnesia: wherein Antiochus, being winquished, reeldeth to the Romans good plealure. The conditions of the peace. In whit fort the Romans vied their victorie. L. Cornelius Scipio after a most sump nous Triumphouer Antiochus is survamed The Asiatique, as his brother was fieled The African.

d. IX.
The Etolians, and the Gallo-greekes, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fuluius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtaynes a Triumph: being charged (among other obiections) with attempting to have paffed the bounds appointed as fat all to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyls Prophecies : the hookes of Hermes: and that inferention SIMONE DEO SANCTO. The ingratitude of Rome

## The second Macedonian Warre.

He condition wherein those Princes and Estates remayned, which were Affociates of the Romans , when the Warre with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrell with Philip. They deale insolently with the Achaans. The Macedonian, being unreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome by his fonne Demetrius; of whom thenceforth he becomes icalous.

¿. II.
The death of Philopoemen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the militarie profession is of all other the most wnhappy: notwithstanaing some examples, which may seeme to proue the contrarie.

the Romans, deales hardly with many of his owne subjects. His negotiation with the Bastarnæ. His crueltie. He suspectesh bis sonne Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after saine, by his fathers appointment. Philip repenteth him of his (onnes death, whom hee findeth to have beene innocent : and intending to renewge it on Perseus, be dyeth.

How the Bastarna fell vpon Dardania. The behaulour of Perseus in the beginning of his reigne. Some warres of the Romans : and how they suffered Malanissa , cruelly to oppreffe the Carthaginians. They quarrell with Perseus. They allow not their Confederates tomake warre without their leave obtayned. The treason of Callicrates; whereby all Greece became more obnexious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrells to Perseus. He seeks friendship of the Achæans, and is withflood by Callicrates. The Romans discouer their intent of warring upon

Now Eumenes King of Pergamus was busied, with Pharnaces, the Rhodians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honors him greatly, and contemnes his Enemies the Rhodians; with the causes therof. The unviual fournesse of the Macedo. | upon them to bee Arbitrators betweene Him

nian Embassadors. Perseus his attempt upon Eumenes. The brotherly loue betweene Eumenes and Attalus. Perseus his denice to poison some of the Roman Senators:wherwoon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the iustice of this warre.

- d. VI. The Romans folicit the Greekes to ione with them in the warre against Perseus. How the Greekes stood affected in that warre. The timorousnes of Perseus. Martius & Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He sakes the field; and winnes part of Theffalie. The forces of Licinius the Roman Consultand what assistants the Romans Philip making prouisson for warre against had in this warre. Of Tempe in Thessalie; and what advantages the Macedonian had or might have had, but loft by bis fear. Perfeus braues the Romans, fights with them, knowes not how to ve his victorie, sues for peace, and is denyed it by the vanquished. Perseus bauing the worfe in a skirmift, for fakes all the Countrie lying without Tempe. The Boeotians rebell against the Romans, and arerigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre against Perseus. They were the Greekes their friends, for who (e case the Senate makes provision: having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

> Q Martius the Roman Conful, with extreme disficultie & danger enters into Tempe. The cowardize of Perfeus in abandoning Tempe. The Towne of Dium quitted by Martius, repayred and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill successe. Their affaires in hard estate. Martius a cunning and a badman. Polybius fent Embassador to Martius from the Achæans. Polybius his honest wesedome beneficiall to the Achaans. King Eumenes growes aver fe from the Romans. Perseus negotiates with Antiochus and Eumenes. His false dealing with Gentius King of Illyria, whom hee drames into the Roman war. He fends Embassadors to the Rhodians, who vainely take

### of the fift Booke.

and the Romans. Perseus loseth a mightie \ ken by the Romans. fuccour of the Baftarnæ, by his wresched paramonie.

of L. Emylius Paulus, the Conful. His iourney He forceth Perseus to discampe. He will not hazzard battaile with any difaduantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moone. Emylius his Superstition. The battaile of Pydna. Perseus bis flight. He for fakes bis Kingdom: which hastily yeelds to Emylius. Perseus at Samothrace. Hee yeelds him felfe to the Roman Admirall; and is fent prisoner to Æmylius.

Gentius King of the Illyrians, ta-

How the Romans behaved them felues in Greece and Macedon, after their victorie ouer Perseus.

è. XI. The warre of Antiochus vpon Ægypt. brought to end by the Roman Embassadors. ò. XII.

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Rings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes. Prusias, Masanissa, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instabilitie of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius: With the Conclu-Gon of the worke.





## THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE

World: Intreating Of The

Beginning, and first ages of the same, from the Creation, votto ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

d. I.
That the innisible God is seene in his Creatures.



O D, whom the wifeft men acknowledge to bee a Power vneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie inuifible, an Vnderstanding, which it selfe can onely comprehend, an Essence eternall and spirituall, of absolute purenesse and simplicitie, was, and is pleased to make himselfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereos, (all which hee imbraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) wee behold the Image of that glorie, which cannot be measured, and withall that one, and yet vniuersall Nature, which cannot be defined. In the

glorious Lights of Heauen; wee perceiue a shadow of his dinine Countenance; in his mercifull provision for all that live, his manifold goodnesse: and lastly, in creating and making existent the world vniversall; by the absolute art of his owne word, so his Power and almightinesse, which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisedome, and Goodnesse, goodnesse, and so goodnesse, and so goodnesse, and so goodnesse, and so goodnesse, and in part discerne per speculam creaturarum, that is, in the disposition order, and varietie of celessial and terrestrial bodies: terrestrial!, in their strange and manifold diversities; celessiall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continual & continual &

CHAP.I. \$.3.

trarie motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, wee approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent cause, and by these moti-

ons, their Almightie Mouer. In these more then wonderfull workes, God (saith Huge) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that liue, witnesse in themselues; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable foules: for according to S. Gregorie, Omnis homo eo ipfo quod rationalis conditus est, ex tpsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet: Euery man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold ( faith 10b) which is according to the Fathers, Dominationem illus 10 conspicere in creatures, to discerne him in his providence by his creatures. That God hath beene otherwise seene, to wit, with corporalleyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my vnderstanding, grounded on these places of S. Iohn, and S. Paul, Tee have not beard his voice at any time, neither have ye feene his shape. And againe, Whom never man quàm generatio.

And this I am sure agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicitie, of which S. Augustine, ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, idipsum quod Deus eft, corporaliter videri non poteft, That nature, or that substance, or by whatfocuer name that is to be called which is God, what soeuer that be, the same cannot be corporally perceiued. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyrill, Chryfoftome, Grego- 20 rie Nazianzenus, Hierome, Augustine, Gregorie the Great, Euaristus, Alcuinus, Dionyfius Arcopageta, Aquinas, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne word, and e jaram. Aug.t.: by this visible world, is God perceived of men, which is also the vnderstood lander vin. 6.12.67 by this visible world, is God perceived of men, which is also the vnderstood lander vin. 6.12.67 13. Gres. Magn. guage of the Almightie, vouchfafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the vnnumbred Starres, the Sunne & Moone, written on these large Alauin, I. 2. de volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all thoseliuing Creatures, and plants, which inhabite and reside therein. Therefore said that learned Culanus, Mundus univer sus minil alind est, quam Deus explicatus, The world vniuerfall, is nothing else but God exprest. And the innisible things of God (faith S. Paul) are seene by creation of the world, being considered in his Creatures. 30 Of all which, there was no other cause preceding, then his owne will, no other matter then his owne power, no other workman then his owne word, no other confideration, then his owne infinite goodnesse. The example & patterne of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternitie in the abundance of his owne loue, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his vnchanged will mooned, by his high wisedome disposed, and by his almightic power perfected, and made visible: And therefore (laith Mirandula) we ought to loue God, Ex fide, & ex effettibus, ( that is ) both perswaded by his word, and by the effects of the worlds creation: Neg; enim gat cansa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosciq; potest, sed vel ex rerum, qua facta sunt, quaque funt & gubernantur oblernatione & collatione, vel ex ipfins Dei verbo: For he of whom 40 there is no higher cause, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (faith Montanus) but either by the obseruing and conferring of things, which hee hath, or doth create and gouerne, or else by the word of God himselfe.

> That the wifest of the Heathen, whose authoritic is not to be despised, have acknowledged the world to have beene created

His worke and creation of the world, did most of the ancient & learned 50 Philosophers acknowledge, though by divers termes, and in a different maner exprest, I meane al those who are entitled by S. Augustine, Summi Philosophi, Philosophers of highest judgement and understanding. Mercurius Trismegistus calleth God, Principium universorum, The originall

of the vniuerfall: to whom he giveth also the attributes of Mens, natura, actus, necesfites, finis, & renouatio. And wherein hee truely, with S. Paul, casteth vpon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almighty word, and not by hands: verbo, non manibus fabricatus est mundus. ZOROASTER (whom Heraclitus followed in opinion) tooke the word Fire, to expresse God by (as in Deuterono- Deut.4.24. mie and in S. Paulit is vsed) Omnia ex unoigne genita (unt; All things (faith be) are Hebr. 12.19. caused, or produced out of one fire.

So did Orpheus plainely teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the will of the most High God; whose remarkeable words are thus converted: Cum abscon- orphidesium. 10 disset omnia I VPITER sammus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sucro corde operans sone. cogitata & mirabilia: Of which Iconceine this fenfe; When great I vpiter had hidden all things in himselfe; working out of the love of his sacred heart, be sent thence, or brought forth into gratefull light, the admirable workes which he had fore-thought.

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wifest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to bee the Father and Creator of all things; Vnus Deus Pater Creator fummus. Plato calleth God the cause and originall, the nature and reason of the vniue sall; totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus. But heereof more at large heereafter.

Now, although the curiofitie of some men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Dininity: (it being true, that the 20 Scripture hath not want of any forraine restimony ) yet as the Fathers, with others excellently learned, are my examples heerein; so S. Paul himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull, & profitable, to remember what soeuer he found agreeable to the word of God; among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all elcape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not : as in his Epistle to Titus, he citeth Epimenides against the Cretians, and to the Corinthians, Menander, and in the leventeenth of the dets, Aratus &c. for Truth (faith S. Ambrofe) by whomsoener vetered, is of the holy Ghost; Veritas à quocung; dicatur, à Spirita fanctoeft: and lattly, let those kinde of men learne this rule ; Que facris sermant, prophana non (unt; Nothing is prophane that ferueth to the vee of holy things.

> §. III. of the meaning of In Principio Genes. I. I.

His visible World of which Moles writeth, God created in the beginning or first of all: in which (faith Tertulian) things beganne to bee.

This word beginning (in which the Hebrewes seeke some hidden myferie, and which in the Iewes Targum is connerted by the word Sapiens tra) cannot be referred to succession of time nor to order, as some men

have conceived, both which are subsequent; but onely to creation then. For before that beginning, there was neither primary matter to bee informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the eternall. Nature was not, nor the next parent of time begotten, time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but disposed of matter already in being, then as the word beginning could not bee referred to all things, fo must it follow, that the institution of matter proceeded from a greater power, then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such a one (faith Lactantius) as exceedeth God in potencie: for it is an act of more excellencie to make, then to dif-50 pose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that matter could not be before this beginning: except we faine a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite, the impossibilitie whereof scorneth defence. Nam impossibile plura cusan demente effe infinita : quoniam alterum effet in altero finitum; There cannot bee more infinites then lib 3. one; for one of them would limit the other. d. IIII.

Herm. in Pamandre,& in fermone facro.

Hugo fuper Ec-

clef. Hom. 8.

Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad fil.

Tat. l. S. Vnus

verò ingenitus,

de non apparens

de immanife.

flus, omnia au-

flans, per omnia

rentia folium ge-

neratorum eft, nibil apparitio

Origen, lib. 2.

wei af xar.

cap. 22 Cyrel c Cbryfoft. in

John, Hom. 14.

Greg.Naz.1.2.

Theolog. Hier.in

1.18. mor. Euar.

Epift. 1 . Decret.

p. 2.q. 1 2.art. 11.

Deus,qui natura

inuifibil's eft, vt

A wifibitibus pof-

fet feiri, opus fe

cit,quo l'Opifi-

cem fui visibiliter manifesta.

vet, ut per cer-

feiretur,& ille Deus amnium

effe crederetur.

Cufan.de gen.

A. Mont. Nat.

Rum. 1.20.

Hift. fol. 7.

Rom. c. 1 .

dialog.

Amb. in epift. ad

Trin. c. 16.D.

10bm. 5. 3. I. Tim. 6. 16.

apparet, & in

tem manife-

Of the meaning of the words Heaven and Earth. Genesis 2. 1.



He vniuerfall matter of the world (which Moyfes comprehendeth vnder the names of Heanen and Earth) is by divers diversly vindershood:
for there are that conceive, that by those wordes, was meant the fire for there are that conceive, that by those wordes, was meant the first matter, as the Peripatetikes understand it, to which, S. Augustine and Istaria dore seeme to adhere. Feeist mundum (faith S. Augustine) de materia

informi, quam fecisti de nulla re, pene nullam rem: (that is) Thou hast made the world of a matter without forme; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little o-

ther then nothing.

But this potentiall and imaginary materia prima, cannot exist without forme. Peter Lombard, the Schoole-men, Beda, Lytanus, Comestor, Tostatus and others, affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the Empyrean Heauen: which at the succeeding Boda-Hex.Stra. instant (faith Beda and Strabo ) hee filled with Angels. This Empyrean Heauen Steuchius Eugubinus calleth Diuine claritie, and vncreated: an errour, for which hee is sharply charged by Pererius, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the subsequent, 20 when he made it to be a place, and the seate of Angels, & iust Soules, then in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liveth in eternall light, it is written; My foule, praife thou the Lord, that concreth himfelfe with light: and in the Reuelation; And the Citic bath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to Shine in it: for the glory of God didlight it. And herein also John Mercer vpon Genesis differeth not in opinion from Engulinus: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the invilible or supercelestiall, so in his judgement, because it was in all eternity, the glorious seat of God himselse, it was not necessary to be created; Quem mundum supercalestem meo indicio creari ( faith Mericer ) non crat necesse.

But as Mofes forbare to speake of Angels, and of things invisible, and incorporate, 30 for the weakenes of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things, which were more manifest, (to wit ) that God did not only by a strong hand deliner them from the bondage of Egypt, according to his promise made to their forefathers: but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceiueable Vniuerfall; so on the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heauen, or what soeuer else (not himselfe) was increate and eternall: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisedome of mortall men hathino perception of it, neither can it limit the seate of infinite power, no more then infinite power it selfe can be limited: for his place is in himselse, whom no magnitude else can containe: How great is the House of God ( faith BARV CH ) how large is the place of his possessions! it is 40

great, and hathno end, it is high and unmeasurable.

But leaving multiplicitie of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the wordes, Heauen and Earth, was meant the folid matter and fubstance, aswell of allane Heavens, and Orbes supernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which couered it ouer; ( to wit ) that very matter of all things, materia, Chaos, possibilitas, fine poffe fieri. Which matter (faith Caluin) was fo called , quod totius mundi femen fuerit; Because it was the seed of the Vniner (all: an opinion of ancient Philosophers long

Bar. 2,24.25.

bo (wher Genef.

Eug. Cof. & de

Pfal.104-12.

Claritas dinina

Sed Sapientia

non cllux falla,

Dei non creata.

mat.incorp.

Cufan in com-Operis.

ð. V.

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moses understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and voide, is described as the Chaos of the an-



CHAP.I. S.5.

Oses first nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth, but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the consused Masse, and (as Basit saits) praparare naturam aque ad feecunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulneffe,

For vnder the word Heaven, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures exprest: and by the name of Earth and Waters, all was meant, what soener is vnder the Moone, and subject to alteration. Corrupt seedes bring foorth corrupt plants: to which the pure heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. They shall pe- Pfal. 102,26. rish (saith Dauid) and the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, saith Esay. Neither Esai 11. were the waters the matter of Earth : for it is written, Let the waters under the hea-20 uens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appeare: which prooueth that the dry

land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet diftinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seede of the Earth, much lesse of the Vniuersall. Initiotu Domine terram fundasti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth: and againe. The Earth was covered with the Deepe (meaning with waters) as with a gar- pal, 104.6 ment, faith David. And if by naturall arguments it may be prooued, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire : aire, fire ; and so on the contrary, Dews ignis /ub- Zeno. ftantiam per aerem in aquam convertit, God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into wa-

ter. For the Heauens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were 30 created, astouching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. Calum verb & terra in statuerea- Gul. Parissoo. tionisremanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est. And the word which the Hebrewes call Maim, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifical water, but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to Montanus) Est autem A. Montadenat. Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit. For Maim (faith he) is a double liquor, (that is, of divers natures) and this name or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresset, call it in the Plural, Aquas,

This Masse, or indigested matter, or Chaos created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters : And the earth Gen. ta. was voide: that is not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retayneth, then did the earth budde forth the hearbe, which feedeth feede, and the fruitfull tree according to his kinde, and God faw that it was good; which attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused, nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adornement. God faw that it was good; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. Et

50 perfect Dei perfect a funt opera, The workes of the perfect God, are perfect. From this lumpe of imperfect matter had the ancient Poets their invention of Demogoreon: Hestopys and Anaxagoras the knowledge of that Chaos, of which Onid:

19

Ouid.Metam.

Ante mare, & terras, & (quod tegit omnia) calum, Vnus erat toto natura vultus in Orbe, Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestag, moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide, In all the world one only face of nature did abide: Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

à. VI.

How it is to be understood that the Spirit of Godmooned upon the waters, and that this is not to be searched curronsly.

Baßl.Hexam.

Iunius.



Fter the creation of Heauen and Earth, then voide and without forme. the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters. The Seventy Interpreters vie the word super-ferebatur, mooned upon or oner: incubabat, or fouchat (faith Hierome) out of Bafil; and Bafil out of a Syrian Doctor; Equidem nonmeam tibi, sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententi m recensevo (saith Basil)

which wordes incubare or fourre importing warmth, hatching, or quickening, haue a 20 speciall likenesse. Verbum translatum est ab auibus pullitiei sux incubantibus, quamuu spirituali, or plane inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo; The word is taken of birds hatching

their yong, not corporally, but in a spirituall and unexpressible manner.

Ar.Mont.de na-

Pfal.147.18.

Eugub. in Cof.

SHIA.DAZ.149.

E∫ay.55.8•

Aug.Tract.20.

Laft.in Prafat.

Some of the Hebrewes convertit to this effect, Spiritus Dei volitabat, The Spirit of God did flutter : the Chaldwan Paraphraft in this sense, ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat, or as other understand the Chaldwan, flabat, pellebat, remouebat : the wind from the face of God did blow under drive, or remove, or did blow wion, according to the 147. Plaine. He caused his winde to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no winde nor exhaar. Mont. vi fup. lation : Arias Montanus in these wordes, Et spiritus Elohim Merachefet, id est, efficaciter motitans, tonfouens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris; The Spirit of God effe- 30 Etually and often mouing, keeping warme, and cherifting, quickning and firring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and materiall, to wit, canfa, which is the divine goodnesse: Ichi, which is , fiat , sine erit, let it be , or it shallbe. Qua vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit: which voice (faith he) was the full that was ottered by the word of God. The third Spiritus Elohim, the Spirit of God, idest, vis quadam divina, agilis ac prasens per omnia pertingens, omnia complens, that is, a certaine divine power, or frength every where, active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and fin shing all things. The fourth hee calleth Maim, idest, materies adomnem rem conficiendam habilis ; matter apt 10 become euery thing. For my selfe I am resolucd (Cum Deus sit superrationale omni ratione, See- 40 ing Godie in all reason aboue reason) that although the effects which follow his wonderfull wayes of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding, yet the manner and first operation of his divine power cannot bee conceived by any minde, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. Animalis home qua Dei sunt non percipit: For my thoughts (fayth the Lord in Efay) are not your thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: fo are his wayes (according to S. Paul) past finding out. Orighteous Father the world hath not knowne thee, faith CHRIST. And therfore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were by incubation, or how elfe, the maner is onely knowne to God, Quemodo in omnibus fit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit; For bow God (layth 50 in Ioban. 17-25. S. Augustine, speaking of his V biquitie) is in all things, either by effence, presence, or power, our understanding cannot comprehend. Nihil inter Deum hominemg, distaret ; fi consilia, & dispositiones illius maiestatis aterna, cogitatio assequeretur humana : There would be no difference betweene God and Man, if mans understanding could conceive the

counsels and disposing of that eternall Maiestie; and therefore to be over-curious in searching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the creation of the World or his all-piercing and operative Spirit diftinguilhing, gave forme to the matter of the Vniuerfall, is a labour and fearch like vnto his, who not contented with a knowne and fafe foord, will presume to passe ouer the greatest River in all parts, where hee is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his vnderflanding. We behold the Sunne, and enion his light, as long as we looke towards it, buttenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selues safely, while we stand neere the fire; but if we feeke to outface the one, to enter into the other, we forth with be-

10 come blinde or burnt.

But to eschew curiositie: this is true, that the English word (moued) is most proper and fignificant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all what soener is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeede be truely called, Principlum motus, and with Mirandula, vis cause efficientis, The force of the efficient cause. Saint Augustine sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a winde or breath, Sub nomine Spiritus, under the name of a Spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for virtualis creatura, for a created virtuality: Tertullian and Theodoret call it also a breath or winde: Mercurius namethit, Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, a pure or thinne intelligible spirit : Anaxagoras, mentem : Tostatvs, voluntatem & mentem 20 Dei, The will and minde of God; which mens, Plato in Timeo, maketh animam mundi, The loule of the world: and in his fixt Booke de Republica, he calleth it the law of Heaven; in his Epiffles, the leader of things to come, and the presence of things past. But as Cyprian wrote of the Incarnation of CHRIST our Sauiour, Mens deficit, vox filet, o non meatantim, fedetiam Angelorum: My minde faileth, my voice is filent, and not mine onely, but euen the voice of Angels: so may al men else say in the vnderstanding, and veterance of the wayes and workes of the Creation; for to him (faith Nazianzenus) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, Sed consubstantiale sile Theol. eft quicquideius est, & quicquidest, what soener attribute of him there is , and what soener be is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is.

30 But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or winde nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God. which then formed and diffinguished, and which now sustaineth, and giveth continuance to the Vniuersall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it which maintaineth all things, saith SALOMON. If thou fend forth thy Spirit, Ver. 7. (faith DAVID) they are created: And GREGORIE, Deus suo prasentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus effe, ita quod, sife rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omma, sic in nihilum defluerent universa; God grueth being to all things, by being present with all things, To as if he (bould withdraw himfelfe from them, then, as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vanishinto nothing. And this working of Gods Spirit in all

40 things, Virgil hath express excellently:

50

Principio calum acterras, campo (g, liquentes, Lucentemá, globum Luna, Titaniag, astra, Spiritus intus alit : totamá, infusa per artus, Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

The Heauen, the Earth, and all the liquid Mayne, The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian, A Spirit within maintaines: and their whole Masse, A Minde, which through each part infus'd doth passe, Fashions, and workes, and wholly doth transpierce All this great Body of the Vniuerse.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuerfall, and thereby both diffinguished and adorned it. His Spirit bath garnished the Heanens, fayth lob . So 166 case.13.

Virg.Acneida

CHAP.I. \$.7.

Gen.1.5.

8

then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their spiritualitie, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarifaction, and subtilitie of parts. By this Spirit, (which gaue heat and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved vpon the waters, which were in one indigefted lump. and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten ayre: an element superior, as lighter then the waters, through whose vast, open, subtile, diaphanicke, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpierce: light, for the excellencie thereof, being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediarly followed. This Spirit Chryfostome calleth a vitall Operation , aquis à Des insitam,ex qua aqua non solum motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint. He calleth 10 it. A vitall Operation given by God unto the waters , whereby the waters had not onely motion , but also power to procreate or bring foorth living creatures.

Of the light created, as the material substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficultie of knowledge of it: and of the excellencie and vle of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

Hele waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea : and this 20 light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceiue) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the vniting of the

Gen. 1.14.

dispersed light therein. This is proued by these words, Let there be lights in the sirmament, to separate the day from the night: which lights in the firmament of heaven were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeeres, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which dayes and yeeres are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Suns crea- 20 tion, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to bee measured, and the day named in the fift verse, was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a civill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of ayre, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the Seas, and creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beafts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: so may light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or materiall substance of the Sunne, and other lights of heauen: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing sensible, is that light it Lux dicitur, que selfe, que causa est lucidorum, which is the cause that things are light some (though it make it selfe and all things else visible) but a body most illightned, which illuminateth fan.in compend. the Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the Greekes call Asher, the 40 place of the supposed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our ayre. For this light Autcenna calleth webiculum & fomentum omntum calestium virtutum, & impressionum: The conducter, and preserver or nourisher of all Celestiall vertues and impressions, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the medium, or meanes of light. Aristotle calleth light, a qualitie, inherent, or cleaning to a Diaphanous body, Lumen est qualit as inherens Diaphano: but this may be better auouched of the heat, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: Ficin, lib.de Lu- which heat (say the Platonickes) abeunte lumine residet in subiecto, the light being departed, doth residein the subiett, as warmth in the aire, though the same bee deprined of light. This light Plotinus and all the Academikes make incorporal, and fordoth Mon- 50 TANVS, Cui nec duritiaresistit, nec fatium : Which neither hardnesse resisteth, nor space

EAD 7. C EXCECT. lib.s.

Aristotle findeth corporalitie in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, faith Picolomineus. Democritus, Leucippui, and Epicurus,

give materiality to light it selfe, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant, from the Heauen to the Earth, nor is it relisted by any hardnesse, because it pierceth through the folid body of glaffe, or other Cristalline matter; and whereas it is withstood by vncleane, and vnpure earthy substances, lesse hard, and more case to inuade then the former, the same is, Quodobstaculum natur à terreum atq; sordidum, non castit candidam Phim. luminis puritatem: Because an obsidacle, by nature earthie and foule, doth not receive the pure cleareneffe of light: alluding to that most divine light, which onely shineth on those mindes, which are purged from all worldly droffe, and humane vncleannesse.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither doe I maruaile 10 at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them understood either it or themselues therein: all men (to cast offignorance) have disputed heereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. Thomas Againes (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of argument in reluting the opinions of Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus, and others: so is his owne judgement heerein, as weake as any mans; and most of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more fubrile in diffinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, then discouerers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophie or Divinitie: of whom it may be truly faid, Nihil fapientie odiofius acumine monto: Nothing u more odious to true w fedome, 20 then too acute sharpnesse. Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many lear-

ned men, (which the same time hath brought forth and denoured) resolued vs, whether this light be substantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the Aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth, and yet euery day we see the Aire illightened: incorporal it cannot be, because it is sensible: sensible it is, because it somtime affecteth the sight of the eve with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed: others say, (as Patricius) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfeto informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destru-Aion of the subject : for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Lucida corpora 30 Sunnein existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then luce, wheth te-

either, or both must be one of these, Lucide or bright, darke or opake, Diaphanous nebrasimperuia, or transparent; but darkenessecannot bee parent of light; and things Diaphanous Opaca furt ple-(being neither light, nor darkenesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or forme, or both, be Lucide and shining. Lucide Trans, arentia and shining obtaine their so being of the light; and therefore, if we derive this being for the light; and therefore, if we derive this being for the light; and therefore is the derive the same state. of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely, and against nature; mine con teneand therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and bris: alients immediatly of it selfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme and the forme of all Lucide briggermeatur. and thining bodies: but what is taught heereby, let others judge.

But in my vinderstanding lumen, (which may be Englished by the word Shine) is Scal Subtan. 71,

an intentionall Species of that, which may bee Englished by Light, and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Heauen, or from any other light, is an image, or intentionall Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be vnderstood by the example of a red, or greene colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sunne through red or greene glasse: for then wee perceiue the same colour cast vpon any thing opposite; which reducise or other colour, we cal the intentional Spe-

cies of the colour in that glasse. And againe, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet vnderstood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, bee the fame, which the Sunne inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance 50 any longer, then till the Sunnes creation.

But by the most wife and vnchanged order, which God observed in the worke of Genes. 1. the world, I gather, that the light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne: for Moles repeateth twife the maine parts of the vniuerfall, first, as they were Vers. 12. created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the

10

Heauens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused, and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry land, and the Heauens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called Arida, or dry land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated, and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their vertuall formes: so the Sunne, although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day vnited, and set in the Firmament of Heauen: for to Light created in the first day, God gaue no proper place or fixation; and therefore the ef- 10 fects named by Anticipation, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisedome of God finde cause why it should moone (by which motion, dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might give light, hear, and opera-

But after the Earth (distinguished from waters) began to budde forth the budde of the herbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange of time) to visite enery part of the inferiour world; by his heat to stirre vp the fire of generation, and to give activity to the feedes of all natures: For, as a King, which comman- 20 deth some goodly building to bee erested, doth accommodate the same to that vse and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith Procopius) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerfull word he approued, and approuing it, dif-

posed thereof, to the vie and comfort of his future Creatures. But in that it pleased God to aske of I ob, By what way is the light parted, and where

10b 38.24

dum Rex alianis

&c. Procep. in

Gen. I.

Herm.

is the way where light dwelleth? wee thereby know that the nature thereof falleth not vnder mans vnderstanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enioy the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God ( faith Esdras. ) And those which inhabite the Heauens, ace onely know the effence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cale, mhil notum in terra: Nothing unknowne in Heanen, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. 30 Res vera funt in mundo inuisibili, in mundo visibili umbra rerum: Things them elues are in the innifible wo ld, in the world visible, but their shadowes; Surely, if this light be not spirituall, yet it approcheth neerest vnto spirituality; and if it haue any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure, for howsoeuer, it is of all things seene, the most beautifull, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministreth to men, and other creatures, all celestiall influences; it diffipateth those sad thoughts and sorrowes, which the darkenesse both begetteth and maintaineth; it discouereth vnto vs the glorious workes of God, and carrieth vp with an Angelicall swiftnesse, our eyes vnto Heauen, that by the fight thereof, our mindes being informed of his visible maruailes, may continually trauaile to sur- 40 mount these perceived Heavens, and to finde out their omnipotent cause and Creatour. Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatu; Our knowledge doth not quiet it selfe in thines created. Et ipfa lux facit, vt catera mundi membra digna fint laudibus, cum fuam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the light, (faith S. Ambrose) that maketh the other part of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodneffe and beauty vnto all: of which Ourd out of Orpheus:

Ficin.

Quid.Met. l.1.

Ille ego fum, quilongum metior annum, Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus, Mandi eculus.

The world discernes it selfe, while I the world behold, By me the longest yeeres, and other times are told, I the worlds eye.

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any farre-off-dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beauty, motion, and vertue of this light may be perceived. Therefore was God called lux ipfa, and the light, by Hermes named lux fancta, and Christ our Sauiour faid to bee that Light, 10h.1.9 & 14. which lighteneth enery man that commeth into the world. Yet in respect of Gods incom- 46. prehenlible sublimitie, and puritie, this is also true, that Godis neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. Deus profecto non mens eft, at vero vt fit mens caufa eft, nec firstus, fed caufa qua firstus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qualumen existit. God (faith HERMES in Poe MANDRO ) certainely is 10 not aminde, but the saufe that the minde bath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which enery first is ; nor light, but the cause by which the light exist eth.

So then the Masse and Chaos being first created, void, darke, and imformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickened, and the Waters having now received Spirit & motion, resolved their thinner parts into Aire, which God illightned: the Earth also by being contiguat, and mixt with waters (participating the same 6m. 1. 16. divine vertue) brought foorth the budde of the herbe that seedeth seede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might bee continued, Godappointed the light to be vntted, and gaue it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those severall species, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the 20 Spirit ) produced, and with motion begate the time and times succeeding.

d. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters abone the Firmament: and whether there bee any cristalline Heanen, or any Primum mobile.



Fter that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God faid, Let there bee a Firmament in the middest of the waters, andlet it separate the waters from the waters: that is, those waters which by rarifaction and enaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth

But these waters separate about this extension, which the Latine Translation calleth firmamentum, for expansum (for so Vatablus, Pagninus, and Iunius turne it) are not the cristalline Heauens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion Basilins Magnus calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned argumentsagainst this fancie. For the watersaboue the Firmament, are the waters in the Aireaboue vs, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated 40 from the nether waters by a Firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the wordes Raquia, which Montanus writeth Rakiagh, and Shamaym, being indifferently taken for the Heauen & for Aire, and more properly for the Aire & ather, then for the Heauens, as the best Hæbricians understand them , quo suprema actenuta Mont. nat. bish ab infimis crassis diducta, interfectaq; distarent, for that whereby the supreme and thinne fal. 152. bodies were placed in distance, being seuered and cut off from low and grosse matters: and the waters about the Firmament, express in the word Maym, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters about the Aire, or in the uppermost Region of the same.

And that the word Heauen is vsed for the Aire, the Scriptures euery-where witnesse, as in the bleffings of toleph, and in the 104. Pfalme. \* By these springs shall the Gen. 49.25. 50 fowle of the Heaven dwell; and 2 upon Sodome and Gomorrhait rained bringtone and fire out " Pola 104. 12. fowle of the Heauen dwell; and 2 wpon Sodome and Gomorrhatt rained brimitone and fire out of a Gen. 19.14.

of the Heauen; and in Isaacs bleffing to I A C O B, God give thee therefore of the dew of cap. 27.28. Heaven; and in Deuteronomiethe II. But the land whither you goe to posseffeit, is aland, Deut. II. II. that drinketh water of the raine of Heauen; and in I on, Who hath ingendred the frosts of 106.38.29. Heaven; and in S. MATTHEVV, Behold the Fowles of Heaven, for they fowe not. Matt. 6.26.

Laftly,

Gen. 11.4.

12

So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout, is the word Heauen very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great heighth, as, Let vs build vs a Tower, whose toppe may reach to Heaven, erc. And in this very place Basil auoucheth, that this appellation of Heauen for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his owne wordes be these; Et vocauit Deus sirmamentum calum. Hac appellatio alij quidem proprie accommodatur, buic autemnunc ad similitudinem; And God called the firmament Heauen: This appellation (faith Basil) is properly applyed to another (that is, to the Starry Heaven) but to this, (that is, to the Firmament dividing the waters) it is imposed by simulatude: and if there were no other proofe, that by the Firmament was meant the Aire, and not the Heauen, the wordes of Moses in the eighth Verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth Verse, makes it manifest: for in the eighth Verseit is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the 20. Verse hee calleth the Firmament of Heauen, Aire, in these words: And let the foule fie upon the earthin the open sirmament of Heaven: and what wse there should bee of this yeie, or cristalline, or waterie Heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the hear, which the Primam mebile would other wife gather and increase: though in very truth, in flead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceede all possibilitie of beleefe. Sednemo tenetur ad imposibilia; but no man ought to be held to imposibilities; and 20 faith it selfe (which surmounteth the heighth of all humane reason) hath for a forcible Conducter, the Word of Truth, which also may be called lumen omnis rationu & intellectus; the light of all reason and understanding. Now that this supposed first Moueable, turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not ) let those that can beleeue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I can not : but of these many Heauens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search Orontius, and of this waterie Heauen, Basilius Magnus in his Hexam. fol. 40. 41. &c. and Matth. Beroaldus, his second Booke, and fixt Chapter. For my selfe, I am perswaded, that the waters, called, The waters about the Heavens, are but the cloudes and waters ingendred in the vppermos Aire.

I X.

A conclusion repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing



O conclude, it may bee gathered out of the first Chapter of Genesis, that this was the order of the most wife Go D in the beginning, and 40 when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, hee created the matter of all things: and in the first three daies he distinguished & gaue to every nature his proper forme;

the forme of lenitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of grauitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, divided waters from waters and gathered the waters under the Firmament into one place. In the last three dayes, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the world the set in the Firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beafts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fish, giving to all that have life, a power generative, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetative and growing; their feeds 50 Masaleria, in themselves; for hee created all things, that they might have their being : and the generations of the world are preserved.

That Nature is no Principium per se; nor forme the giver of being : and of our ignorance, how (econd causes should have any proportion with their effects.



N p for this working power, which wee call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to Aristotle, the same is nothing else, but the strength and facultie, which God hath infused into enery creature, ha-10 uing no other selfe-abilitie, then a Clocke, after it is wound vp by a mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute vnto this facultie, any

first or fole power, have therein no other understanding, then such a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the piece of wood, without all consideration of the hand, that guides it, or of the judgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all elfe, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke what soeuer they worke: Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt: for as the minde of man feeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choice by the will: and therefore we attribute fight to the eye, and hear 20 ring to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde only, that giveth abilitie, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties, and by men, as by seuerall organs, seueral effects, all second causes what soeuer, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carrie and disperse what they have received from the head and fountaine of the Vniuerfall. For asit is Gods infinite power, and enery-where-prefence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours, to vapours to bee made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: fo all fecond and infirumentall causes, together with Nature it felfe, without that operative facultie which God gave them, would become alto-O gether filent, vertuelesse, and dead: of which excellently ORPHEVS; Per te vires- Natura enimre. cunt omnia, All things by thee firing forth in youthfull greene. I enforce not these mota providenthings, thereby to annihilate those variable vertues, which God hath given to his dia o potestate creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his nibil eft. Latt. de

workes in their vertues prayle him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or fall, Sapientia, le they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, hauetaken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could ever yet conceine it, or expresse it, ever enrich his own vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or ener edine others (not foolish by selfe-flatterie) therein. For (fayth Lactantius, speaking of the wisedome of the Philosophers) 40 si facultas inuemenda veritatis huic studio subiaceret, aliquando esset inuenta; cum verò tot temporibus, tot ingenis in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibies (apentiam: If in this studie (sayth hee) were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this beene found out : but feeing it is not yet comprehended, after that fo much time, cypriandemenand so many wits have beene worne out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wife- 10,116,3. dome there to be had. Nam si de una re pracisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario haberetur: If the precise knowledge of any one thing were to bee had, it sould neceffarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to bee had. And as the Philosophers

had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth sublist. And seeing it is neyther a substance pefect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of persection, how any other substance should thence take concrescence, it hath not beene taughts, neyther are these formes (sayth a learned Authour) anything, si ex ea exprimantur

were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: so were they more curious,

then knowing, in their first matter and Physicall forme. For if their first matter

potentia, que nihil est. Againe, how this first matter should bee subiettum formarum, and passiue, which is vnderstood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceiue: for to make forme which is the cause, to bee subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, divine and humane: only it may be said, that originally there is no other difference betweene matter & forme, then betweene heat and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rationall consideration. Leauing therefore these Riddles to their Louers, who by certaine scholasticall distinctions wrest and peruert the truth of all things, and by which Arifoste hath laboured to prooue a falle eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre fafer to affirme with Saint Avgvstine, That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, 10 what soener is natural proceedeth, of what kind or estimation soener, from whence are the feeds of all formes, and the formes of all feeds and their motions ; A quo est omnis becies, & quo eft quicquid naturaliter est, cuiuscung, generis eft, cuiuscung, aftimationis est, à quo sunt Semina formarum, forma seminum, motus seminum atg, formarum. And thus much Auerrois is forced to confesse. For all formes (sayth he) are in primo motore; which is also the opinion of aristotle in the twelfth of his Metaph, and of Albertus vpon

12. Metaph.

### d. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starres have great influence; and that their operations may diverly be prevented or furthered.



N D, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be safely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an ineuitable necessitie, and made it more generall, and vniuerfally powerfull then it is, by giving it Dominion over the mind of man,

and ouer his will; of which Onid and Invenal.

Iuuen.fat.7.201

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet. Seruis regna dabunt, captinis Fata triumphos.

'Gainst Fate no counsell can prevaile. Kingdomes to Slaues, by Destinie, To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

Bafil. Efa.4. Aug.de hæref. 70.c.35. The cont. Gent. 3.cap.83. Ficin.in 12.de leg. Cic de fat.

An errour of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharifees, Priscillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as Basil, Augustine, and Thomas have observed: 40 but, that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceived of Hermes, and Apuleius the Platonist. Plotinus out of the Astronomers calleth it a dispolition from the acts of celeftial Orbes, vnchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rationall mind doth not order nor direct. Ptolomie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Empedosles, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and ineuitable necessitie; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (quod de vnoquog, nostrum fatus est Deus ) and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are instruments of farre greater vse, then to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sun-set: it be- 50 ing manifest, that the diversitie of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not so vncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the same course, but that the Starres have also their working therein,

And if we cannot denie, but that God hath given vertues to Springs, and Foun-

taines, to cold earth, to plants and stones, Minerals, and to the excrementall parts of the basest living creatures, why should wee rob the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for feeing they are many in number and of eminent beauty and magnirude, we may not thinke, that in the treasury of his wisedome who is infinite, there can be wanting (euen for euery Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery herbe plant fruit, and flower, adorning the face of the Earth hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to couer and shadow her du-Rie face, but otherwise for the vse of man and beast, to feed them and cure them: so were not those vncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, to then to adorne it, but for instruments and organs of his divine providence, so far as ir bath pleased his just will to determine. Origen upon this place of Genesia, Let there Generale. belight in the Firmament, &c. affirmeth that the Starres are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and set downe all things what soeuer to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisedome: which latter part I beleeue well, and this faying of Syracides withall: That there are Eccl. 43.0.38. hid yet greater things then these bee, and wee have seene but a few of his workes. And though, for the capacitie of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and vttermost vertues of herbes and plants, which our selues sow and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of cele-20 Stiall bodies: for hardly (Tayth SALOMON) can we discerne the things that are vponthe wild.9.16. earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before ws: who can then inuestigate the things that are in Heauen? Multum est de rebus calestibus aliquid cognoscere: Aristotle.

It is much to know a little of heavenly things. But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not bind God to his creatures, in this supposed necessitie of destinie, so on the contrary we doe not rob those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoyled God of his prerogative, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious asts by any celestiall inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were instituable; of whom Saint Avgvs TINE: Impia peruersitate in ma- Aug; 20. super 30 lis fact is rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum pot us auctorum syderum, quam Genadlit.

commissorem (celerum. Where wee reprehend them of earll deeds, they againe with wicked peruer seneffe wrge, that rather the Authour and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the ewill is to be accused.

20

But that the Stars and other celestiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the fensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. Corporacalestia (fayth DAMASCENE) constituent in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones, The heavenly bodies (sayth he) make in vs habits, complexions, and dispositions: for the bodie (though Galen inforce it further) hath vindoubtedly a Gallimor.an kind of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in hu. feq. temp. o mour, and mindes weake in vertues: for those of cholericke complexion are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof, by which they suffer themselues to be transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse minde I am resolued: For all those which were created mortall, as birds beasts, and the like, are lest to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celestiall bodies (as instruments and Executioners of Gods prouidence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge ofmen, who little differ from beafts, I cannot tell : for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them: so who so ever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himselfe altogether under the power 50 of his sensuall appetite; Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris: Fate will be o- Quint.

uercome, if thou relist it, if thou neglect, it conquereth. But that either the Starres or the Sunne have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is abfurd to thinke, other then as aforefaid, as the same by the bodies Aug. de Civit, temper may be effected. Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & Dei,lib.5.

CHAP.I. S.12.

of the Historie of the World.

17

Hex.lib.4.determ.3.

Hor.lib:4.0d.4.

ad vitam ipsammouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit : The light of the Sunne (fayth Saint Avgvstine) helpeth the generation of Sensible bodies, moueth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfetteth them : yet still as a Minister, not as a Master : Bonus quidem eft Solsinministerio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to serue, not to sway (faith S. Ambrose.) And Saint Avgvstine: Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora; God ruleth the bodies below by thoso aboue, but he anoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule ouer mens minds, which are incorporeall.

But how soeuer wee are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many thingsboth in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation: and Aristotle himselfe confesseth, that the Heauens doe not alwayes worke their ef- 10 fects in inferiour bodies, no more then the fignes of raine and wind doe alwaies come to passe. And it is divers times seene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. Est in luvencis patrum virtus, In the young off-spring the Fathers vertue is, and so the contrary, patrum visia: and herein also there is often found an enterchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue.

Egregia est soboles, scelerato nata parente.

A worthy sonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reserved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the world fo wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing vp may fashion anew, and reforme them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reines' being let loose) the continuall fellowship and familiaritie, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessels will euer retaine a sauour of their first liquor : it being equally difficult eyther to clenfe the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet sauour of vertue first received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and eafily seasoned; but where a fauourable constellation (allowing that the Stars incline 20 the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arriue, or the contrary in both, therby it is that men are found so exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heauen and Earth (asit were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the seedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, then the strength of selfe-nature and kind could have yeelded them; so the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselues into weedes, by being set in a soyle sutable, and like themselues, are made more vnsauoury and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, Sapiens adiunabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terra naturams, A wife man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the foile. And Ptolomie himselfe confesseth thus much, Sapiens, & omina [4-40 pientis medici dominabuntur aftris, Awiseman, and the ominous art of a wife Physician shall prenaile against the Starres. Lastly, wee ought all to know, that Go D created the Starres, as he did the rest of the Vniuersall, whose influences may be called his referued and vnwritten Lawes. But let vs consider how they bind: euen as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the world haue by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Iudges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly, yet these Lawes doe not depriue Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or bind them without prerogative, to such a severe execution, as that there should bee nothing left of libertie to judgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne na- 50 ture being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselues knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselues, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himselfe,

which his Substitutes enioy; God being mercy, goodnesse, and charitie it selfe. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Saujour taught; And let vs not bee led wnto Mat. 6.13. temptation, but deliuer vs from euill, had beene no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truely) hathaffured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation fo forcible, which our humble Prayers and defires may not make frustrate, and breake afunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destinie, though depending upon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immurable dependencie, that God himselfe should in a kind have shut up himselfe therein: How 10 miferable then were the condition of men (fayth Saint Avgvstine) left altogether without hope!

And if this strength of the Starres were so transfer'd, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so beleeueth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other would thereby be despoyled of all worship, reuerence, or respect.

And ceatainely, GoD which hath promifed vs the reward of wel-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (I baue finished the norke which tob. 18.6. thou gauest mee to doe.) And the same God, who hath threatned vnto vs the forrow and torment of offences, could not contrary to his mercifull nature be so vniust, as to 20 bind vs ineuitably to the Destinies, or influences of the Starres, or subject our soules to any imposed necessitie. But it was well sayd of Plotinus, that the Stars were fignificant, but not efficient, giuing them yet something leffe then their due: and therefore as I doe not confent with those, who would make those glorious creatures of God vertuelesse: so I think that we derogate from his eternal and absolute power and prouidence, to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortall soules, which they have ouer all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, louing and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Stars is by Plato called but a Thadow. Lumen est Platool & vmbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis; Light is the shadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the Ficin. in 1.7.pol. 20 light of light: But to end this question, because this Destinie, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predestination are often confounded. I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for every man hath not observed it, though all learned men haue.

è. XII. Of Prescience.

Rescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call Prognosis, the

Latines precognitio, or prescientia) considered in order and nature (if we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Prouidence: for God fore-knew all things, before hee had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatfoeuer our felues fore-know, except the fame be to succeede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore know it . But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience onely) is not the cause of any thing suturely succeeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rife, and fet; that all men borne in the world shall

die againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Summer and 50 Haruest, and that according to the seuerall seedes that we sow, we shall reape seuerall forts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in vs binde or conftraine the Sunne to rise and set, or men to die; for the causes (as men perswade themselues) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. The eye of man (faith BOETIVS) beholdeth those things subsect to 10

sense, as they are; the eye secth that such a beast is a horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, or. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being for such they bee in their owne natures. And againe out of the same Authour.; Dinina providentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quià si omnia euenirent ex necessitate, pramia bonorum, & pænamalorum periret; Diuine prouidence (layth he) imposeth no necessitie upon things that are to exist, for if all came to passe of necessitie, there should ne, ther be reward of good, nor punishment of enill.

### d. XIII.

### of Providence:

Ow Prouidence (which the Greekes call Pronoia) is an intellectuall knowledge; both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Prouidence by the Philosophers (faith Saint Augustine) is de-

uided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future; and we our selues account such a man for provident, 20 as, remembring things past, and observing things present, can by judgement, and comparing the one with the other, prouide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Prouidence, the Scriptures euery-where teach vs, Moses in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions: Christ himselfe and his Apostles affure vs hercof; and, besides the Scriptures, Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, I men acknowledge the Prouidence of God: Plato, Plotinus, and (in effect) all le at therein, as they refuse not to accompany

yea, the Turkes themselues are so con. lifeafes, nor fhun any perill whatfoeuer, and visit each other, in the most pesti though death therein doe manifestly

uidence, are so many, both in generall and 30 The places of Scripture proouing a few of them in this place. Sing wate God particular, as I shall need to repeat (fayth DAVID) which concrete the Heauens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, andmaketh the graffe to grow upon the Mountaines, which gineth to beafts their food, and feedeth the young Rauenthat cryes: all thefe wait upon thee, that thou maiest give them foodin due feason. And thou Shalt drinke of the River Cheareth (fayth God to Eliah) and I have commanded the Rauens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they fow not, nor reape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them : againe, are not two Sparrowes fold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father : yea all the haires of your head are numbred: And Saint Peter, Cast all your care on him, for becareth for you; And his judgements are written (fayth DAVID.)

God therefore, who is enery-where present, who filleth the Heauens and the Earth, whose eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance against them that doe enill, was therefore by Orpheus called, oculus infinitus, an infinite eye, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne Word: Gloriam meam alterinon dabo: I will not give my glory to another. No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is euery-where present, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuerfall Prouidence is seene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children: beafts and birds and all linings for their young ones. If Providence be found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Vniuersall: and if there 50 be a natural louing care in men, and beafts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose Dinine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniuersall: Amor diainus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum uniuersi (saith PLATO.) Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundicapula, partiumg, eius immobile sustentaculum, ac

CHAP.I. S.14.15. of the Historie of the World.

wniver (a machine fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and linke or charne of the world, and the immoueable piller of energy part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the universall. God therefore who could only be the cause of all, can onely Ich. ep. 1. c. 4. v. 8 prouide for all, and sustayne all; so as to absolute power; to enery-where presence; to perfect goodnesse; to pure and divine love; this attribute and transcendent habilitic of Providence is only proper and belonging.

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### d. XIIII.

### Of Predestination.

Ow for Predestination; we can difference it no otherwise, from Prouidence and Prescience, then in this, that Prescience only fore-seeth: Providence fore-feeth and careth for, and hath respect to al creatures, cuen from the brightest Angels of heaven, to the vinworthiest wormes Rom. 3. 29. of the earth, and Predestination (as it is vsed specially by Diuines) is only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their faluation properly, in the common vieot Divines, or perdition, as some have vied it. Yet Peter Lombard, Lomb. 1.3. diff. 39 20 Thomas, Bernen is Theologus, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, dift.23. and for a preparation to felicitie: divers of the Fathers take it more largely fome- Bern, in Probl. de times: among whom S. Augustine speaking of two Cities, and two Societies, vseth p.d. these wordes, Quarum est wna, que pradestinata est in aternum regnarecum Deo, altera a- Aug.l.15.0.1.de ternum supplicium subire cum Diabelo; Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to raigne Civit Dei. for ever with God, but the other is to undergoe everlasting torment with the Deuill : for according to Nonivs Marcellus, destinare est praparare; and of the same opinion cal. in cap. q. ad are many Protestant writers, as Caluin, Beza, Buchanus, Daneus, and such like and as Bezin maen, an for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the Divines; and why it not in cap. 9. ad hath pleased God to create some vessels of honor, and some of dishonor, I will Rom. 30 answere with Gregorie, who saith, Qui in fact is Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem Danaus, 1. 3. de fuam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that seeth no reason in the actions of Greg. Magn. God, by consideration of his owne infirmitie perceineth the reason of his blindnesse. And a- 100 9. gaine with S. Augustine, Occulta effecanfa potest, iniusta effenon potest; Hidden the ep. 59. cause of his Predestination may be, uniust it cannot be.

### d. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and against Reason and Providence.

Aftly, seeing Destinie or Necessitie is subsequent to Gods providence, and seeing that the Starres have no other dominion, then is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, Dei artem, vel artisticosum Dei Organum; The art, or artistical Organ of God: and Cvs Anvs, Divini precept instrumentum; The instrument of the divine precept: we

may then with better reason reiect that kinde of Idolatrie, or God of sooles, called Fortune or Chance: a Goddeffe, the most reuerenced, and the most reuiled of all oto ther, but not ancient; for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus, as Pausanias witnessethin his Messeniacks. The Greekes call her mxtw, signifying a relatine being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Lady was scarce heard of; and Hefiedus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfait gods, hath not a word of Fortune : yet afterward shee grew so great and omnipotent, as from senep. 91.

145.15. \* .Rco.1 V.4. Mat. 6.26

Pfal.147.S.

Pfa'.104.27.

Luke 12.6.7. 1.Pet. . . 7. Pfal.36.6.

Jer. 23.24.

Efii.42.8.

CHAP.I. S.15.

20

Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggers and Cottages, the ordered all things, relifting the wisdome of the wiselt, by making the Possessor thereof miserable: valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, insomuch as the actions of men were faid to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening Aur.vill.de per. in mens liues, but her pastimes: of which PALLADIVS, Vita hominum ludus fortuna timale Seniera est; The life of man is the play of Fortune: and because it often falleth out that entergest & often ducted, therefore had Fortune the same externall figure with Sapience: whereof ducted, therefore had Fortune the same externall figure with Sapience: whereof

rettene, isiant to have vied to ery out vpon Fertune, applying to her a Verse of Æschylus, Tu me extulisti, eademme is (sentio) perditum. 10

Longissime à Sapientia Fors dissides. Sed multa perficit tamen simillima.

From Wisedome Fortune differs farre. And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbeare to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and endeuours were for their varietie ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be 20 giuen, then was it attributed to Fortune as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: 20 thil eft ortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non pracesserit; Nothing euer came to passe under the Sunne, of which there was not a just preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one diffinction, what focuer may be objected; for many things there are (faith he) which happen, besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior; Prater intentionem inferioris, sed non prater intentionem superioris, (to with the ordinance of God; and therefore (faith Melanchton) Quod Poeta fortunam, nos Deum appellamus; Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God, and that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the law of Murder. He 30 that (miteth a man, and he die, shall die the death, and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. Now, where the Scripture hath these wordes, God hath offered him into bis hands, we say, if he hurt him by Chance: and in Deuteronomie the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby another is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune : and in the Prouerbs the fixteenth, The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord : so as that which feemeth most casuall and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wifer fort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero witnesseth for them, gathering the opi- 40 nion of Aristotle and his Sectators, with those of Plato, and the Academikes to this effect. That the same power which they called animam mundi: The soule of the world. was no other then that incomprehensible wisdome, which we expresse by the name of God, gouerning every being as well in heaven as in earth; to which wifedome and Cic.ac. quafi.l.t. power they sometime gaue the title of Necessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by ince uitable ordinance: sometime, the stile of Fortune, because of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certaine causes. To this effect speaketh S. Augustine in his questions vpon Genesis the first Booke: the same hath Seneca in his fourth of Benesis; which was also the doctrine of the Stocks, of which Sect he was: For what Joeuer (saith he) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced so by divers termes, according as he vieth, and exerciseth his power diversly. But it may be objected, that if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the

causes of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successes, how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy

and emptie-headed fooles; that riches and honor are given to externall men, and without kernell: and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and deiected estates. In a word there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partialitie of mans affection, but the falhioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the time wherein we line, for whosoener is mostable, and best sufficient to discerne, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth, if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourse then their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall euermore hang under the wheele, which kind 10 of deserving well and receiving ill, we alwayes fallly charge Fortune withall. For who soeuer shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not just, the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire, shall neuer be made a Counseller, a Captayne, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and inft with him that is inft, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperitie; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities, faile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attayne to honor and riches, but by fuch an observant slauish course? These men ha-20 uing nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfait kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them beleeve that all their vices are vertues, and all their dustie actions cristalline, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plausibus capitur; Euery foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others slittering applause: so as who soeuer will live altogether out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be vnfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the leason wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all forts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall neuer prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wife man, not to warre or contend 30 in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liueth: for such a one is often the authour of his owne miserie, but best it were to follow the aduice, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of Ouid, while the Arian Heresie raged:

Duns furor in carfu est, currenti sede furori.

Ouid. rem. am.

While furie gallops on the way, Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if Cicero (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed indge-40 ment) had followed the counsaile of his brother QVINTVS, Potuisset (saith PE-TRARCH) in lectulo suo mori, potuisset integro cadauere sepeliri; He might then have dyed the death of nature, and beene with an untorne and undiffeuered body buryed; for as Petrareb in the same place noteth : Quid stultius quam desperantem (prasertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari; What more foolish then for him that despaires, especially of the effect, to be entangled with endlesse contentions? Who so euer therefore will set before him MACHIAVELS two markes to shoote at (to wit) riches, and glorie, must set on and take off a back of yron to a weake woodden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he, that first denised to adde sayles to rowing vessells, did either so proportion them, as being fastened a loft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might 50 abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne inuention: fo that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, & cannot endure to hoise and strike his failes, as the diners natures of calmes & stormes require, must out his failes, and his cloth, of meane length and breadth, and content himselse with a slow and fure nauigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and

Senec.l.4.c.7.

Te facimus For-

tuna Deam, ca.

Exod.21.12.130

Verf.5.

Verf.33

Cap. 12. verf.6.

the rest, or of whatsoeuer Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let vs resolue with S. Paul, who hath taught vs, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord, lefus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

### CHAP. II.

## Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods reft.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

Gen.1.26.

Tri(m.Afcl.2. & de volunt.Dei. Plat.leg.l.I.



HE creation of all other creatures being finished, the heavens adorned, and the earth replenished, Go D faid, Let us make man in our owne Image, according to our likenelle.

10

40

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, ingensmiraculum homo, Man is the greatest wonder (saith PLATO out of MERCVRIVS:) 214tur a ardentissma artificium, The artificiall worke of the most ardent or fire-like nature (as faith Zoroaster) though the same be meant, not for any excellencie externall, 20 but in respect of his internal forme, both in the nature,

qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence immortall, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Ler of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Sanctum, quia mal, quia in mortali. In locum Ouid. Met J. z. 76.

Sanctius his animal menting, sapacius alta Deerat adbuc : & quod dominari in catera poffet, Natus homo est.

More holy then the reft, and understanding more A living creature wants, to rule all made before, So man began to be.

Of this Image and similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceiue, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire & Dominion, as S. Chrysoftome, Ambrose, and some others : which Saint Ambrose denyeth to the woman in these wordes, VE fieut Deus vnus, ab co fieret homo vnus, & quomodò ex Deo vno omnia, ità ex vnohomine omne genus effet super faciem totius terra : Vnus igitur vnum fecit , qui co unitatis eius haberei imaginem; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and shat in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be opon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one made one, that should have the Emage of his unitie. But whereas it is gathered out of the following wordes of the

same Verse, that man was after the image of God in respect of rule and power, it is witten Dominamini in the plurall number, and let them rule ouer the fill in the Sca, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that man is faid to be after the image of God in respect of his immortall soule only, because as God is inuisible, so the soule of man is inuisible, as God is immortall and incorporall, so is the foule of man immortall and incorporall; and as there is but one God which gouerneth the world, so but one soule which gouerneth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in every part of the body: Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The foule is wholly in the whole bo-10 dy, and wholly in every part thereof, according to Aristotle; though Chalcidius, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall never prove. These and the like arguments doe the lewes make (faith Toftatus) and these resemblances, betweene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties, (to wit) Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoft, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Si-20 militude diuers; and againe, they distinguish betweene imaginem Dei, and ad imaginem Dei, and spinne into small threds, with subtile distinctions, many times the plainenesse, and sinceritie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth through and diffolueth the pureft gold. Victorinus also maketh the image of God to be substantiall, but not the similitude : sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declaratinum; A word-declaring qualitie in the substance. Out of which wordes, and that which followeth, it is infer'd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ : so the sinnefull soule doth not therefore leave to be the image of God; but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. Augultine also against Adimantus the Manichee affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man, and 30 in his Retractations maintayneth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howfoeuer the Schoole-men and others diftinguish, or whatfoeuer the Fathers conceive, fure I am that S. Paul maketh the same sense of the image, which Victorines doth of the similitude, who saith: As we have borne the image of the earthly, 1.co.15.49. so shall we beare the image of the heavenly; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the wordes image and similitude were vsed but in one sense, and in this placethe better to expresse each other; what soener Lombard hath said to the contrary. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither Moles, the Prophets, or Spoffles, euer con-40 ceiued. Now as S. Paul vseth the word (image) for both: so S. Iames vseth the word (similitude) for both in these wordes: Therewith blesse we Godeuen the Father, and 1am.3.9. therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God: Howsoeuertherefore S. Augustine seemeth, out of a kinde of elegancy in writing, to make some difference, as where he writeth, Consitemur imaginem in aternitate, similitudinem in mori- Ve supra. bus inueniri; We confesse that this image is found in eternitie, but his similitude in manwers, that is, in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the minde, yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainely: Quasi verò posst esse imago aliqua in qua similitudonon sit : si Aug. vt sup. enim omnino similis non est, proculdubio nec imago est; As if (faith he) there could be any

image, where the similitude is not : no, out of doubt, where there is no likenesse, there is no 50 image. The very wordes of the Text make this most manifest, as, Let vs make man in car image, according to our likenesse: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may be like vs; and in the next Verse following, God himselfe maketh it plaine, for there he vseth the word (image) only, as thus: God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him. And to take away all dispute or ambiguitie, in the

Perfito.

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first Verse of the fift Chapter, the word (similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe. as-In the day that God created ADAM, in the likeneffe of God made he him. And this similitude S. Paul Colof, the third, calleth the image. Put on (faith he) the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him. And in Siracides it is written. He made them according to his image. Now if we may believe S. Paul before Peter Lombard and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it. that the image and fimilitude is but the same, for S. Paul vleth both the words directly in one fense. For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.

Rom. 1.23.

In Gen.

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both 10 Zanch, de ey, Dei in body and minde: Nislla pars in homine que non fuerit huiusce imaginis particeps , No part in a man (faith he) which was not participating Gods image: for God faid, Let vs make man according to our owne image. But the foule alone is not man, but the Hypoflalis or whole man compounded of body and foule. The body of man (faith he) is the Image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus; but the Idea and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne objection feemeth to me sufficient, where he alleageth, that it may be said, that Moses spake by the figure Synecdoche, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the body only: fo when God said, Let vs make man after our image, he meant 20 the soule of man, and not the body of earth and dust: Malediet us qui deisatem ad bominis lineamenta refert (faith S. Augustine,) Curfed is be that referreth the Deitie of God to the lineaments of mans body. Deus enim nonest humana forma particeps, neque corpus humanum diuina (faith PHILO,) God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme divine: The Hebrew word for image is Tlelem, which fignifieth a shaddow or obscure resemblance: In imagine pertransit homo: Man passeth away in a (haddow: Let vs then know and confider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his Nature & his Word; an error of the Anthropomorphita, against the very essence and Maiestie of God.

Surely Cicero, who was but a Heathen, had yet a more divine vnderstanding then 30 thele groffe Heretikes: Ad similitudinem Dei propius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura; The vertue which is in man (faith he) came neerer the similitude of God, then the figure. For God is a spirituall substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God: God is Mercifull: God is Charitie it selfe, and (in a word) Goodnesse it selfe, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himselfe to teach vs, and to make vs know of himselfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of fuch a nature, or wherin can man be faid to refemble his vnexcogitable power and perfectnesse? certainely, not in dominion alone: for the Deuill is said to be the Prince of this world, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, because man hath an immortall 40 foulc, and therein the faculties of Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, for the Deuils are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called Damones, because fcientes of Knowledge, and subtility; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are diftinguished from beasts: for who have rebelled against God? who haue made Gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemne

Oforius de Iuft.

Plat. in Cratyl.

Epb.6, 12.

10.18.36.

the opinion of S. Chrysoftome and Ambrose, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some fort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanyed with Iustice and Pierie: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Gouernor ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen 50

(or of the aire) and over the Beasts of the Field; but God gave vnto man a dominion ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Judges, to judge them in equitie. Neither doe I exclude Reason, as it is the abilitie of Vnderstanding. For I doe not conceiue, that Irenew did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was

anim al rationale only; but that he understood it better, with Sybilla: Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens: Man, that is endued with right reason, is said to resemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, and the same God to serue, loue, and obey : and therefore said Saint Augustine (who herein came neerer the Truth ) Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem (uam in mente God made man, in respect of the intellect, after his owne Image and similitude; and Rey-NERIVS; Homo, quod babet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei, Man was made after the Reyndement Image of God, in minde, or in that he had a minde.

à. I I.

Of the intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by sinne.

V T Mens is not taken here for anima physica, according to Aristotle, which is forma, vel natura hominis: The forme or nature of man; but this facultie or gift of God, called Mens, istaken for prima vis animi, the principall strength of the minde, or soule, cuius actius est perpetua veritatis

contemplatio, whose act, exercise, or office, is the perpetuall contemplation of truth; and therefore it is also called intellectus diuinus, intellectus contemplatiuus, & Pamander, anima contemplatina, A dinine under standing, and an intellect or minde contemplatine. Eft autem mens nostra (faith Cvs Anvs) vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus Demente.

comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuall minde (saith hee) is a power of Idiotalia. comprehending eyen the whole, that is in this kind powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: vnto which Mercurius attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the errour of the Manichees and others) and no otherwise separate from God (sayth hee) then the light from the Sunne: for this Mens or vnderstanding (sayth Mer cv-30 RIVS) eft Dew in hominibus: Is God in men, or rather (and which I take to be his mea- sen. Ep. 65. f. & ning)istheimage of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same essence or na. 31.f. ture with the dinine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created, fo is this Mens or understanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite understanding, but a power and facultie of our foules the purest; or the lumen anima rationalis, by the

of the foule, or with S. Augustine, the eye of the soule, or receptacle of Sapience and divine knowledge, qua amorem (apientia tanqu'am ducem sequitur, Which followeth after the love of sapience as her guide (saith Phile) betweene which and reason, betweene which and the minde, called anima, betweene which and that power which the La-40 tines call animus, there is this difference. Reason is that facultie by which wee judge and discourse; Anima, by which we live. Hereof it is said, Anima corpus animat, id eft, vinificat; anima, or the foule is that which doth animate the body, that is, gineth it life: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (sayth Philo) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this Anima, or mind, or soule in man. Animus, is that, by which wee will and make election; and to this Basil agreeth, which calleth this Mens, or divine understanding, perspicacem anima partem, the perceising part of the minde, or the light by which the Soule discerneth: dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur, & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet, In men that fleep it is this (mens) or under flanding, and not the minde or foule, which resteth, during

true and eternall light illightned. And this Mens others call animam anima, The foule

and not the Soule: for mad men doe live, though distract. Therefore this word being often vsed for the Soule giving life, is attributed abufinely to mad men, when wee say that they are of a distract minde, in stead of a broken understanding, which word (mind) we vse also for opinion, as, I am of this mind,

50 which time it is but habituall in wife men, and in madmen this (mens) is extinguished.

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Lib.g.cap.5

7 anch de oper-

Dei.part.3.lib.1.

6ap.2.

or that minde: and sometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, hee is of an honest minde, or, a man of a iust minde: sometimes for affection, as I doe this for my mindes fake; and Aristotle sometimes vseth this word (Mens) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is vsed in the proper signification, including both the vnderstanding agent & possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but having relation to that, which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus, a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderstand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion comming from without, and 10 apt to bee diffeuered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently MERCVRIVS: Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti praest, mens anima, anima corpori; The Soule (meaning that which giveth life) is the Image of this understanding, or Mens, and this (Mens) or understanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler ouer this under standing, this under standing over the Soule, and this Soule ouer the bodie. This division and distinction out of the Platonikes and Peripatetikes, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That, Mens humana hath no need of any organ, Marsilius Ficinus in his ninth Booke of the Soules immortalitie laboureth to proue. Zanchius doth not differ from Ficinus in words, for (fayth hee) ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanquam medio, per quod intelligat, quanquam 20 eget obiecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat: hoc autem obiectum funt phantasmata, scu rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiam prolata. To exercife the facultie of under standing, the mind of man (layth hee) needethno instrument, as a meane, by which it may under stand : but it needeth an object, whereon to looke, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phantasmes, or the resemblances of things received from the fense, and carried to the phantasie: But in effect his conclusion feemeth to carry a contrarie fense, when he maketh the Phantasie, in representing the obiect to the vinderstanding, to be a corporall Organum; neither can it be vinderstood to be an Organum of any thing; but of the understanding. And he addeth that the refemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his vnderstanding and minde, as 30 colours are to the fight: whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasie it felfe is to the facultie of viderstanding, as the eye is to the facultie of feeing, and as this is an Organum: fo that. Of this question, How the Mind in all her actions maketh vse of the body, and hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a most graue and learned Discourse in the last Reply of Master Doctor Bilson, late Bishop of Winchester, vnto Henry Iacob. Howsoeuer the Truth be determined, wee mnst conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which wee discourse, nor in respect of the minde it selfe, by which we liue, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which we are immortall, that we are made after the Image of God. But most safely may wee resemble our selues to God, in mente, and in respect of that pure facultie 40 which is neuer separate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all. For Saint Bernard maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, effence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God, whose words potem, qui juje arethese: Non proptere à imago Dei est, qui a sui meminit Mens, seg, intelligit & diligit intuitus Creato. (which was also the opinion of Saint AvgvsTINE) fed quia potest meminisse, intellige-

re ac diligere eum à quofacta est, (that is) The minde (or Mens) was not therefore the

Image of God, because it remembreth, understandeth, and loueth it selfe, but because it can re-

member, under stand, and love God, who created it. And, that this Image may bee defor- so med and made unprofitable, heare Basil: Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei

factus est, peccasum verò imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformanit : & inutilem reddidit; dum animam corruptis concupi scentia affectibus immersit: Man was made after the Image and similitude of GoD, but Sinne hath deformed the beautie of this Image, and made

Ad imaginem Deiercauit illum, id oft, (apientia, virtutis, ac bonitatis com rem agnosceret ri, prog, ingeny, preq auflerita-tis, fibi conceffe ratione fluderet.

it unprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupifcence.

Снатр.2. S.2.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortalitie, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these ioyned, by any of which, or by all which wee resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteousnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the mind and Soule of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberalitie, that wee were printed with the feale of Gods Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which iovned to the soule 10 is a part of the Essential constitution of our proper Species) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into Earth, and contriued within the Truncke of Dust and Clay, the inimitable habilitie of his owne Iustice, Pietie, and Righteousnesse.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are powerfull retaine the Image of God, as acording to his Commandements they exercise the Office or Magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the wayes of God, which in the Scriptures is called, walking with God; and all other men Gen, 5,22. fo long retaine this Image, as they feare, loue, and ferue God truely, (that is) for the loue of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his Seale by the waight of manifold 20 and voluntary offences, and obstinate sinnes. For the vniust minde cannot bee after the Image of God, seeing God is Iustice it selfe; The bloud-thirstie hath it not; for God is Charitie, and mercie it felfe: Fallhood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one foule, together with GoD; and to bee short, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darkenesse, 2.cor,6.16. betweene beautie and deformitie, or betweene righteousnesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common understanding, have made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodnesse, which the sensual foules of beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and imbrace the falle and durelesse pleasures of this Stage-play 30 World, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of Gods wisedome, and the liberalitie of his mercy, formed eves to our foules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impuritie of our flesh, behold the Highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Mind and Soule, to contemplate the euer-during glory, and termeleffe ioy, prepared for those, which retains the Image and similitude of their Creatour, preserving vndefiled and vnrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteousnesse, and true Holinesse, as saith Saint Paul. Now, whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by Saint Augustine, with whom Saint Ambrose iovneth, that, by finne, the perfection of the Image is loft, and not the Image it felfe; 40 both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for eyther it is confidered, according to naturall gifts, and confifteth therein: namely to have a reasonable and understanding nature,&c, and in this fense, the Image of God is more lost by sinne, then the very reasonable or understanding nature, &c. is lost: (or sinne doth not abolish and take away these naturall pifts) or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernaturall gifts, namely, of Divine grace, and heavenly glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of thenaturall Image; and this manner of similitude and Image of God, is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sinne.

ø. III.

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d. III.

of our base and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof should yeeld to the immortall Soule.

Arias Mont. de

HE externallman God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or according to the signification of the word, Adam of Adamath, of red Earth, or, ex limo terra, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath sides lex Earth and Water. Non ex qualibet bumo fed ex ghaphar adamath (ideft) ex pinguisima & mollisima: Not that Godmade an Image or Statue of Clay, but 10 out of Clay, Earth or dust God formed and made flesh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of man.

Gen. 18.27. Ieb.4.U.27.

Eccl. 12.14.

That Man was formed of Earth and Dust, did Abraham acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to saue Sodome: Let not my Lord now be anery, if I speake, I, that am but dust and ashes: And in these houses of Clay, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabite, according to lob, and though our owne eyes doe enerywhere behold the sudden and resistlesse assaults of Death, and Nature assureth vs by neuer-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times yon the Earth haue neither certaintie nor durabilitie, that our Bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diseases, and our Minds the Hiues of vnnumbred cares, sorrowes, and pathons: and that (when we are most glorified) wee are but those pain-20 ted posts, against which Enuie and Fortune direct their Darts; yet such is the true vnhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance, which couereth the eyes of our understanding, that wee only prize, pamper, and exalt this Vassall and Slaue of Death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprifoned immortall Soule, which can neyther dye with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of vertuous men; seeing Gods Iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for euermore, as the euer-liuing subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great accompt? neuer while wee haue one vanitie left vs to spend: we plead for Titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for Riches, while our strength enableth vs; exercise malice, while wee can reuenge; 30 and then, when Time hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature it selfe hateth the house of old age, we remember with lob, that wee must goe the way from whence we shall not returne, and that our bed is made ready for us in the darke; And then I fay, looking ouer-late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from vs all our lines, we behold therein the feareful Images of our actions past, and withall, this terrible inscription: That God will bring eneric worke into judgement, that man hath done under the Sunne.

But what examples have ever moved vs? what perswasions reformeds vs?or what threatnings made vs afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before vs, wee heare what is promifed and threatned: but the worlds bright glorie hath put out the 40 eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which we only see) doe neither looke up towards termeleffe ioyes, nor downe towards endleffe forrowes, till wee neither know, nor can looke for any thing else, at the worlds hands. Of which excellently Marius Victor.

> Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil denig morbi Egerunt, fuimus, quinunc famus, iff periclis Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur unquam, Sub vitus nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diseases, famine, enemies, in vs no change have wrought, What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare caught: No time can our corrupted manners mend, In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But let vs not flatter our immortall foules herein: for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to scorne, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. Frustrà Berant aui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur ; They hope in vaine, sayth Ber NARD, Bern in Plant which in this fort flatter themselves with Gods mercie.

d. IIII.

Of the Spirit of life, which Godbreathed into man, in his Creation.



N this frame and carcaffe God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing soule: (that is) God gaue to a Body of earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spirituall and incorruptible; not that Go D had any fuch bodily instruments as men vse, but God breathed the Spirit of life and immortalitie into man, as he breatheth his grace daily

into fuch as love and fearehim. The Spirit of God (faith EL IHV in IOB) hath made 100.33.44 20 me, and the breath of the Almightie hath given me life: In qua sententia (saith RABANVS) vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labijs suis inspirasse in faciem formati, vt viuere possit, & spiraculum vita habere : Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tua secerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id est) iuxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari, loquutus est: In which (entence (faith he) the beggerlineffe of carnall fenfe is to bee avoided, lest perhaps we should thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of (lime or breathed with lawes or lips upon his face (being formed) that hee might line, and have the Spirit of life: for the Prophet also when he faith; Thy hands have made me, spake this Tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the custome which men viein wor-30 king. Quantum est periculi hijs, qui Scriptur as sensu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a carnall fen (e? By this breath was infused into man both life and foule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call Animam, qua viuificat corpus, & animat, Which doth animate, & giue life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty gineth understanding, faith 10b; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to Godthat gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to Ecclesiases: And dust Shall returne to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall returne to God that gave Eccles 12.7. it. Neither is this word (spirit) vsually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, then for the foule; as when Stephen cryed vnto God: Domine, fuscipe spiritum meum; Lord Iefus, ABS 1.50. 40 receive my first; and in Saint IOHN, And Iefus bowed his head, and gave up the Ghost, 106.19.30. or spirit, (which was) that his life and soule left his body dead. And that the immortall foule of man differeth from the foules of beafts, the manner of the creation makethit manifest: for it is written, Let the waters bring forth in aboundance every creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the living thing, according to his kind, the beaft of the Earth, &c. But of Man it is written, Let vs make man in our owne Image, &c. and further, that the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life. Wherefore, as from the Wa- Gen. 17. ter and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life: so shall they againe be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath euerlasting, which God breathed into man, shall according to Eccle-50 fiastes, returne againe to God that gaue it,

Eccl.12.7.

 $D_3$ 

But

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13

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortalitie.



A N, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or modell. or briefe Storie of the Vniuerfall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and worke of the World, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a divine underflanding, by which he might contemplate and serue his Creatour, after

whose Image hee was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason to and other abilities, that thereby also he might gouerneand rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God created three forts of living natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giving to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beafts a sensuall nature, hee vouchsafed vnto Man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the sensitive of Beasts, and the proper rationall belonging vnto man; and therefore (faith GREGORY NAZIANZENE:) Homo est veriul an natura vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures : and because in the little frame of mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called Microcofmos, or the little ticipation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man valued on the parts thereof, therefore was man valued on the parts the parts the one of the parts the same when hee had Omnis in bomine at q, exiguo totum, interris statuit, God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom bee had crea ura, & ce made, as it were another world, the great and large World in the small and little World: for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the flesh of Man, and therefore heavie and 67. retr.l.1.c.2. lumpish; the bones of his body wee may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones. and therefore ftrong and durable; of which Ouid:

Arift.Phyf.lib.8.

Ouid Met.l.1.

Inde genus durum fumus, experiensa, laborum, Et documenta damus, qua simus origine nati:

From thence our kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care, Approving, that our bodies of a stonie nature are.

His bloud, which disperseth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the bodie, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by brookes and rivers over all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth, which the Earth hath in it selfe, which stirred up by the heate of the Sunne, assisted Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moisture, Oile, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the far and sertilitie of the Earth; the haires of mans bodie, which adornes or ouer-shadowes it, to the grasse, which concreth the vpper face and 40 skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandring and vnstable clouds, carried enery where with vncertaine winds; our eies, to the light of the Sun and Moone, and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Suns heat dry vp, and wither away, or the fierce puffes of wind blow them from the stalkes; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called Mens, and that which alwaies looketh vpwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwaies present with God; and lastly, our immortall soules while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his owne Image and similitude: And although, in respect of God, there is no man iust, or good, 50 or righteous: for in Angelis deprehensa est stultitis, Behold, hee found folly in his Angels, (faith 10b) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betweene the substance, and the shadow, there may bee found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the Image and similitude of his own righteousnes.

In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Vniuerfall (man being the measure of all things; Homo est mensura omnium rerum, faith Aristotle Aristo. Meand Pythagoras) that the foure Complexions refemble the foure Elements, and the taphica. f. feuen Ages of man the feuen Planets : Whereof our Infancie is compared to the Moone, in which wee seeme onely to line and grow, as Plants; the second Age to Mercurie, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to Venus, the dayes of loue, desire, and vanitie; the fourth to the Sunne, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to Mars, in which we feeke honor and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the fixth Age is ascribed to Iupiter, to in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our felues, and grow to the perfection of our vnderstanding; the last and seuenth to Saturne, wherein our dayes are fad and ouer-cast, and in which we finde by deare and lamentable experience, and by the losse which can neuer be repayred, that of all our vaine passions and affections past; the forrow only abideth : Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities; and by how much the more we are accompanied with plentie.by so much the more greedily is our end defired, whom when Time hath made vnfociable to others, we become a burthen to our felues: being of no other vse, then to hold the riches we haue, from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe 20 on vnto, withmany fighes, grones, and fad thoughts, and in the end, by the workemanship of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which we alwayes trauaile both sleeping and waking: neither have those beloued companions of honor and riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the promifes of glorious entertainments; but by what crooked path focuer we walke, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death : whose dores lye open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euer runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but neuer floweth againe: our Leafe once fallen, springeth no more, neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new Leaues and Flowers.

> Redditur arboribus florens reuirentibus atas, Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.

To which I give this fenfe, The plants and trees made poore and old By Winter enuious, The Spring-time bounteous Couers againe, from shame and cold: But neuer Man repayr'd againe His youth and beautie loft, Though arte, and care, and cost, Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine.

And of which

30

CATVLLYS, EPIGRAM. 526 Soles occidere & redire possunt: Nobis cum femel occidit breuis lux, Nox est perpeina una dormienda.

The Sunne may fet and rife: But we contrariwife Sleepe after our short light One euerlasting night.

For if there were any bayting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the Academickes, the same might also perpetually be

Iob.4.18.

maintayned; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the sap and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preserved, doth evermore ascend or descend: so is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either encreasing towards ripenesse and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottennesse and dis-

Of the free power, which man had in his first creation, to dispose of himselfe.

Hese be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all mankinde. vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconstrayned will. and on whom he bestowed the liberall choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to trie his gratitude and obedience. God fet before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a Nature celestiall and terrene, and

(indeed) God gaue man to himselfe, to be his owne guide, his owne workeman, and his owne painter, that he might frame or describe vnto himselfe what he pleased, and make election of his owne forme. God made man in the beginning (faith SIRACIDES) and left him in the hands of his owne counsaile. Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans 20 felicitie: whereas beafts, and all other creatures reasonlesse brought with them into the world (laith Lucilius) and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their Dammes, the nature, which they could not change; and the supernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforefaid) God gaue vnto man all kinde of seedes and grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the sensual of Beasts. the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels, wherof which some he tooke pleasure to plant and cultiue, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedome of the first man Adam, and our first Father, was ænigmatically described by Asclepius Atheniensis 30 (faith Mirandula) in the person and fable of Protess, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated Metamor-Pholes among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fayned, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutalitie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meeknesse to Crueltie, and from Iustice to Oppression. For by the lively image of other creatures did those Ancients represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents, were fignified Deceiuers; by Lyons, Oppressors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men giuen ouer to lust and sensualitie; by Wolues, rauening and greedie Men; which also S. Matthew resembleth to false prophets, Which come to you in 40 Theepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening Wolnes, by the images of stones and stocks, foolish and ignorant men, by Vipers, vngratefull men: of which S. IOHN BAPTIST, O yee generation of Vipers, Ge.

Matth.7.15.

Matth.3.7.

### è. VII.

Of Gods ceasing to create any more : and of the cause thereof, because the Vniuerfall created was exceeding good.

N this worke of Man, God finished the creation; not that God laboured 50 as a man, and therefore refted: for God commanded, and it was finished, Cui voluisse est feeise; With whom, to will is to make, saith Beda. Neither did God so rest, that he left the world made, and the creatures therein to themselves: for my Father worketh to this day (faith Christ) and I worke; but

God rested (that is) he created no new species or kindes of creatures, but (as aforefaid) gaue wnto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their feedes in themselves; and commanded man to multiply Gen. 1.28. and fill the earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their feuerall kindes: all which being finished, God saw that his workes were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they weres for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth, but he gave to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from fo good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and no from whose simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceede no impureor imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberall choyce, purchased by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the earth afterward curfed, and all creatures of the first age destroied but therighteous man 200ah, and his familie, with those creatures which the Arke contayned, referued by God to replenish the earth.

## CHAP. III. Of the place of Taradife.

That the feate of Paradise is greatly mistaken : and that it is no maruaile that men should erre.



ONCERNING the first habitation of man we reade, that the Lord God planted a Garden, Eastward, in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made, GEN. 2. 6. Of this seate and place of Paradise, all ages have held dispute; and the opinions and judgements have been in effect, as divers, among those that have written vpon this part of Genesis, as vpon any one place therein, feeming most obscure: some there are, that have conceiued the being of the terrestriall Paradise, without all regard of the worlds Geographie, and without any respect of East and West, or any consideration of the

place where Moles wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the heauens) the way how to finde out and judge, in what Region of the world this garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first interpretation, or trufting to their owne judgements, vnderstood one place for another; and one error is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousnesse thereof be not timely restrayned. And thirdly, those Writers which gaue themselues to follow and imitate others, were in all things to observant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and beleeved in, as they thought it safer to condemne their ownevn-50 derstanding, then to examine theirs. For (saith Vadianus in his Epistle of Paradis) Magnos errores (magnorum virorum auctoritate persuasi) transmittimus; We passe ouer many grosse errors, by the authoritie of great men led and perswaded. And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the vinderstanding of this place. I speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I reuerence both their

Iohn 5. 17.

2,Cer.12.2.

34

Matt.24.36.

Inde Ep.v.17. Job 28.12. 13. 4.18.

learning and their pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; Et humanum est errare. And to the end that no man should be proude of himselfe, God hath distributed vnto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wifest may behold in themselves their owne weaknesse: Nulli unquam dedit omnid Deus; God neuer gaue the knowledge of all things to any one, S. Paul confest that he knew not, whether he were taken vo into the third heauen in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himselfe acknowledgeth thus much. that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, feeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. Iude) who is only wife. Sapientia vbi innenitur? (faith IoB) but where is wisedome found? and where is the place of understan- 10 ding? man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the living. And therefore feeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgements (which inhabite in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our faluation dependeth not.

### ò. II.

### A recitall of strange opinions, touching Paradico.

Owas touching Paraduse, first it is to be enquired, whether there were a Paradile, or no? or whether Moles description were altogether mysticall, and allegoricall? as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius, with others have affirmed, and that vuder the names of those foure Rivers, Pilon, Gehon, Hidekel, and Perath. The tree of life, and the tree of Knowledge, there were

deliuered vnto vs other mysteries and significations; as, that by the foure Riuers were meant the foure Cardinall vertues, Iustice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence, or (by other) Oyle, Wine, Milke, and Honny. This Allegoricall understanding of Paradife by Origen divulged, was againe by Franciscus Georgius received (faith Sixtus Senensis) whose friuolous imaginations Sextus himselfe doth fully and learnedly an- 20

swere, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Booke, fol. 338. the last Edition.

Bartaf, fem. 2.

1.1.143.

S. Ambrofe also leaned wholly to the Allegoricall construction, and set Paradife in the third heaven, and in the vertues of the minde, & in nostro principali, which is, as I conceiue it in mente, or in our foules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this fort. By the place or garden of Paradife, was meant the foule or minde; by Adam, Mens, or Vnderstanding; by Eue, the Sense; by the Serpent, Delectation; by the Tree of good and enill, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, vpon the first of the Corinthians, cap. 6. he in direct wordes alloweth both of a celestiall and terrestrial Paradife; the one, into which S. Paul was rapt; the other, 40 into which Adam was put by God. Aug. Chrysamensis was of opinion, that a Paradise had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the same being not onely defaced, but withall the places now not fo much as existing. To which Luther seemeth to adhere.

The Manichees also understood, that by Paradife was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion Vadianus inclineth, as I conceiue his wordes in two seuerall places. First, vpon this: Fill the earth, GEN. 10. Of which he giueth this judgement. Hoe ipfo etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini vniuer sis animantibus, subijcite terram, clarisime docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (vt tum erat) fructibus consitam, sedem & hortum illud AD &, & posteritatis futura fuisse; These wordes (saith he) in which 10 God faid, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule ouer euery creature, doe cleerely shew, that the Vninersall earth set or filled with all forts of fruits (asthenit was) was the garden and seate of ADAM, and of his future posteritie. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the Atts the 17. Apostolus ex uno fanguine omne genus humanum aded factum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem terra: totaigitur terra Paradifus ille crat; The Apostle (faith he) teacheth, that God bath made of one bloud all mankinde, to dwell ouer all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (faith he) was that Paradif. Which coniectures I will answere in order. Goropius Becanus differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that Adam was first planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place Goropius findeth neere the Riner of Acesines, in the confines of India.

Tertullian, Bonauenture, and Durandus, make Paradije vnder the Equinoctial, and Bert. Postellus, quite contrarie, under the Worth pole: the Chaldeans also for the most part. 10 and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of Origen, or rather Origen theirs, was would either make Paradise a figure, or Sacrament only, or else would have it scatego out of this sensible world or raysed into some high and remote Region of the Aire. Strabus, and Rabanus, were both ficke of this vanitie, with Origen, and Philo: fo was our venerable Beda, and Pet. Comeftor, and Moses Barcephas the Syrian, translated by Masius. But as Hopkins sayes of Philo Indens, that he wondred, Quo malo genio affla. P. tus: By what euill Angell he was blowne up into this error: fo can I not but greatly marnaile at these learned men, who so grosly and blindly wandred; seeing Moses, and Par. after him the Prophets, doe so plaintly describe this place, by the Region, in which it was planted, by the Kingdomes and Prouinces bordering it, by the Riuers which 20 watered it, and by the points of the Compasse vpon which it lay, in respect of Indaa, or Cansan.

Nouismagus also, vpon Beds, De natura rerum, beleeueth that all the Earth was taken for Paradife, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (faith he) hath the same beautie adscribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Ocean was that Fountayne, from whence the foure Rivers, Pifon, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it possible, that these Rivers of Ganges, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates, (whereof the one ranne through India, the other through Egypt, and the other two through Mesopotamia and Armenia) could rise out of one Fountayne, were it not out of the Fountayne of the Ocean.

### III.

### That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrie of Eden.



O the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of Moses make it manifest, where it is written, And the Lord God Gen. cap. 2. planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made. And howfoeuer the vulgar translation, called Hieromes translation, hath converted this place thus, Plantauer at Dominus Deus Para-

AO disum voluptatis à principio: The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, and (from the beginning) for Eastward: It is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what sense haththis translation (saith our Hopkins, in his Treatise of Paradise) that he planted a garden in pleasure, or that a River went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the Teventie Interpreters call it Paradifum Edenis, the Paradife of Eden, and so doth the Chaldean Paraphrast truely take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Noune appellatine; which Region in respect of the sertilitie of the soile, of the many beautifull Rivers, and goodly Woods, & that the trees (as in the Indies) doe alwaies keepe their leaves, was called Eden, which fignifieth in the Hebrew, pleafantnesse or delica-'50 cie, as the Spaniards call the Countrie, opposite to the Isle of Cuba, Florida: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as Florida was a Countrie, so called for the flourishing beautic thereof, so was Eden a Region called pleasure, or delicacie, for the pleasure, or delicacie: and as Florids signifieth flourishing: so Eden signifieth pleasure, and yet both are the proper

Verf.26.

Veif.16.

John 8. 44.

Gen.3.24.

names of Countries; for Eden being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the Hebrew) and Paradife being the choice seate of all that Region, Paradife was

truely the Garden of Eden, and truely the Garden of Pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrarie to the translation of the Seuentie; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as Bafil, Chryfostime, Theodoret, Gregorie; and to the Rabbines, as Ramban, Rabbi Salomon, R. Abraham, and Chimchi; and of the Latines, Seuerinus, Damascenus, &c. who plainely take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and let the word (Eastward) for ab initio: for Damascens owne wordes are thele, Paradifus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter consitus; Paradise is a place, maruailousty planted by the hands of God, in Eden, to-10 ward the East.

And after all these Fathers, Guilhelmus Parisiensis, a great learned man, and Sixtus Senensis, of later times, doe both understand these words of Eden, and of the East, contrarie to the vulgar translation; Parisiensis, as indifferent to both, and Sixtus Senensis, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne wordes: After this I will beginne to (peake of Paradise terrestriall, which God planted from the beginning or Eastward, &c. Posthac incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantâsse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c. And then Senensis; Moses enim claristime prodit, Paradifum & Des consitumin regione terra Orientalis, qua dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. vbi legimus CH AM habitaffe ad Orientalem plagam 20 Heden; For Moses (faithhe) doth thew most cleerely, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrie, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden. PERERIVS endeuoureth to qualifie this translation: for this particle (faith he) ab initio, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleaging this place of Christ, that although the Deuill was said to be a man-flayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the fixth day. But furely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better judgement) the Deuill was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans creation. And for conclusion, S. Hierome (if that be his translation) adui- 30 feth himselse better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, converting the word (Eden) by (ante) and not (à principio) as, God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden; Collocauit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin; and Pererius himselfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin; He set on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin. BECANVS affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (Be) fignifieth (with) aswell as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But Becanse followeth this construction, only to the end, to finde Paradise vpon the River of Acesines: for there he hath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be 40 the tree of Knowledge of good, and euill, and would therefore draw Paradise to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answere hereafter.

Now, because Paradise was seated by Moses toward the East, thence came the custome of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the Chaldeans: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sunne riseth in March, which is directly ouer Paradife (faith Damafcenus:) affirming, that we alwayes pray towards the East, as looking towards Paradise, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of Salomon had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themfelues in their feruice and divine ceremonies, alwayes toward the West, thereby to avoid the superstition of the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although Paradise were East from Iudaa, yet it was West from Persia) and the seruing of God is every where in the world, the matter is not great which way we turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from Paradife, and pray turning our felues towards the East, may remember thereby to befeech God, that as by Adams fall we have lost the Paradife on Earth: so by Christs death and passion we may be made partakers of the Paradife celestiall, and the Kingdome of Heauen. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other mysterie in adding the word (East) to Eden by Moses, then to shew, that the Region of Eden, in which Psradise was, lay Fashward from Indea and Canaan: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of those Nations, the Sonnes of the East, which inhabited Arabia, Mesopotamic, Chaldaa, and Persia: of which Ouid:

> Eurus ad Auroram, Nabatean, regnarecest, Persidag, & radys inga subdita matutinis.

The East wind with Aurora hath abiding Among th' Arabian, and the Persian Hils, Whom Phabus first salutes at his vp-rising.

And if it be obiected, that Hieremie the Prophet threatning the destruction of Hierusalem, doth often make mention of Northerne Nations, it is to bee noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed Nabuchodonofor, 20 and of whom the greatest part of his Armie was compounded; not that Babylon it selfestood North from Hierusalem, though inclining from the East toward the

Now to the difference of this Translation, Peter Comestor giveth best satisfaction: for he vseth the word, From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the world, (A principio) id est (fayth hee) à prima orbis parte, and afterward hee affirmeth, that (d principio, and ad Orientem) have the same signification; From the beginning and East-

ward is all one, à principio idem est quod ad Orientem.

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the fecond Chapter and ninth Verse, in these 30 words: For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow enery Tree pleasant to the fight, and good for meate, &c. fo as first it appeared that God created Adam elsewhere, as in the World at large, and then, put him into the Garden: and the end why, is exprest: that hee might dreffe it and keepe it; Paradife being a Garden or Orchard filled with Vafe 18. Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that Paradife was a terrestriall Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and tafte. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall construction, hee affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expressing also the Region, out of which this River sprang, vale 10. which he calleth Heden; and that Heden is also a Countrie neere vnto Charan in Me- Exch. 6.27.23. 40 (opotamia, Ezechiel witnesseth.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, Epiphanius answereth in these wordes: Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, sinon est fons, non est flumen, sinon est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia. non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non folia, non comedit Ev A de arbore, non est ADAM, non sunt homines, sed verit as iam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias renocantur: If Paradife be not fensible, then there was no fountaine, and then no Riner, if no River, then no such four e heads or branches, and then not any such River as Pison, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no such Fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves, Ev = then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any AD AM, or any man, the truth was but a Fable, and all things effec-50 med are called backe into Allegories. Words to the same effect hath Saint Hierome vpon

DANIEL: Contice Cant corum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam conantur euertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumma, & arbores putent Allegoria Legibus fe debere subruere, Let the dotages of them bee silent, who following shadowes and Images in the Truth, endeuour to subvert the Truth it selfe, and thinke that they ought

Ezech.31.9.

Gen.13.10.

to bring Paradife, and the Rivers and the Trees under the rules of Allegorie.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifest. For God gaue Adam free libertieto eate of euery Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees Moles in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eate; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to Adam to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third Heauen, nor neere the Circle of the Moone, nor beafts in imagination : for if all these things were Enygmaticall or Mysticall, the same might also bee said of the creation of all things. And Exechiel speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings vseth this speech: All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, enuied him, which to proueth both Eden, and Paradise therein seated to bee terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But Moses wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, sit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of Paradise, then in any other place of Scripture; of purposeto take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inventions, and that if he had not described both the Region and the Riners, and how it stood from Canaan, many of the vnbeleeing I fraelites, and others after them, would have misconstrued this Storie of Mankind. And is it likely, there would have beene so often mention made of Paradise in the Scriptures, if the fame had beene an Vtopia? For we find that the Valley, wherein Sodome and Gomorrha 20 flood, (sometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vnnaturall sinne purchased) compared to the Paradise of the Lord, and like to the Land of Agypt toward Zoar; In like manner was Ifrael refembled to the Paradise of God, before the Babylonians wasted it: which proueth plainly, that Paradise it selfe exceeded in beautie and fertilitie, and that these places had but a refemblance thereof: being compared to a feat and foyle of farre

Besides, whence had Homer his invention of Alcineus Gardens, as Iustin Martyr noteth, but out of Moses his description of Paradise? Gen.2. and whence are their prayses of the Elisian fields, but out of the Storie of Paradise? to which also apper- 20

taine those Verses of the Golden Age in Ouid:

Ouid, Metamilia

Ver erat aternum, placidig, tepentibus auris Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.

The joyfull Spring did euer last. And Zephyrus did breed Without the helpe of feed Sweet flowres by his gentle blaft.

And is manifest, that Orphus, Linus, Pyndarus, Hesiodus, and Homer, and after him, ouid, one out of another, and all these together with Pythagor as and Plato, and their Sectatours, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the stolne Treasures of Diuine Letters, altered by prophaneadditions, and disguised by poeticall conuersions, as if they had beene conceined out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region Heden or Eden was; if we proue the River that ranne out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of Hauila and Cush, and that all these are Eastward from Canaan, or the Desarts of the Amorites, where Moses wrote, 10 I then conceine, that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the Allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for aswell in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint Augustine)

Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententia: una est eorum, qui tantummo do corporaliter Paradicum intelligi volunt: alia corum, qui firitualiter tantum (id est ) Ecclesiam: tertia corum, qui vtroq, modo Paradi/um accipiunt, (that is) There are three opinions of Paradile: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporall: a second of those which conceine it altogether spirituall, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both lenles; which third opinion Saint Augustine approueth, and of which Suidas gi- Aug. de Civit. ueth this allowable iudgement : Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul Suidas in verbo conditus erat : sic & huius santissimum nemus, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici Paradissis. specie est praditum, (that is) As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: 10 To was this holy Grove or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.

### ò. IIII.

Why it (hould bee needfull to intreate diligently of the place of Paradife.



Снар.3.5.4.

🔊 V T it may be objected, that it is needleffe, and a kind of curiofitie to enquire so diligently after this place of Paradise, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vie. To which I answere, that there is nothing written in the Scriptures, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necessary, then by the place proued, the same is

also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that Paradise were not on the Earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence Adm was fayd to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into Iudes, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit vnto it. For what could feeme more ridiculous then the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this feare of Paradife formuch diffouted and doubted of, but the conceit that Pilhon should bee Ganges, which watereth the East India, and Schon, Nilus, which enricheth Agypt, and these 20 two Rivers fo far diffant, as (except all the World were Paradife) thele streames can no way be comprized therein?

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Saujour, were faid to have beene in some such Countrey, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his Miracles had beene performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I affure my felfe, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a slender roote in the minds of men; for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should relye, or give place to the judgements of some Writers vpon this place of Genefis (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no fable among the Grecians or Ægyp-40 tians more ridiculous: for who would beleeve that there were a piece of the World fo fet by it felfe and separated, as to hang in the Ayre vnder the Circle of the Moone? or who so doltish to conceine, that from thence the foure Rivers of Ganges, Nilus, Euphrates, and Tigris, should fall downe, and runne under all the Ocean, and rife vp againe in this our habitable World, and in those places where they are now found? Which lest any man thinke, that I enforce or straine to the worst, these are Peter Comestors owne words. Est autem locus amænissmus, longo terra & maris tractu à nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeò eleuatus, ut usq, ad Lunarem globum attingat, &c. (that is) It is a most pleasant place, seuered from our habitable Zone by along tract of Land and Sea, elevated fo, that it reacheth to the Globe of the Moone.

And Moses Barcephas upon this place writeth in this manner: Deinde hoc quog re- Barcaconuerted Sponsum volumus, Paradisum muliò sublimiore positum esse regione, atq, hec nostra extet by Masim. terra, eog, fieri, vt illine per pracipitium delabantur fluui tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; eog impetuimpulsi pressig, sub Oceani vada rapiuntur, vnderurfus profiliant ebulliant g in hoc à nobis culto orbe : which have this fense : Furthermore

CHAP.3. S.5.

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(fayth he) we give this for an answere, that Paradise is set in a Region farre raysed about this part which wee inhabite; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these Rivers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as words cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and press, they are carried under the deepe Ocean, and doe againe arise and boyle up in this our habitable World: and to this he addeth the opinion of Ephram, which is this. Ephram dicit Paradifum ambire terram, at g. ultra Oceanum ita positum esfe, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atý, Luna orbis Lunam cingit, (which is) That Paradife doth compasse or embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every fide, as the Orbe of the Moone dothembrace the Moone. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and 10 opinions doe not bring question vnto Truth it selfe, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discouer the true place of Paradise, which God in his wisdome appointed in the very Nauel of this our World, and (as Melanchton faies) in parte terrameliore, in the best part the reof, that from thence, as from a Centre; the Vniuerfall might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, wee thall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for neere vnto this did the Sonnes of Noah also disperse themselues after the Floud, into all other remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to vnderstaud the place of our first Ancester, 20 from whence all the streames and branches of Mankind haue followed and beene deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that fuch a place there was as Paradife, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine the seuerall opinions before remembred, by the Truth it selfe; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to prooue directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.

## That the Floud hath not otterly defaced the markes of Paradife, nor caused

No first, whereas it is supposed by Aug. Chysamensis, that the Floud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such fort, as no man can find any marke or memory thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Floud the cause of those high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth ouer, with many other

strange effects) for my owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to bee true. For although I cannot denie, but that the face of Paradise was after the Floud 40 withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no signe of any such place, or if the soile and seate had not remained, then would not Moses, who wrote of Paradife about 850. yeeres after the Floud, haue described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after Moses would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it selfe were not then to bee found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made tone common field and pasture with the Land of Eden, yet the place is still the same, and the Rivers still remaine the same Rivers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, Tigris, and Euphrates, wee are fure to find in what longitude Paradife lay; and learning out one of these Rivers, which afterward 50 doth divide it selfe into foure branches, wee are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of Eden went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine Translation (Inde) from thence, be referred to Eden it

selfe, or to Paradife, yet the division and branching of those Rivers must bee in the North or South side of the very Garden (if the Rivers runne as they doe, North and South) and therefore these Rivers yet remaining, and Eden manifestly knowne, there could be no fuch defacing by the Floud, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages know it not, so is there no probability, that eyther these Rivers were turned out of their courses, or new Rivers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud (as aforefaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hils, or deepe Vallies. For what descent of waters could there bee in a Sphericall and round bodie, wherein to there is nor high nor low? feeing that all violent force of waters is eyther by the ftrength of winde, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or floud of the Sea. But that there was any winde (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, Therefore God made a General winde to passe upon the Earth, and the waters ceased. So as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters sanke, there was any winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodnesse, caused the winde to blow, to dry up the abundant slime and mudde of the Earth, and make the Land more firme, and to cleanfe the Ayre of thicke vapours and vnholesome mists; and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe euermore diffeuer the violence of outragious winds, and beat downe, and levell 20 the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbes and flouds there could be none, when the waters were equall and of one heighth ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfes to receive a Floud, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the Earth and waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calme, then that they moued with any raging or ouer-bearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the Floud made no fuch destroying alteration, Ioseph. anoweth that one of those pillars erected by Seth, the third from Adam, was to bee seene in his dayes, which Pillars were set vp aboue 1426. yeeres before the floud, counting Seth to be an hundred yeeres old at the erection of them, and 30 Ioseph. himselfe, to have lived some 40.or 50. yeeres after Christ: of whom although there be no cause to beleeue all that he wrote, yet that, which hee auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seene. Now that fuch Pillars were rayled by Seth, all Antiquitie hath anowed. It is also written in Berofus (to whom although I give little credit, yet I cannot condeme him in all) that the Citie of Enoch built by Cain, about the Mountaines of Libanus, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof Annius (who commented vpon that invented Fragment) faith, were to be seene in his dayes, who lived in the Raigne of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile; and if these his words bee not true, then was hee 40 exceeding impudent. For, speaking of this Citie of Enoch, he conclude thin this fort: Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Ciuitas Cain, vt nostri mercatores, & peregrini referent; The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the Citie of Cain, as both our strangers and Merchants report. It is also anowed by Pomponius Mela, (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the Citie of Ioppa was built before the Floud, ouer which Cepha was King: whose name with his Brother Phineus, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found grauen vpon certaine Altars of stone; and it is not unpossible, that the ruines of this other Citie, called Enoch by Annius, might be seene, though founded in the first Age: but it could 50 not be of the first Citie of the World, built by Cain, the place, rather then the time, Gen.4.17. denying it.

And to prooue directly, that the floud was not the cause of Mountaines, but that there were Mountains from the Creation, it is written, that the waters of the floud ouerflowed by fifteene Cubits the highest Mountaines. And Masius Damascenus speaking of

Gcn. 2.10.

the Floud, writeth in this manner. Et supra Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia ( qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos fermo est diluny tempore liberatos, And upon Minyada there is an high Mountaine, in Armenia (called Baris) unto which ( as it is faid) that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they faued themselves thereon. Now although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were faued then eight persons (which Masims doth not auouch, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such Mountaines were before the Floud, which were afterwards, and euer since, knowne by the same names; and on which Mountaines it is generally received that the Arke rested: but vntruely, as I shall prooue heereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount Sion (though by another name) was knowne before the Floud: on which to the Thalmudists report, that many Giants faued themselues also, but (as Annus faith)

without all authoritie, eyther Diuine or Humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Floud did not so turne vpside-downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased. by this that, when No AH sent out the Doue the second time, she returned with an Oliveleafe in her mouth, which shee had pluckt, and which (vntill the Trees were discouered) shee found not: for otherwise shee might have found them floting on the water; a manifest proofe, that the Trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written: folium Oliua, raptum or decerptum, aleafe pluckt, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing writ- 20 ten to the contrarie) that the Floud made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of Paradise might be seene to succeeding Ages, especially vnto Moses, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and vnto the Prophets which succedeed him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discouerie.

That Paradifewas not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to beethe fountaine of those foure Rivers.

His conceit of Aug. Chyfamensis being answered, who only giueth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichies, of Nouiomagus, Vadianus, Goropius Becanus, and all those that vnder-Rood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places

of Scripture formerly remembred, this Vniuersalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which Vadianus alleageth, Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and Subdue it, rule over every Creature, &c. with this of the Alts, and hath made of one bloud all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth, doe no way proue such a generali- 40 tie: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Gouernour, and all things therin were ordained of God for his vse: Now although all men were of one and the same fountaine of bloud originally; and Adams Posteritie inhabited in processe of time ouer all the face of the Earth; yet it disproueth in nothing the particular Garden, affigned to Adam, to dreffe and cultiue, in which he lived in so bleffed an estate before his transgression. For if there had beene no other choice, but that Adam had bin left to the Vniuersall; Moses would not then have sayd, East ward in Eden, seeing the World hath nor East nor West, but respectively. And to what end had the Angell of God beene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into Paradise after Adams expulsion, if the Vniuersall had beene Paradife? for then must Adam have beene 50 chased also out of the World. For if All the Earth were Paradise, that place can receiue no better construction then this, That Adam was driven out of the World into the World, and out of Paradife into Paradife, except we should beleeve with Metrodorus, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to denie, hee thinkes all one, as to affirme, That in fo large a field, as the vninerfall, there should grow but one thistle. Novio-MAGVS vpon Beda, seemeth to beled by this, that it was vnpossible for those three Riners, Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates (which water three portions of the World fo farre distant) to rise out of one Fountayne, except the Ocean be taken for the Well. and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those foure Rivers, being so vnderstood, there could be no coniecture more probable; but it shall plainely appeare, that Pilon was falsly taken for Ganges, and Gehon fallly for Nilus, although Ganges be a River by Hauilah in India, and Wilus runne through Ethiopia. The Seventie write Chus for Athiopia, and thereto by the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of Nouiomagus, Goropius, and Vadianus, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture farre more probable, then that of Ephram, Cyrillus, and Athanasius: That Paradise was seated farre beyond the Ocean Sea, and that Adam waded through it, and at last came toward the Countrie, in which he was created, and was buryed at Mount Caluary, in Hierusalem. And certainely, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many yeeres after the floud, yet Adams shin-bones must have contayned a thousand fadome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is lo ridiculous, as it needes no argument to disproue it.

d. VII.

Of their opinion, which make Paradife as high as the Moone : and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the ayre.



Hirdly, whereas Beda faith, and as the Schoole-men affirme, Paradife to be a place, altogether removed from the knowledge of men (locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus) and Barcephas conceiued, that Paradise was farre in the East, but mounted about the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the

Schoole-men charge Beda withall, yet Pererius layes it off from Beda vpon Strabus, and his Master Rabanus: ) and wheras Rupertus in his Geographie of Paradife, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neerest heaven; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of Plato, and Plato out of Socrates; but neither of them (as I conceive) well vnderstood: who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for heauen it felfe, into which the foules of the bleffed were carryed after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the Areopagites (in this Diog. Lacrt.in and many other divine apprehensions) set downe what they beleeved in plaine sco. termes, especially Plato: though Socrates in the end suffered death, for acknowledge. 40 ing one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wifest man. Instine Martyr affirmeth, Instin. Mart. that Plato had read the Scriptures; and S. Augustine gauethis judgement of him, as Aug. his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both Tertullian and Eusebius conceine, that Socrates, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall Paradise, and not this of Eden. Solinus, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of Mount Atho (called Acrothonos) which being about all clouds of rayne, or other inconuenience, the people (by reason of their many yeeres) are called Macrobioi (that is) Long-lined. A further argument is vsed, for proofe of the heighth of this 50 place, because therein was Enoch preserved from the violence of the floud: approued by Isidore, and Peter Lombard; in which place also Tertullian conceived, that the bleffed foules were preserved till the last judgement; which Ireneus, and Instine Martyr also beleeved. But this opinion was of all Catholike Dinines reproved, and in the Florentine Councell damned; of which S. Augustine more modestly gaue this

Gen.2.8.

Gen.1.28.

Ačis 17.26.

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GC# 8.17.

3. 24.

iudgement. Sicut certum est Enoch & Eliam nune viuere: ita vbi nune sunt. an in Paradifo an alibi, incertumest; (that is) As it is certaine that Enoch and Elias dee now line : fo where they now line, in Paradife or elsewhere, it is uncertayne. But Barcephas giues a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necesfarie that Paradife should be fet at such a distance and heighth, because the source Riuers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselues under the great Ocean, and afterwards have forced their passage through the earth, and have risen againe in the farre distant Regions of India, Egype, and Armenia.

These strange fancies and dreames have beene answered by divers learned men to long fince, and lately by Hopkins and Pererius writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeate these few: for to vie long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanitie in

the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inventer.

It is first therefore alleaged, that such a place cannot be commodious to liue in: for being fet so neere the Moone, it had beene too neere the Sunne, and other heauenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have beene too ioyn& a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the aire in that Region is so violently moued, and carryed about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according 20 to Ptolemie and Alfraganus) is seuenteene times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes by a groffe account about one hundred and twentie thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that Paradife, being raised to this heighth, must have the compasse of the whole earth for a Basis & foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing it would depriue vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, Tostatus addeth this, that those people which dwell neere those falls of waters, are deafe from their infancie, like those which dwell neere the Catadupa, or ouer-falls of Nilus. But this I hold as fayned. For I have seene in the Indies, far greater water-falls, than those of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling 30 neere them, are not deafe at all. Toftatu (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth Basil and Ambrosetogether: to which Pererivs, Sed ego hac apud BASILIVM & AM-BROSIVM in corum scriptis, que nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini; But I doe not remember (faith he) that I ever read those things, either in BASIL or AMBROSE.

But for the bodies of Enoch and Elias, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdome. Their taking vp might be into the celestiall Paradise, for ought we know. For although flesh and bloud, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heaven, and the seede must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all 1.co.15.36.51. die (faith S. PAVL) but all shall be changed; which change, in Enoch and Elias, was cafieto him that is Almightie. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the 40 floud all perished on the earth, saving eight persons, and therefore in the terrestrials

Paradife they could not be.

For Toftasss his owne opinion, who foared not altogether so high as the rest, but beleeved that Paradise was raysed above the middle Region of the aire, and twentie cubits about all Mountaines, that the floud did not therefore reach it: (which Scotus and other later Schoole-men also beleeved; for, say they, there were no sinners in Paradife, and therefore no cause to ouer-whelme it:) this is also contrarie to the expresse letter of the Scripture: which directly, and without admitting of any distinction teacheth vs, that the waters over-flowed all the mountaynes under heaven. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell give credit to Masius Damascenus, and the Thalms- 50 diffs, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that faued themselues on the Mountayne Baris, and on Sion. But to helpe this, Scotus, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of diffinctions, faith; That the waters stood at Paradije, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Iordan; and as the floud was not naturall, so was Paradise saued

by miracle. And Thomas Aquinas qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not beleeved, that Paradise was so seated, as Beda and others seeme to affirme in wordes, but by Hyperbole and comparatively, for the delicacie and beautie so resembled. But this I dare anow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding wittie, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, then to resolue, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of Tostatus, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaynes of Olympus, Atho, and Atlas, ouer-reach and furmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, facri-10 ficing on these Mountaine tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their facrifices) blownethence, nor thence washt off by raines, when they returne : yet experience hath resolued vs, that these reports are fabulous, and Plinie himselfe (who was not foaring in the report of wonders) anowerh the contrarie. But were it granted, yet the heighth of these Mountaynes is far under the supposed place of Paradife; and on these selfe Hills the ayre is so thinne (saith S. Augustine, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to beare up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any fensible resistance of ayre to mount her selfe by.

d. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate Paradise under the Aquinoctiall: and of the pleasant habitation under the (e Climates.

Hose which come neerer vnto reason, finde Paradise vnder the Equino-Ctiall line, as Tertullian, Bonauenture, and Lurandus: iudging, that therevnder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertilitie of soile: but against it Thomas Aquinas obiecteth the distemperate heate, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the Sunne; but this is

30 (non causa pro causa) for although Paradise could not be under the line, because Eden is farre from it, in which Paradife was; and because there is no part of Euphrates, Tigris, or Ganges under it, (Ganges being one of the foure Rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Countrie, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the Aquinottiall, did so much the more exceede in heate; It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Countries which were fituated directly under it, were of a distemper uninhabitable: but it feemeth that Tertullian conceived better, and so did Auteenne, for they both thought 40 them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those dayes it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now finde, that if there be any place you the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight, that Paradife had, the same must be found within that supposed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerest to the line it selfe. For hereof experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and

prouide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that fuch inconueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by tryall and the witnesse of mens trauailes, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or 50 as a fruitlesse lump to falhion out the rest. For, God himselfe (faith I s A y ) that formed 1/49 45.18. the earth and made it, he that prepared it he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited. Now we finde that the se hottest Regions of the world, seated under the E. quino Elial line, or neere it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easternely winde (which the Spaniards call the Brize, that doth enermore blow strongest in the heate

could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeede it hath so pleased God to

Sen.7.19.

Cicero Soma.

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of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne cannot so much master it, that there is any inconvenience or distemperate heate found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equall, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seene, neere the Line and vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Onely there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountaynes are barr'd from this aire and fresh wind, and some few sandie parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soiles we findealso in all other parts of the World. But (for the greatest part) those Regions have so many goodly Rivers, Fountaynes and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, to so many forts of delicate fruits, euer bearing, and at all times beautified with blosfome and fruit, both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the Paradise of Eden: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclothed and left naked. their sap creepeth not under ground into the roote, fearing the injurie of the frost: neither doth Pomona at any times despise her withered husband Vertumnus, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called Terra vitiofa; Vicious Countries: for Nature being liberall to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, idlenesse bringeth forth no other fruits then vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, Tertullian and those of his opinion were not deceiued in the nature of the place: but Aquinas, who milliked 20 this opinion, and followed a worfe. And (to fay the truth) all the Schoole-men were groffe in this particular.

### δ. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that befides that Eden in Calefyria, there is a Countrey in Babylon, once of this name, as is prouced out of Esa. 37. and
Ezech. 27.

Hese opinions answered, and the Region of Eden not found in any of those imaginarie worlds, nor under Torrida Zona; it followeth that now we discouer and finde out the seate thereof, for in it was Paradise by God planted. The difficultie of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by Moses remembred, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as well ancient as moderne.

Besides, we finde that the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians (Cyrus only and few other excepted) sought to extinguish the Hebrewes. The Gracians hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the Romanes despised once to remember 40 them in any of their stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall Places & Cities in the East: and after them, the Turke hath sought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the ancient memoric of those people; which he hath subjected and inthralled.

Now besides those notable markes, Euphrates & Tigris, the better to find the way, which leadeth to the Countrie of Eden, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from Canaan & Iudea; and that it was of all other the most beautiful and sertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to Iudea Eastward was Arabia Petrea; but in this Region was Moses himselfe when he wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was Arabia the Desart, both which in respect of the insertilitie could not be Eden, neither have any of the Arabians any such Rivers, as are express to run out of it: So as it solloweth of necessitie, that Eden must be Eastward, and beyond both Arabia Petrea, and Deserta. But because Eden is by Moses named by it selfe, and by the fertilitie, and the Rivers only described, we must

feeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet Isay I finde it coupled and accompanyed Isai.37.v.i2. with other adjacent Countries, in these wordes, spoken in the person of Senachers by Rabsakeh: Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar? and in Ezechiel, where he prophecieth against the Tyrians: They of cap.27.vess.23. Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants. Cite.

But to avoid confusion, we must vinderstand that there were two Edens, one of which the Prophet Amos remembreth, where he divideth Syriz into three Provinces. whereof, the first he maketh Spria Damascene, or Decapolitan: the second part is cap. I. verfix that Valley called Auenis, otherwife Conuallis, or the Tract of Chamath, where Affrria is joyned to Arabia the Defart, and where Ptolemie placeth the Citie of Aueria: and the third is knowne by the name of Domus Edenis, or Caleforia, otherwise Vallis Strabe. caua, or the hollow Valley, because the Mountaynes of Libanus and Antilibanus, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it : for Coele in Greeke is Caua in Latine. But this is not that Eden, which we feeke: neither doth this Prouince lye East from Camaan, but North, and so ioyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the Hebrewes. Yet, because there is a little Citie therein called Paradife, the Iewes beleeved 20 this Calefyria to be the same which Moses describeth. For the same cause doth Hopkins in his Treatise of Paradise reprehend Beroaldus, in that he confoundeth this Eden, with the other Eden of Paradise: though to give Berosldus his right, I conceive that he led the way to Hopkins, and to all other later Writers, fauing, That he fayled in distinguishing these two Regions, both called Eden: and that he altogether misunderstood two of the foure Rivers (to wit) Pison and Gehon, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out Eden, which (as Moses teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the Desarts, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red Sea; wee must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet Isay and Ezechiel joyneth withit. For (faith E s A I AH) Gofan, Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, 30 which were at Telaffar. Also Ezechiel ioyneth Haran with Eden , who, together with Ezech.17. 2,23 those of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad, were the Merchants that traded with the Citie of Tyre, which was then (faith EZECHIEL) the Mart of the people for many Ifles. And it hath euer beene the custome, that the Persians conveyed their merchandise to Babylon, and to those Cities voon Euphrates, and Tigris, and from thence transported them into Syria, now Soria, and to the Port of the Mediterrane Sea : as in ancient times to the Citie of Tyre, afterward to Tripoly, and now to Aleppo, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of Alexandretta, in the Bay of Isicus, now Laiazzo. Executed in the description of the magnificence of Tyre, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the onely Mart-towne of that part of 40 the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities every Countrie yeelded: and having counted the feuerall People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised: They were versian. thy Merchants (faith the Prophet) in all forts of things, in rayments of blue silke, and of broidered workes, fine linnen, corrall and pearle: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of Sheba and Raamah, and what kindes they traded, he hath these wordes: The Merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fayres, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all precious stones and gold. Now these be indeed the riches which Persia and Arabia Falix yeeld: and because Sheba and Raama are those parts of Arabia, which border the Sea, called the Persian Gulfe, therefore did those Nations 50 both vent fuch Spice, sweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Countries yeelded, and (withall) having trade with their Neighbours of India, had from them also all forts of spices, and plentie of gold. The better to convey these commodities to that great Mart of Tyre, the Shebans or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tigris, and from the Citic of Terredon (built or enlarged by Nabuchodonozor, now called Balfara)

out of Persia, which bordered them. S. Hierome vinderstandeth by Canneh, Selencia,

which is seated vpon Euphrates, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke

thinkes it to be Ctesiphon, but Ctesiphon is seated downelow vpon Tigris, and Canneh

cannot be on that side, I meane on the East-side of Tigris, for then were it out of the Valley of Shinar. Plinie placeth the Schenite vpon Euphrates, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of Syria, after it leaueth to be the

bound of Arabia the Defart, & where the River of Euphrates reflecteth from the De-(art of Palmirena: for these people of Canneh (afterward Schenita) inhabited both

borders of Euphrates, ftretching themselues from their owne Citie of Canneb in Shinar Westward along the banks of Euphrates, as farreas the Citie of Thapfacus, where

Ptolemie appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which also agreeth with the description

of the Schenita by Strabo, whose wordes are these: Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam 20

& Babyloniam cuntibus iter est per Schenitas; The Merchants which trauaile from Syria to

Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites. Therefore those which take Can-

neh for Charran, doe much mistake it. For Charran, to which Abraham came from Vr

in Chaldea (called by God) standeth also in Mesopotamia, not vpon Euphrates it selfe,

but vpon the River of Chaberas, which falleth into Euphrates: and the Merchants of

Charran are distinctly named with those of Canneh in Ezechiel (as) they of Haran, and

that name from Seleucus, who made thereof a magnificent Citie. Hierosolymitanus 10

thence sent vp all these rich merchandises by boate to Babylon, from whence by the Now of the other Citie ioyned with Eden, as Haran or Charran, S. Hierome on body of Euphrates, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch therethe ludges speaketh thereof in these wordes : Cuma, renerterentur, peruenerunt ad Ind.s. of, which reacheth within three dayes iourney of Aleppe, and then ouer Land they Charran, que est in medio itinere contra Miniuen, undecimo die; When they returpast to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripoly (formerly Hieropolis) and thenceto ned, they came to Charran, (which is the mid-way against Niniue) the eleventh Alexandretta, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of Canneh, which Ezechiel ioyneth with Eden, inhabited farre vp the River, and received this trade from Arabia & India, This Citie is by the Martyr Stephen named Charran (speaking to the high Priest:) besides those proper commodities which themselues had, and which they received

Tee Men, Brethren, and Fathers, harken: The God of gorie appeared to our Father ABRA- ASIA. HAM, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran. But the seate of this Citie is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and ouerthrow of Crassus the Romane, who for his vnsatiable greedinesse was called Gurges anaritie; The gulse of anarice. Whereof

Affrias Latio maculauit fanguine Carras,

Lucan, 1,1.105

With Roman bloud th' Assyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this Citie Canne or Chalne is made manifest by Moses himselfe, where it is written of NIMROD: And the beginning of his Kingdome was Bibel, and Erech, and Gentoto. 20 Acad, and Chaine, in the Land of Sinaar, or Shinar: where Moles the weth the first compolition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Cities and People were subject vinto Nimred, all which lay in the faid Valley of Shiner or neere it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract, afterwards called Bubylonia and Chaldea, into which also Eden stretchetnit selfe. Chalden, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem junt (faith Comeston.) Three names of one Countrie: which Region of Babytonia tooke name of the Tow re Babel; and the Towre, of the confusion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proued in the eleventh Chapter of Genefis, in these wordes: And as they went from the Versai East, they found a Playne in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode: in which Playne Ba-

byton was built (as aforefaid.)

Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneb, in the first beginning of Nimrods greatnesse, and before he had subdued any strange, or farre-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by Moles to be in Shinar, it proueth, that Canneh ioyneth to Babylonia; which also Ezechiel coupleth with Eden, and (further) affirmeth, that those of Eden were also the Merchants, which traded with the Tyrians: and Esay in the threats of Senacherib against Hierusalem ( with other Nations that Senacherib vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Telassar. But before I conclude where Eden it selfe lyeth, it is necessarie to describe those other Countries, which Ezechiel joyneth therewith in the places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamab. It is written in Genesis the tenth : Moreover versa. 40 the sonnes of HAM were Cush, &c. And the sons of Cush were Seba, and Havilah, and SABTAH & RAAMAH, &c. And the fons of RAAMAH were SHEBA, &c. and anon after, CVSH begat NIMR OD: so as Sheba was the grand child of Culb, and Nemrod the fonne of Cush, whose elder brother was Sebah: though some there are that conceine to the contrarie, that Nimred was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother Raamab or Regma tooke that part adioyning to Shinar, toward the Sea fide and Persian Gulfe ( called afterward Raama and Sheba, by the Father and his Sonnes, which possessed it.) For (faith Ezechiel) the Merchants of Rasmah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupyed in thy Faire's with the chiefe 50 of all spices, and all precious stones, and gold. So as Sheba was that Trast of Countrie, which parteth Arabia Deferta from Arabia Fælix, and which joyneth to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrie Strabo calleth Catabaria, where the best Myrrhe and Frankin- strabo, Life. cense is gathered; which people have an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on

Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Albur, and Chilmad were thy Merchants. Wherefore Charran which is sometime called Charre, and Haran, and Aran, is but the fame Charran of Mefojotamia; and when it is written Aran, then it is taken forthe Region of Mesopotamia: or Aran fluuiorum, the Greeke word (Mesopotamia) impor- 30 ting, a Countrie betweene Rivers: for Mejos in Greeke, is Medius in Latine, and Potamos, stunius; and when it is written Haran or Aran, it is then taken for the Citie it selfe, to which Abraham came from Vr (as aforesaid.) For Strabo in the description of Arabia, giveth that Tract of Land from the borders of Calefyria, to the edge of Mesopotamia, to the Schenita, who also inhabited on both sides of Euphrates, and were inafter-ages accounted of these Arabians which inhabite Batañea, and the North part of the Defarts, stretching themselves toward the vnhabited Solitude of Palmirena, which lyeth betweene Syria, and Arabia the Defart So as these of Cannels ay in the very high-way from Babylon to Tyre, and were Neighbours (indifferent) to Tharran and to Eaen: and therefore they are by the Prophet Ezechiel coupled together, 40 They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, Gre. But S. Hierome made a good interpretation of Canneh, or Chalne, by Scleucia: for Seleucia was anciently called Chalanne (witnesse Appian; ) and so Rabanus Maurus calleth it in his Commentaries vpon Genesis; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from Chalne or Ganneh; to Chalanne: of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with Seleucia, and almost the next vnto it, (as) Thelbe-canne; and Mann canne; the one a little to the West of Seleucia, and the other opposite vnto it, where these Rivers of Tigris

Plin.1.6.c.26.

Strabo 1.15.

Ger.11.31.

are ordinarie in all the Regions of the world.

and Euphrates are readie to joyne. Therefore, which of these the ancient Canne was,

(being all three within the bound of the Valley Shinar) it is vincertayne: but it is a

note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certayne seate thereof, that so

many other Cities did retayne a part of the name in so many agesiafter. Neither is it

unlikely, that these additions of Thelbe and Mann to the word Canne, were burto

make difference betweene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse Canne,

or betweene Cannethe old, and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by,

the East side of the Persian Gulfe. By this it appeareth who were the Shebeans, spoken of by Ezechiel, and faid to have beene the Merchants of Tyre, for gold, spices, and precious stones: of which they had not onely plentie of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of India (called Elana, according to Strabo) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For as Strabe reporteth out of E-RATOSTHENES: In Perfica ora initto Infula est, in qua multi & pretiosi vniones gignantur : in alijs vero, clari & periucide lapilli. ERATOSTHENES (faith STRRBO) affirmeth, that in the beginning of the Persian Gulfe, there is an Island, in which there are many precious pearles bred: and in other, very cleare and shining stones. Now, the difference betweene Sheba, the sonne of Raamah, and Seba, the sonne of Cush, is in this, to That Seba is written with the Hebrew (Samech;) and Sheba with (Schin:) but whatsoeuer the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthographie, their Countries and habitations are diners. For sheba is that part which bordereth the Persian Sea; and Saba (whence the Queene of Saba) neighboured thered Sea; and so that place of the 72. Psalme, expounded, Reges Arabum & Saba, hath in the Hebrew this sense: Reges Sheba & Saba.

The Shebans, Ezechiel nameth together with the Edenites, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the same river, vpon which the Edenites were seated: and so those of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast, and vpon it, past vp the Countrie, by Tigris and Euphrates, being joined in one maine streame, and so through the Region of Eden, which 20 Tigris boundeth, thereby the better to conuey their merchandise toward Tyre. And as the Cities of Charran, and Canneb, border Eden on the West and Northwest: fo doth Sheba on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east. Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appeareth in the Chaldean Paraphrast, which Countrie by the Geographers is called Coromitena, (L) placed by exchange for (R:) which change

the Hebrewes also often vse.

50

20.12.

E/4.37.38.

€∫a. 39.1.

Thus much of those Countries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians: of which, the chiefe were the Edenites, inhabiting Telassar: for these Senacharib vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of Telassar lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from Sheba and Arabia, and also to 30 convey it over into Syria, and to Tyrus. Now to make these things the more plaine, we must remember, that before the death of Senacharib, many parts of the Babyloni. an Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly

difioyned. For it appeareth both in Esai the 37, and in the second of Kings, by the threates of Rabfache, the while the Armie of Affria lay before Hierusalem, that the Cities of Gofan, Haran, Reseph, and the Edenites at Telassar, had relisted the Assyrians, though Efa. 37. v. 12. by them (in a fort ) mastered and recoursed. Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, whommy Fathers have destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar? But it appeared manifestly after Senacharibs death, that 40 these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for Efar-Haddon held Affria, and Merodach Baladan, Babylonia. And after that the Ar-2. Kings 19.35. mie of Senacharib, commanded by Rabfache, which lay before Hierufalem (Ezechias then raigning) while Senacharib was in Egypt, was by the Angell of God destroyed: the King of Babel sent to Ezechias, both to congratulate the recoucrie of his health, and his victorie obtained ouer the Affrians. After which ouerthrow, Senacharib himlelfe was flaine by his owne fonnes in the Temple of his Idoles, Efar-Haddon fucceeding him in Affiria. To the Babylonian Ambassadours sent by Merodash, Ezechias shewed all his treasures, as well proper as consecrate, which inuited the Kings of Babylon afterward to undertake their conquest and subuersion. So as, the suspition of so warre encreasing betweene Babylon and Affyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of Shinar towards the North, and towards Affria, were imployed to beare off the incursions of the Affyrians; and their Garrison-place was at Telassar: and the very word (Telassar) faith lunius, fignifying as much, as a Bulwarke against the Ass-

rians. This place Hierofolymitanus takes for Refem , others for Seleucia : but this Telaffar is the fame, which Am Marcellinus in the Historie of Inlian ( whom he followed in the enterprize of Persia) calleth Thilutha in stead of Telassar, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke : It is seated in an Island of Eupbrates vpon a steepe and vnassaultable Rocke, in so much as the Emperour Inlian durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the Assirians, being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the Countrey adioyning were lodged to defend the same. This place Ptolomie calleth Teridata, having Refeph (which he calleth Refepha) on the left hand, and Canneb. to (which he calleth Thelbe-canne) on the right hand, not far from whence is also found the Citie of Mann-canne upon Tigrie, and all these seated together, as Elar and Exechiel haue forted them. But the vinderstanding of these places is the more difficult, because Asyria (which the Chaldaans call Atturia) and Mesopotamia, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. Affrized McCopotamia in Babylonia nomen transferunt ( faith NIGER, ) Affria and McCopota- Comog. Affai mia tooke the name of Babylonia. Lastly, it appeareth by those adiacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the world Eden is feated, as, by Charran or Haran in Mesopotamia: also by Canneh and Reseph, according to the opinion of Vatablus, who in these wordes translateth this place : Plansauerat autem I EHOVAH Deus hor-20 tumin Eden, ab Oriente The Lord God planted a garden in Eden, Eastward: that is ( saith he in his Annotations.) Iuserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabia & Mesopotamia, He commanded trees to grow in Eden, an Easterne Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.

d. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradife.

CHAP.2. \$.10.

Nd for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it seemes by the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabite Mesopotamia, which Epiftles in the yeere 1552. they fent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and Andraes Massus hath published them, translated out of Syriac into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes we may

have some farther light for the proofe of that, which we have said about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of Eden in the River Tigris, or at least, Tigris in both these Epistles is called the River of Eden. This Illand, as Malius in his Praface to these Epistles faith, is commonly called Gozoria (as it were the Island, by an eminencie) It hath (saith he) tenne miles in circuit, and was 40 sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island Eden may (doubtlesse) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called this name be swallowed vp, with the fame of those flourishing Kingdomes of Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylomia, and Chaldea. This Island of Eden hath up the River, and not farre beyond it, the Citie of Hasan-Cepha, otherwise Fortis Petra: below it, it hath Mosal or Mosel, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appeare out of Massius) it is not about twelue miles distant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that Mosal or Mosel by Marius Niger is remembred among the Cities higher vp Tigrie, in these wordes. Iuxta autem vi sura Tigrim, Civitates (unt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quanunc Mofel dicitur : magna (ane, &c. (that is) By Tigris are thefe Cities, Dorbeta neere vato mount Taurus (which is now called Mosel) which is a great one, or. This opinion of Niger, displacing Mosel, and making it to be Dorbeta (I say) needes not here to trouble vs : seeing for this matter, the testimonie of Massius informed by the Christians that dwelt there (the Seat of whose Patriarchitis) ought to be of credit, auowing that this Mosal (or Mozal) is in the confines of Melopetamia and Affria, seated vpon Tigris, and in the neighbour-

hood of Niniue; and that it is the famous Seleucia Parthorum. The Nestorian Christians in their former Epistle, call it Attur in these words: Ex omnibus Ciustatibus & pagis qua sunt circum Ciuitatem Mozal (hocess) Attur in vicinia Niniues; Of all the Cities and townes which are about the Citie of Mozal (that is) Attur in the neighbourhood of Niniue. As also Niger acknowledgeth Ctessphon, a Citie thereabout to be called Assume. As also Niger acknowledgeth Ctessphon, a Citie thereabout to be called Assume (which is the same as Attur, after the Dialest of those Nations, which change Sh into T.) Neither is it much that he should mistake Ctessphon (which is not farre off Seleucia) for Seleucia, to be Assume that he should mistake Ctessphon (which is not farre off Seleucia) for Seleucia, to be Assume that he nould mistake Ctessphon (which is not farre off Seleucia) for Seleucia, and that ancient Citie, which Ptolomic and Tacitus call Ninus, so and the Scriptures Nineue, Philostratus, and Simeon Seshi, Mosala, and John Lean Mosal, others Mosse, (though it bee not the same with Mosal) is set but a little higher vpon the same river of Tigris, neere Mosal: so that wee are like to finde this Ile of Eden here-about. For the same Andraes Massus, which placeth it aboue Mosal, makes it to be belowe Hasan chepha, which is vpon the same river of Tigris.

CHAP.2. \$.10.

The first Booke of the first part

The onely difficultie is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the Nestorians in both their Epistles, speake not of any Ile in Tigris, called the Ile of Eden, but of an Ile in Tigris, a river of Eden. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnprobable. And yet if this were the meaning heere, we have a testimonie from the learned of those parts, that not onely Euphrates, but also Tigris was 20 a river of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath beene subject to the same change, that all other kingdomes of the world have beene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth over Euphrates, was after the floud called Shinar, and then of the tower of Babel, Babyloma; and the North part of Eden is that Tract of Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Armenia, which embraceth both the banks of Tigris, betweene Mount Tanrus, and Seleucia. And of this Region of Eden that ancient ETHICVS maketh mention, ( not that latter Ethicus, disciple of Callinicus, otherwise by Plutarch and ATHENEVS called ISTRI, who lived in Agypt in the reigne of PHILADEL- 30 PHVs, but another of a farre higher and remotetime) the same being made Latine out of Greeke by S. HIEROME. And though by corruption of the ancient copie it bee written in ETHICUS, Adonis for Edenis; yet Adonis being a river of Phanicia, cannot be vnderstood to beethe Region named by ETHICVS. For ETHIcys makes it a Countrie, and not a river, and ioyneth it with Mesopotamia and Athiopia, calling the land of C HV s Ethiopia, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the River which watereth the Regions (layth ETHICVS) falleth into the Gulfe of Persia: which River hee calleth Armodius, for Tigris; Tigris being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of Armenia both Tigris and Esphrates have their originall: for out of Eden came a river, or rivers, to water the Gar- 40 den, both which Rivers (to wit) Tigris and Euphrates, come out of Armenia, and both of them trauerse Mesopotamia, Regions sirst of all knowne by the name of Eden for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that Eden contained also some part of Armenia, and the excellent fertilitie thereof in divers places, is not vnworthie the name of Eden. For in some part thereof ( fayth STRABO) the leaves are alwayes greene, and therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Also STEPHANVS de urbibus mentioneth the Citie of Adama upon Euphrates: and the name of Eden was in vie in Amos time, though he speake not of Eden in the East, but of Eden in Calesyria. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a discourse, it may suffice to know, that Euphrates and Tigris (once loyned together, and so afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these Rivers which are faid to water the Garden of Paradife, were divided: whose courses being knowne, Eden, (out of which they are said to come) cannot be vnknowne. Now that Hiddekel and Perath were Tigru and Euphrates, it is agreed by all: for the Seuentie and all

others convert Perath by Euphrates: & Hiddekel Tigrim omnes exponunt : and all men understand Hiddekel by Tigris (fayth VATABLE.) And because that which I have favd of the Ile of Eden, shall not bee subject to the censure of selfe-invention, I have heere-vnder fet downe the words out of the two generall Epiftles of the Nestorians. as Masius (adverbum) hath converted them into Litine. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope were, that the Nestorian Christians which inhabit Melopotamia, Alfyria, Perlia, and Babylonia, and have to this day (at least in Queene Maries time they had) fifteene Churches in one Citie, called Seleucia Parthorum, or Mosel vpon the River of Tigris, having no sufficient authoritie to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without foure or three Metropolitane Bishops at least) sent to the Bishop of Romein the yeere of Christ 1552. (as aforesaid) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto fuch an election as themselves had made : having three hundred yeere before that vpon the like defect, fent one Marius thither to bee confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Bilhop of Rome the state of the Christian Church in those parts : for vpon the death of their Patriarch (who of a couetous defire to enrich himselfe had forborne to institute Metropolitane Bishops, when the places fell void) they all affembled themselves together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for 100, yeares had been of one house and family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remai-20 ned one Bishop of the same Stocke and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignitio, which his Predecessours had held, the rest of the Professours refused to allow him. Vpon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches affembled themselves. The words of the generall Epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the said Epistle: Verum nos non acceptanimus neg, proclamauimus ipsum, sed subitò conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & Pagis qua sunt circum Ciuitatem Mosel (bocest) Attur, in victnia Niniues, ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbella, ex Infula qua est in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Persia, ex Nisibi, &c. which is: But wee did neyther accept of this man, neyther pronounced him: but suddenly we affembled our selves out of all parts of the 30 East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Attur) neighbouring Niniue, and out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella, and out of the Iland which lyet bin the middle of Tigris, a River of Eden, or rather, out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tigru. And in a fecond Epistle at the sametime sent, they vie these words: Neg, superfunt apud nos Metropolita, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed (oli pauct Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasti, Episcopus Adurbeigan; en e vestigio concenimus in Insulam, que est intra Tierim stumen. Eden, fecimulá, compactum inter nos, &c. (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmasius, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan; but loe, we assembled speedily in the Iland Eden, which is in Ti-40 gris; and agreed betweene our felues, &c.

Now this Iland of Eden Masius describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the Nestorian Epistles, and the state of the Church may bee in those parts (sayth he) the better understood. And after hee hath distinguished the source forts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of Africa, which hee calleth Nestorians, Iacobites, Maronita, and Cophti, hee goeth on in these wordes: Mos, auditaillius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuario in illam quam modo dixi Tigris Insulam, que duodecim circiter passum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem sere millia passum subitative continct, muris undis cinita, & a paucie alis quam Christianis hominibus habitative which is, Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch, (as those that came to Rome.)

50 reported) they ran tumultuoully together into that Iland of Tigris or Eden before spoken of, which Iland is situated about 12. miles about Mosel, containing very necre ten miles in compasse, and enery where inurroned with a wall, inhabited by a few other men than Christians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of Eden by the name of Geserta, Insula Tigris: sive Geserta.

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Furthermore, describing the Citie of Hosan-cepha, or Fortis Petra, he placeth it supra pradictam Tigris Insulam rupi aspera impositam; About the foresaid Iland of Tigris, being feated on a freeperocke. Of this Iland of Geferta, Andrew Theuet maketh mention in his tenth booke of his generall Cosmographie in these wordes : Geserta ou Gestre est an milieu de la riuiere du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie; Ge-Certaor Gesire is in the middle of Tigris, the soile the most fertile of all Asia.

By this we see that the ancient name of Eden liveth, and of that Eden, which lyeth Eastward from Arabia Petraa, and the Defart where Moses wrote, and that Eden which bordereth Charran according to Exechiel, and that Eden which is feated according to the affertion of the said Prophet, and joyned with those Nations of Re- 10 feph, Canneh, and Charran, and the rest which traded with the Tyrians, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of Assyria and Babylonia, where the Edenites in Thelassar were garrisond to resist the Assyrians, whose displantation Senacherib vaunted of (as aboue written) and lastly, the same Eden, which embraceth Tigris, and looketh on Euphrates, two of the knowne Rivers of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to Paradiso.

### ò. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Rivers to rife from one streame.

>> Vtit may be objected, that it is written in the Text, That a River went out of Eden, and not Rivers, in the Plurall, which scruple Matthew Beroaldus hath thus answered in his Chronologie : The Latine Translation (saith he) hath these wordes: Et fluuius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dinidebatur in quatuor capita:

Que verba melius consentient cum reinarratione, & eius dem explicatione, si itareddantur. Et fluuius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluuy procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium, o inde dividebatur, o eral in quatuor capita: which is, And a River went 30 out of the place of pleasure to water Paradife, and thence was divided into four heads: which wordes (faith Beroaldue) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a River was going forth of Eden (that is) Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard, and from thence it was divided, and they became foure heads. The Tigurine differs from the Vulgar or Latine, for it converts it thus: Et fluuius egrediebatur de delicijs; And a River went out of pleasure, in stead of Eden; and the Latine addeth the word locus, or place, Et flusius egredichatur de loco voluptatis; Anda River went out of the place of pleasure: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (inde) and thence was divided, hath reference to the 40 Countrie of Eden, and not to the Garden it selfe.

And for the word (Rever) for Rivers, it is vsuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written: Let the earth bud forth the bud of the herbe, that feedeth feede, the fruitfull tree, &c. Here the Hebrew vieth the Singular for the Plurall, Herbe and Tree, for Herbs and Trees; and againe, we eate of the fruit of the tree, in stead of (trees:) And thirdly, The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God : In medioligni Paradisi : In the middle of the tree of the Garden, for (trees.) And of this opinion is Dauid Kimhi, and Vatablus, who vpon this place of Genesis say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as illud, for vnumquodg, illorum, and he giveth an instance in this question it selfe, as, A River (for Rivers) went out of Eden.

And this answere out of divers of the learned, may, not without good reason, be giuen to the obiection, That Moles speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I denie not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the source heads, to be source notable passages into sa-

mous Countries. And so we may take the word (River) Verse the tenth for one Riwer (to wit) Euphrates, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River, after he is past the place, where we suppose Paradife to have beene, divides it selfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable passages into seuerall Countries, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no wherein the Text) where it is noted. that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Affyria)

To this end the Text speaking of Hiddekel, as it riseth from the River of Eden. doth not fay it compasseth or washeth the whole Region of Assyria, (as it had vsed this phrase of Pilon and Gehon) but that it runneth toward Assyria. The first branch Pilon, is Nahar-malcha, (by interpretation) Bahlus, or flumen regium, which runneth into Tieris vnder Apamia, whence ariseth the name of Pasi-tieris, (as it were) Piso-tigris. This leadeth to the Land of Hauila or Sustana. The second branch Gehon . is that which in Historians is Nabarfares, or Narragas, for Nabar-ragas: both which names signifie flumen derinatum (a River derived) also Acracanus, quasi Ranosus, by reason of the froggie Fennes which it maketh : this Gehon leadeth to the first leate of Chus, about the borders of Chalden and Arabia, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of Chaldea. The third branch, Hiddekel, may be expounded the voper freame of Pi-20 fon, or Basilius, which runneth into Hiddekel properly so called (that is, into Tigris) aboue Seleucia, where it sheweth a passage up ligris into Assiria: where, because at length it is called Hiddekel, or Tigris, having before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it Hiddekel from the beginning. The fourth Perath or Euphrates, so called per excellentiam, being the body of the River Euphrates, which runneth through Babylon and Otris. But, be it a River or Rivers, that come out of Eden, feeing that Tigris and Euphrates are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that Paradife was not farre from these Rivers : for that Perath in Mofes is Euphrates, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that Hiddekel is Tigris. For Hiddekel goeth (faith Moses) Eastwards towards Assur, as we finde. that Tigits is the River of 30 Affria proprie dicta, whose chiefe Citie was Niniue, as in Genesis the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) Babylonia, Nimrod went into Assur, and builded Niniue, which was the chiefe Citie of Affyria.

And as for the kinde of speech here vsed in the Text, speaking of source heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountaynes, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first streame. Caput aque (faith VLPIANVS) illudelt, unde aqua nascitur; siex fonte nascatur fons; fi ex flamine, velex lacu prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountarne, then is the Fountarne taken for the head : if out of a Lake, then the Lake ; and if from a maine River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first 40 bound it felle with new bankes, there is that part of the River, where the branch for-

faketh the mayne streame, called the head of the River.

### & XII.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian soile, as it is certayne that Eden was (uch.



Снар. 2. 8.12.

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T may also be demanded, whether this Region of Eden, by vs described, be of such fertilitie and beautie, as Eden the seate of Paradise was: which if it be denyed, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the earth, that retayned that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulnesse to any

part of the earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had

3. 2.

Gen.1.11.

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beforethe floud; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no such flourishing Countrie, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde Herod. Clia. I.t. written of it: First in Herodottes, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe, for the Ile of Eden is but twelve miles or thereabout from Ninine, and so from Mosal. Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta qued Vrbs Ninus staerat, Hacregio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, Gc. Where Euphrates runneth out into Tigris, not farre from the place where Ninus is feated, This Region, of all that we haue feene, is most excellent; and he addeth afterward : Cereris autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non fere ducentareddit, &c. (that is) It is fo fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold : The leaves of Wheate and Barley being to almost foure fingers broade: As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are even in length like unto trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbeare to fpeake hereof, well knowing that those things which are reported of this fruitfulnesse, will seeme very incredible to those, which never were in the Countrie of Babylon. They have commonly in all the Countrie Palme-trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both meates, and wine, and honny, ordering them as the Fig-trees. Thus farre

To this Palme-tree so much admired in the East India, Strabo and Niger adde a fourth excellencie, which is, that it yeeldeth bread; Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt; Of which these people make bread, wine, honny, and vineger. But 20 Antonius the Eremite findeth a fist commoditie, not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kind of fine flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their ships; and that this is true, Athanasius in the life of Antonius the Eremite, confesseth, saying: That he received a garment made thereof from the Eremite himselfe, which be brought with him out of this Region. So therefore those Trees, which the East Indies so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeede the Earth yeeldeth no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of the field. Sunt etiam (faith STRABO) paßim per omnem regionem Palma sua sponte nascentes; There are of Palmes ouer all the whole Region, grow-30 ing of their owne accord. Of this place Quintus Curtius maketh this report : Euntibus à parteleua Arabia odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam obere & pingui solo, ot à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satiet as perimat; (that is) As you transile on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plentie of (weet odors) there lyeth a Champaine Countrie placed betweene Tigris and Euphrates, and fo fruitfull and fat a foile, that they are faid to drive their Cattell from the pasture, lest they should perifiby fatietie. Bis in anno fegetes Babylonii fecant; The Babylonians cut their Corne twice a geere (faith Niger.) And as Countries generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, then in the Northern parts: so we may judge the excellencie of this by that report which Strabo maketh of the South part of Armenia, which is the North border 40 of Eden, or a part thereof; his wordes be these in the Latine: Tota enim hecregio fingibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itema, semper virentibus; Thu Region aboundetb with pleasant fruits, and trees, alwaies greene: which witnesseth a perpetuall Spring, not found elsewhere but in the Indies only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life and stirrer vp of nature in a perpetuallactivitie. In briefe, so great is the fertilitie of the ground, that the people are constrayned twice to mow downe their Cornefields, and a third time to eate them vp with sheep: which husbandrie the Spaniarus wanting in the Valley of Mexico, for the first fortie yeeres, could not make our kind of Wheat beare feede, but it grew vp as high as the trees, and was fruitleffe. Besides, those fields are altogether without weedes (saith Plinie) who addeth this singulari- so tie to that foile, That the second yeere the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the seedes againe) yeeldeth them a haruest of Corne without any further labour : his wordes are these: Vbertatis tanta funt, vt sequentianno sponte restibilis siat seges.

1.18.6.17.

d. XIII.

d. XIII.

Of the River Pifon, and the land of Havilah.



Frer the discouerie of Eden, and the testimonies of the sertilitie thereof, it resteth to proue that Pison and Gehon are branches of Tieris. and Euphrates. For that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it felfe (Tigris and Euphrates being knowne) findeth them out : for Eu-

10 phrates or Tigris, or both be that river or rivers of Eden, which water Paradife, which river or rivers Moles witnesseth afterward, divided into foure heads, whereof the one is called Pifon, the other Gehon, &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, then when we finde both these (namely) Tigris and Euphrates in Asyria and Mesopotamia, to feeke the other two in India and Agypt, making the one Ganges, and the other Nilus? Two Rivers as farre distant, as any of fame knowne or discouered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plaine, that these Rivers were divided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no errour, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some apparance of probabilitie, refembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singu-20 lar) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens mindes, to find some partakers or sectatours, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherith such weake babes, as their owne inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the river of Pifon) seemeth to have growne out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in India, called Hauilah, from Hauilah, which adioyneth to Babylonia, afterward knowne by the name of Susiana. For Hauilah vpon Tieris tooke name from Hauilah the sonne of Culh; and Hauilah in India, from Hauilab the sonne of Iostan, the one remembred by Moses in the description of Paradife, Gen. 10.7: the other where Moles fetteth downe the generations of Noch, and his fonnes after 30 the floud. For the sonnes of Cush were Seba, Hauilah, Sabrah, and Raamah, and the sonnes of lottan were Ophir, and Hanilah, &c. of which latter ( to wit ) of Ophir and Havilah the sonnes of loctan, that Iland of Ophir, (whence Salomon had gold) and Hauilah adioyning had their names. Now because Ganges is a great and a famous River of the East India, and Hanilah a Countrey of the same, and is situated vpon Ganges, hence it came that Ganges was taken for Pifon, which River is faid by Mofes to water the land of Hauslah. Or perhaps it was supposed that those source Rivers, named by Moles, must of necessitie be source of the greatest in the world; whence ( supposing that Ganges was the next great and famous river after Tigris & Euphrates) they chose out this River to make one of the foure. And yet certainely there is another River. 40 whom in these respects they should rather have chosen then Ganges; for the River Indus on this side India, for beautie, for neernesse, & for abilitie, giveth no way place to Ginges, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that Ganges can be one of the foure heads, seeing Indus commeth betweene it and Tigris? and betweene Tigris and Indusis all that large Empire of Persia, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther toward the East, and beyond Indus, are all those ample Dominions of Indiaintra Gangem, which lie betweene those two proud Rivers of Indus and Ganges, now called the Kingdome of Mogor. So as if Indus bee not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from Tigris by all the breadth of Persia, then how much lesse Ganges, which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse then 50 fortie degrees to the Eastward of Indus? Surely who soeuer readeth the Storie of Alexander, shall finde, that there is no river in Afia, that can exceede Indus. For Hydaf-

Pis was of that breadth and depth, as Alexander thereon in great Gallies transported himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling down that branch of Indus,

found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered

his whole Fleete, which was ready to bee swallowed vp therein: Hydaspis (as afore-said) being but one of many branches of Indus, comparable to it, and as great as it, having besides this, the Rivers of Coas, of Saastus, Accsines, Adris, (otherwise Hirosis, Hispasis, and Zaradrus, all which make but one Indus, and by it are swallowed vp with all their children and companions, which being all incorporate and made one streame, it crosses that havart Asia, and then at Cambaia visiteth the Ocean Sea.

The first Booke of the first part CHAP.3. S.13.

Gen.2.15.

But because Pison, which compassed Hanilah, as also Gehon, which watereth Cash, must some where be in yeard with the rest in one body, or at least be found to proceed out of the same Country of Eden, out of which the other two heads doe proceede, out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, bee Ganges, or Nilus: for 10 Nilus rieth in the vitermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the Mediterran Sea; and the River Ganges riseth out of the mountaine Imaus, or (as others will have it) Concassed, which divides the Northerne Seythia from India, and runneth from North to South into the Indian Ocean. And as for Perath and Fliddekel (that is, Euphrates and Tigris) the one of them is begotten in Armenia, neere Gaorgians or theria, the other not sarre off in the same Armenia, by the Gordiaan mountaines, so as Ganges, who onely travaileth in her owne India, and Nilus through Athiopia and Azypt, never saw the land of Eden, or invined themselves in one Channell, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence bee separated, or divided into source heads or branches, according to 20 Moses.

Sen. 2. 2. 12.

Therefore the River Pifon, which enricheth Hauilah, is the same which by iovning it selfe with Tigris, was therefore called Pisi-tigris, or Piso-tigris, of Pison and Tigris, which River watereth that Hauilah, which Hauilah the sonne of Cush gave name vnto, and not Hauilah of India, so called of Hauilah the sonne of lottan, who inhabited with his brother Ophir in the East. And this Hauilah of the Cushites hath alfo Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a tree, of the bignesse, of an Olive, whereof Arabia hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine gumme, fweete to fmell to, but bitter in tafte, called also Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for Bdellium. Beroaldus affirmeth, that Bdela in Hebrew signisieth 30 Pearle: so doth Eugabinus; and Hierome calls it Oleaster: beit what it will, a tree bearing gumme, or Pearle: Hauilah, or Susiana hath plenty of both. Now this Countrey of Susiana or Hauslah stretchethit selfe toward the North, as farre as the Altars of Hercules, and from thence imbraceth all that Tract of land Southward, as farre as the Persian Gulfe, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the Shebans (which traded with the Citie of Tyre, according to Ezekiel) their great plenty of gold, which Strabo also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

Steuch. Hopk.de Par.

The Greekes had a conceit, that Pison was Danubius: the Rabbines take it for Wilus, Aben-ezra (layth Hopkins) out of Rabbi Sandia translateth Pilon into Nilus: But Nilus findeth the same impossibility that Ganges doth: and Danubius hath the 40 Sea of Hellespont and all Asia the lesse, betweene it and Tigria. Now Pison, which runneth through Hauilah or Susiana, doth to this day retaine some signe of this name; for where it and Tigris embrace each other under the Citie of Apamia, there doe they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called Pifo tigris. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should bee found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for Babylon it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these rivers, is by some writers knowne by the name of Bandas, as, by Postellus, by Castaldus, of Baldach : by Barius, of Bagdad ; and of Boughedor, by Andrew Theues; and yet all those that have lately seene it, call it Bagdet. To this river of Pifon, Ptolomie indeed with many others give the name of Basilius, or Regius, and Gehon they terme 50 Mahar-fares and Marsias, and Baar fares. So is Euphrates, neere the Spring and fountaine, by Straboand Plinie called Pixirates: by Junius, Puckperah, out of the Hebrew, (that is) The profusion, or comming forth of Emphrates: where it breaketh through the mountaine Taurus, it takes the name of Omyra. Platarch calls it Media and Zaran-

Post. Cosmog. Thenet.Cosmog.

Afiæ tab.4.

P. 'n.l. 6.5.c.24

da: the Hebrewes Parath, (layth Ar. Montanus:) Pagninus, Perath: Iofephus, Phorah; Eulebius, Zozimus: Ammianus, Chalymicus: Giftilanus, and Colinutius terme it Cobar: which Exechiel calleth Chebar; but this is but a branch of Euphrates. The Asyrians know it by the name of Armalchar, or Nahor Malcha: but now commonly it is called Frat.

The same confusion of names hath Tigris, as Diglito, and Diglath, Seilax, and Sollax: of the Hebrewes it was called Hiddikel: now of the inhabitants Tegil.

But Mercer vpon Genesis conceiueth rightly of these rivers: for Euphrates and Tigris (sayth he) streame into source branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other two are called Pison and Gehon. The reason, why these two rivers ioyned in one (below Apania) lose their names, and are called Pistigris, and the memorie of Euphrates stringuished, is, because the best part of Euphrates running through the channell of Gehon, sinketh into the Lakes of Chaldea, not surre from Vr, the Citic of Abraham, and fall not intirely into the Persian Sea, as Tigris accompanied with Pison doth.

This errour that Pison was Ganges, was first broched by Iosephus, ( whose fieldes, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For 20 Epiphanius, Augustine, and Hierome, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as Pilon was transported into the East India, to find out Hanilah: so was Gehon drawne into Africa, to compasse Athiopia. But if Hauilah, whereof Muses speaketh in the description of Paradise, be found to be a Region, adioining to Babylen on the one side, and Cush (which is fallly interpreted Athiopia) fastened to it on the other side, wee shall not neede then to worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of rivers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the valley of shinar, where Cush the sonne of Ham first sate downe with his sonnes Shebah, Hauilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Nimrod, &c. and of Hauilah, the sonne of Cush, did that Region take name, which Pison 30 compasseth; and the land (called Cush) which Gehon watereth, tooke name of Cush himselfe. For as the sonnes of loctan, Ophir and Hauilah, seated themselues as neere together as they could in India, so did the sonnes of Cush in Shinar or Babylonia, where Nimrod built Babel: for Hauilah or Chauilah was first Chusea of Cush; then Chufa, Sufa, and Sufianz.

From this Hauilah vnto the Desarts of Sur, did the Israelites and Amslechites possessed and the interiacent Countries: for Saul smote the Amalechites from Hauilah to Sur; which Sur, the Chaldean Paraphrast converteth Hagra, and Hagra bordereth the red Sea; but this was not meant from Sur vpon the red Sea; to Hauilah in the East india, for Saul was no such travailer or Conquerour, and therefore Hauilah must be found neerer home, where the sonnes of Ismael inhabited, and which Countrie Saul was to Amalek and the Amalechites posses that necke of Countrie, between the Persian Sea, and thered Sea; Hauilah being the extreme of the one towardes the East, and Sur of the other, towards Egyps and the West, leaving that great body of Arabia selix towards the South, and they spred themselves with the Midianites and Edumeans, from the East part, or backe side of the Holle Land, to the bankes of

Euphrates, comprising the best parts of Arabia Petraa, and Deferta.

٥. XIIII.

Of the River Gehon and the Land of Cush: and of the ill translating of the Æthiopia for Cush, 2. CHRON. 21. 16.



Ow, as Hauilah in the East India drew Pison so farreout of his way this ther, so I say did Cush (being by the Seventie translated Athopea) force Gehon into Africa. For Culh being taken for Athiopia by the Greekes, whom the Latines followed, Gehon consequently was esteemed for Nilus. But Ethiopians are, as much, as blacke or burnt faces, whole proper to

Sec more of this point, c.7. § 10.

Countrie is called Thebaides, lying to the Southward of all Agypt. And although there be many other Regions of Ethiopians, and far South in Africa, yet those of Thebaides are those so often remembred in the Agyptian stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of Agypt: all which Athopians are very neere, or else directly under the Equinoctiall line, which is very farre from that land inhabited by the Chusties; who are neither blacke of colour, nor in any fort neighbouring Torrida Zona. But this Translation of the Septuagint, Pererius doth qualifie in this manner: There are (faith he) two Athiopin's, the East, and the West: and this division he findeth in Strabo, out of Homer. Now because there is no colour to make Chulb Athiopia in Africa, Pererius will make Chulh and the Land of the Chulites 20 (which is Arabia Petras, and a part of Arabia the Happy, with the Region of Madian) to be the East Athiopia.

Gen 25.18.

Now if it begranted, that Culb and the Land of the Chustes, be that Tract from Sur to Hauilah, according to the Scriptures: Habitauit I SMAEL ab Hauilah v/q, Sur, que respicit Egyptum introcuntibus Affrios; Ismael dwelt from Hauilah unto Sur, that is towards Agypt, as thou goest toward Assyria; The same sufficeth to prouethat Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a River which watereth Cush, and not Æthiopis. But this place of Scripture, Habitauit I s M A E L, &c. hath this sense: I/mael dwelt from Hauilah. which is the way of Assyria, or the Countrie bordering Assyria; and Sur, which lyethtoward £gypt, which is as much to say, as, The issues of Ismael (whereof there 30 were twelve Princes) whom God had promifed to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions betweenethe border of Agypt and Assyria. And that they were (according to the word of God) so increased and multiplyed, it well appeared, when Zearah the Chasite, which others call Tharantha, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against Asa King of Iuda. Which Armie came not out of Athiopia beyond Agypt; for that had beene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mightie a King as the King of Agypt, betweene Palaslina and Athiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalechites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after Afa (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victorie tooke some of the Cities of King 40 Zearab round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Citie of the Æthiopians, it cannot Gen.10. v.11. be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disprouing it: And ABRA-HAM departed thence toward the South Countrie, and dwelt betweene Cadelh and Sur, and foiourned in Gerar : Now Sur is that part, vpon which Moses and the Israelites first set their feete after they passed the Red Sea, where the Amalechites in Rephidim set on them, supposing that they had beene wearie, and vnable to relist. Againe, in the storie of Ifaac it is written: Wherefore Is A A C went to ABIMELECH, and the Philifims unto Gerar: and I am fure Abimelech and the Philistims were no Athiopians. And lastly, Mofes himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these words: Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou commelt to Gerar: for Sydon was the 50 Frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South. But indeede, howsoeuer Pererius doth with an honest excuse salue his Translation of Chus for Ethiopia, yet it appeareth plainely, that the Septuagint and Infephus did altogether misvnderstand this place. And first, for Homers East and West Ethiopia,

17erf.16.

Exed. 17.8.

Gen.26.1.

they are both found elsewhere. For Plinie in his fift Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth Homer for an Authour, of these two Athiopia's. But the East Athiopia is that which compasseth Nelses to the South of Agypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Aby fines, vnder Prefter John; And the West Athiopia is that, which ioyneth it felfe with the River Niger, which wee call Senega and Gambra: for thereabouts are these Athiopians called Perors, Daratites, with divers other names, which Plinie numbreth. But all these are in Africa, and beyond the Defarts Plinits of 8. thereof, fayth Plinie out of Homer, Agrippa, and Iuba; which Regions indeede (I meane that of Niger, and that of Prester Iohn, and the Troglodytes) lye due East and West. But as for Cush and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Athiopia, which is beyond Agypt. Now, that Iofephus was exceeding groffe herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which hee hath of Moles when he served Pharao, in the warres against the Athiopians: for in that (to make Chus, ·Æthiopia) hee transporteth Madian by miracle oner the Red Sea, and beyond all Leypt, and fetteth it in Athiopia, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Againe, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pererius confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke Copie, than otherwife. And whereas the Septnagint have converted this place of the Prophet HIE-REMIE: And what hast thou now to doein the way of Agypt, to drinke the water of Ni- C.2. v.18. 20 lus? Quidtibi vis in via Ægypti, vt bibas aquam Gehon? to this saith PERERIVS, profesto Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, que significat nigrum & turbidum: Truly (faith PERERIVS) the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but Sichor, which significth blacke and troubled water. Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that Chus was ill takenfor Æthiopia. Moses married the Daughter of lethro, Prince and Priest of Madian, Exod. 2.21.3.1. whom both the Greeke and Latine call a Madianite, and not Athiopillam, as (with Iosephus.) The Geneua converts it, though it helpe it a little with a marginal note. Num. 12.1. Now it is without dispute, that Zipporah was of the Countrie of Madian, which is that part of Arabia Petraa, bordering the Red Sea, for it is written in the second of

Exodus, that Moses fled from PHARAO into the Landof Madian, and fate downe by a Well, Or. and againe, in the third of Exodus; When Moses kept the Speepe of IETHEO his father in law, Priest of Madian, &c. Indeed, these foure nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the Madianites, the Ilmaelites, the Amalekites, and the Chalites, which were all in one generall word, Ara-

by another, as in Gen. 37. v. 25. 27. & 28. that Io/eph was fold to the Ismaelites; and in the same Chapter, v. 26. it is written, that the Madianites fold Inseph to Putiphar, Pharao's Steward. The Geneuians, in a marginall note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that Moles wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the Madianites and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moles wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all Arabians, and so in this very place it appeareth by their

bians, and in the Scriptures fometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes

merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought Ieseph: for their Camels were loden with Spicery and Balme, and Myrrhe, which are the Trades of Gen. 27, 25. Arabia falix: from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the World is served with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their Spices they received from the East side of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforesaid. And in the 39. Chapter it is said: That Putiphar

bought loseph of the Ismaelites, which the Chaldean Paraphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the sixt of Indges, That when Israel had sowen, then came up the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and they of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were Arabians of the Defart;

so as where before in the buying of 10seph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites and Amalekites are made one Nation. For in the profecution of the Story of Gedeon, the Madianites only are named, as comprehending c.1. both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called Ismaelites,

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C.8.V.24. Gen.16.12. and neyther Madianites nor Amalekites. As when Gedeon defired, that every man would give him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory against Zebah and Zalmunna, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. shickles of gold, it is written : For they had golden eare-rings , because they were Ismaelites. And these Ismaelites were a great and valiant Nation, and euer in action of warre. Manus eius contraomnes, & manus omnium contra eum; His hand (fayth God of Is MAEL) shall bee against all men, and every mans hand against him. Of these Ismaelites came the Mahometan Arabians, though some Writers thinke Mahomet to be of the Schenita. And these Ifmatlites, which inhabit chiefly in Cedar, and the Defarts of Sur and Pharan (faith 10fephus) vsepoyson vpon their Arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-east are the 11 Madianites, and Chusites: and beyond them, towards the Defarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Lastly, the ill translation of Æthiopia for Chu, is among other places, made most Chro. 2.C. 21.16. apparent, in the second of Chronicles, in these wordes: So the Lord stirred up against IEHORAM, the Spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Athiopians, fo Hierome reades it : the Geneua translation bath it, which were besides the Ethiopians. Now, how farreit is off betweene the Philistines, and the Negro's, or the Ethiopians, e. uery man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the Philistines and Arabians doe mixe and ioyne with the Land of the Chustes, and are distant from Athropia about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next Neighbours; but all Egypt, and the Defarts of Sur and Pharan, are between them. So as this place of the second of Chronicles, should have beene translated in these words: So the Lord firred up against IEH OR AM, the spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine \* Steuch. Eu- and border upon the Chusites, who indeed are their next Neighbours. \* Nulla superes gub.in Gen.ca- dubitatio quin Æthiopia in Sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua; There remaineth no doubt (layth STEVCHIVS) but Eshiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which

Exod.2.

Plin.l.s.c.1.

C.23.2.3.

C. 2. v. 18.

toyneth to Arabia. Now may wethinke is it probable, or possible, that Moses could be eignorant of Wilm? No, he knew it, no living man fo well, and therefore would never have named Gehon, for Nilw, or Nilus for Gehon. Surely, if Mojes had meant Nelw, when he named? Gehon, he would have called the River (into which he was cast vpon Reeds, and preferued by God, working compassion in the Daughter of Pharao) a River of Egypt, wherein he was borne and bred, and wrought so many Miracles. Besides, the River of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of Gehon. Andif Moses had told the Israelites, that Wilus had beene a River of Paradise, they might iustly haue thought, that hee had derided them: for they had lived there all dayes of their liues, and found no fuch Paradifeat all, nor any memory, or speech thereof; except wee shall beleeue the Paradise of Hesperides, where (fayth Plinie) there was no thing found in his time, but wild Olines in stead of golden Apples. But Mins is twice called Sichor, once in E/ay, and once in the Prophet Hieremie; and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of Ethiopia, but of Egypt. For in a word, the Ifraelites had ne uer any communion or affaires with the Atbiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond Egypt, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and East-parts, were these Nations of the Chusties, Philistines, Ifmaelites, Amalekites, and Madianites: who being often gouerned by many little Kings, or Reguli, were diffinguished in names, according to the Fathers and Heads of those Nations; but inone generall name were all Arabians. On the North-side of Canaan, they were afflisted with the Calesyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalines, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselues, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaaniu, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as) Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and manyo thers : yea, Hierusalem it selfe was with-held from Israel (from the dayes of Moses, euch vnto the time of Danid) by the lebusites.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the stonie, which the Chusites inhabi-

ted in the times of the Kings of Ifrael: and in this Defart it was that Matt. Beroaldus loft himselfe in seeking out Paradise: for hee was driven (to my vnderstanding) to create two Rivers, and call them Gehon, and Pifon; to the end that the one might water Chos, and the other Hauilah, for I finde none fuch in rerum natura, as hee hath described: by which Rivers hee also includeth within Paradise, even Arabiathe

And as he well proued that Pifon was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Wilus: So where to find them else-where it seemeth he knew not. Certainely this River of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose Springs hee findeth farre East in Arabia, is but imaginary: for the Current by Gaza is but a small streame. rifing betweene it and the Red Sea, whose head from Gaza it selfe is little more then twentie English myles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the Chusites as they were planted when the state of I/rael stood, and when it sourished, being then their neere Neighbours, and neuer looked backe to the first seates and plantation of CHVs. For after the Floud, CHVs and his children neuer rested, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and neere which himselfe with his sonnes first inhabited. HAVILAH tooke the River-side of Tieris chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called HAVILAH, (now Suliana: ) Raamah, and Sheba farther downethe o River, in the entrance of Arabia falix. NIMR OD feated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. CHVs himselfe and his brother MIZRAIM first kept vpon Gehon, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldea, and in processe of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence MIZRAIM pastonerinto Agyps, in which Tract the Chastes remained for many veeres after. Now because there could bee no such River found in Arabia the stonie, which they might entitle Gehon, they translated Chus Athiopia, and Gehon, Nilus. And if we doe examine this mistaking by example, wee shall the better perceive it as it was. For let vs suppose, that BRYTE, or whosever else that first peopled this o lland, had arrived vpon the River of Thames, and calling the lland after his name BRITANNIA, it might be faid that Thames or Tems was a river, that watered Britannia: and when afterwards in processe of time, the same BRVTE had also discouered and conquered Scotland, which he also entituled by the same name of Britannia, after-ages might conclude that Scotland was no part thereof, because the river of Tems is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that E v R O P A, the daughter of the King of Tyre in Phanicia, gaue the name to Europe, according to Herodottu, and that Herodotte 4: the first discouerers thereof arrived in the mouth of some river in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as hee first discouered, shall wee in like fort resolue, that France, Spaine, and Italie, &c. are no parts of Europe, because that River is not found to in them, or any of them? In like manner was it faid by Moses in his description of Gehon, that it watered the whole land of Chus; but not the whole land which the Chastes should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in afterages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have beene Masters in time, (as the Saracens which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For (though the Babylonian Empire, which tooke beginning in NIMROD the some of CHVs, consisted at the first but of soure Cities, (to wit) Babel, Erech, Acad, and Chalne, yet wee finde, that his Successours within a few yeares after commaunded all the whole worldin effect: and the fame of Babel confumed the memorie of Chusea. For of this Tower of Confusion did all that land take the name of Baby-50 lonia: and the greatnesse of that Empire sounded by NIMROD a yonger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father CvsH in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the Chusites retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territorie by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke,

that C H v s or any of his could in haste creepe through those desart Regions, which the length of 130, yeares after the floud had (as it were) fortified with thickets, and permitted enery bush and briar, reede and tree to joyne themselves (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if wee looke with judgement and reason into the worlds plantation, we shall finde, that every family seated themselves as necre together as possible they could; and though necessitie ensorced them, after they grew shall of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Sbinar or Babylonia, yet did full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Sbinar or Babylonia, yet did full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Sbinar or Babylonia, yet did full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Sbinar or Babylonia, yet did full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Sbinar or Babylonia, yet did full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Sbinar or Babylonia, yet did full of people, to spread themselves, and successive themselves, and successive themselves, as that they might at all times refort, and successive they it with this aduice, as that they might at all times refort, and successive they on the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So N 1 M 2 D D, who out of wit and strength vsurped dominion over the reft, sate downein the very so on successive the successive theoremselves and strength vsurped dominion over the reft, sate downein the very so on successive the very so on successive the very so on the set of the very so on the

Now as NIMR OD the yongest, yet strongest, made his choice of Babel (as afore-said) which both Tigris and Euphrates cleansed and enriched; so did Havilah place himselse you prio-tigris: RAAMAH and his some SHEBA farther downe you the same, on the Sea-coast of Arabia: Chvs himselse you Gehon, the youther branch of Euphrates. And when they began to spread themselues farther off, 20 fairest branch of Euphrates. And when they began to spread themselues farther off, 20 yet they alwayes fastened themselues to the Rivers sides: for Niniue, Charran, Reseph, Canneb, Vr in Chaldea, and the other first-peopled Cities were all sounded you these Navigable Rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give succour and asserted.

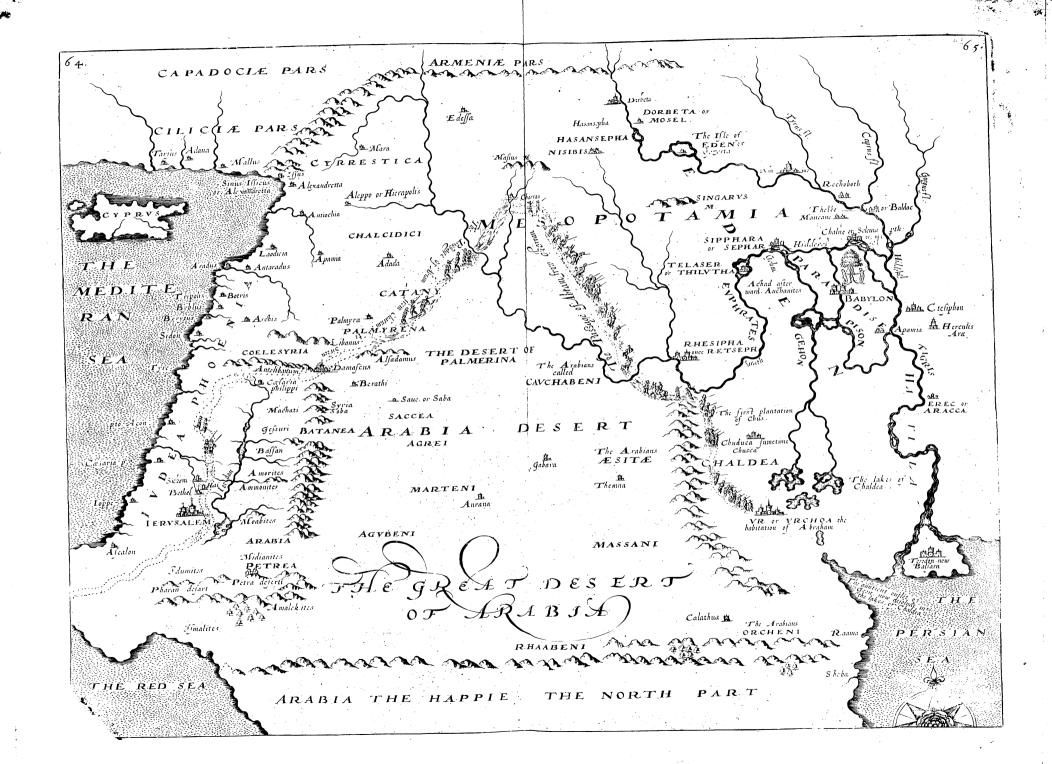
stance to the other, as is alreadie often remembred.

# d. XV. A conclusion by way of repetition of something spoken of befor.

VT now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to mee by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that Paradise was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of Eden, afterward called Aram sluviorum, or Mesopotamia, which taketh into it also a portion of Shinar and Armenia: this

Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the £quinostiall, and 55. from the North-pole: in which Climate the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all forts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellency of this sayd soyle and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. At the for wherein soeuer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they have excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their workes: this Tree have excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone gineth vnto man whatsoeuer his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may bee said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West Indies, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by those pleasures and benefits the searefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venimous beasts and wormes, with other inconveniences, and then there will be found no comparison betweene the one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of Paradife had, before God (for mans in 50 gratitude and crueltie) curfed the Earth, we cannot judge; but I may fafely thinke, that by how much Adam exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workemanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Vniuerfall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to



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CHAP.3. S.15.

grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge; Plants only proper, and becomming the Paradife, and Garden of so great a Lord.

The fumme of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have beene dimme-fighted (some of them finding Paradife beyond our knowne World: some, aboue the middle Region of the Ayre: some, eleuated neere the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North, as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Ayre, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in Eden (sayth Moses) Eastward in respect of Iudaa, that God planted this Garden, which Eden wee find in the 10. Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of Eden to water this Garden, and from thence divided it selfe into foure branches; and we find that both Tigris and Euphrates swimming through Eden, doe ioyne in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water Ches and Hauilah. according to Moles: the true seates of Chus and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of Shinar, in which Nimrod built Babel. That Pifon was Ganges, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was neuer ioyned, cannot bee divided, Ganges, which inhabiteth India, cannot bee a branch of the Rivers of Eden; That Gehon was Wilus, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie, and this River is a greater stranger to Tigris and Euphrates, then Ganges is: for although there 20 are betweene Tigris and Ganges aboue foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but Nilus is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone. almost as farre off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the Mediterran Sea: and Emphrates distilleth out of the Mountaines of Armenia, and falleth into the Gulfe of Persia: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three Degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I have added a Choregraphicall description of this terrestriall Paradise, that the Reader may thereby the better conceine the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that

my labours may but receive an allowance suspended, vntill fuch time, as this description of mine be reproued by a better.

CHAP.

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# CHAP. IIII.

# Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

That the Tree of Life was a materiall Tree; and in what sense it is to be taken. that man by his cating the forbidden fruit, is made sub. sect to death.



OR eating the forbidden fruit of the Trre of Knowledge was Adam driven out of Paradife, in exilium vita temporalis, into the banishment of temporal life, sayth Beda. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and 20 learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fix them, and so slippery, as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the World an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (fay the Hebrewes) hath a plurall construction, and is to be understood, Lignum vitarum, The Tree of lives, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserue both the growing, sensitiue, and rationall life of man; and not only (but for Adams transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also giuen a durefull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a

bodie compounded of Elements could laft.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could bee immortall, but that it must once perish and rot, by the vnchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures, Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, healthfull, and vngrieued life: after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) hee should haue beene translated, as Enoch was. And as before the Floud, the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeeres; and soone after the floud, of two hundred yeeres and vpwards, euen to fine hundred: foif Adam had not difobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the lives of men on Earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceiued. Chrysoftome, Rupertus, Tostatus, and others were 40 of beliefe, that (but for Adams fall and transgression) Adam and his Posteritie had beene immortall. But such is the infinite wisedome of God, as he foresaw that the Earth could not have contained Mankind; or else, that Millions of soules must have beene vngenerated, and have had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of Chrysoftome must bee understood of immortalitie of bodies, which should have beene translated and glorified.

But of what kind or Species this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which repect many have conceived, that the same was not materiall, but a meere Allegorie, taking their strength out of Salomon, where Wisedome is compared 50 to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also Christ is called the Tree of Life, and out of the Apocalypsis, I will give to him that over commeth, to cate of the Tree of Life, which is in the Paradife of God. But to this place Saint Augustines answere may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a

terrestriall Paradise, so there was a celestiall. For although Agar and Sara were Figures of the Old, and New Testament, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of Abraham, were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the fense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth enery tree faire to light, and freet to taffe; the tree also of Life in the midft of the garden: which sheweth. that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or Chaos, Hesiodus, Homer, Ouid, and others, steale the invention of the created world; 10 so from the Garden of Paradise, they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of Alcinous, and another of the Hefperides: and from the tree of Life, their Nettar and Ambroffa; for Nectar, according to Suidas, fignifieth making yong, and Ambrofia, immortalitie; and therefore said to be the meate and drinke of the gods.

ò. II.

Of BECANVS his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledge was Ficus Indica.

CHAP.4. S.2.

Ow for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, some men haue prefumed farther, especially Goropius Becanus, who giveth himselfe the honor to haue found out the kinde of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euer ghesse at, whereat Goropius much maruaileth. But as he had an inuentine braine, so there neuer lived any

man, that beleeued better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely, howsoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he vsurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he setteth it. For Moses Bar-cephas fastened on this consecture aboue fixe hundred veeres before Becanus was borne : and Bar-cephas himselfe referreth the invention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author Philoxenus Maburgensis, and others, whose very wordes Goropius vieth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For Moses Bar-cephas in his Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and fol. 49.) faith, That the Tree of Knowledge was Ficus Indica; The Indian Fig-tree, of which the greatest plentie (saith Becanus) are found vpon the bankes of scesines, one of the Rivers which falleth into Inam, where Alexander built his Fleet of Gallies in, or neere the Kingdome of Porus.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great peaze, or (as Plinie reporteth) Plinia 1.6.5

somewhat bigger, and that it is a tree, se semper serens; Alwayes planting it selfe; that it spreadeth it selfe so farre abroade, as that a troupe of horsemen may hide themselues 40 vnderit. Strabo faith, that it hath branches bending downewards, and leaues no leffe Lib.1.cap.2. then a shield. Aristobulus affirmeth, that sistie horsemen may shaddow themselves vnder one of these trees. Onesieritus raiseth this number to foure hundred. This tree (faith Theophrasius) exceedeth all other in bignesse, which also Plinie and Onesicritus confirme: to the trunke of which, these Authors give such a magnitude, as I shame to repeate. But it may be, they all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not fo rare a plant, as Becanus conceineth, who because he found it no where elfe, would needes draw the garden of Paradife to the Tree, and fet it by the River Acesines. But many parts of the world have them, and I my selfe have seene twentie thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from Paria in America. They 50 grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot up some twentie or thirtie foote in length (some more, some lesse, according to the soile) they spread

a very large top, having no bough nor twigge in the trunke or stemme: for from the vtmost end of the head branches there issueth out a gunsmie inyce, which hangeth downe-ward like a cord or finew, and within a few Moneths reacheth the

Bart.fept.2.J.1.

ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding hastily. From the vtmost boughes of these yong Trees there fall againe the like cordes, which in one yeere and lesse (in that World of a perpetual) fpring) become also trees of the bignesse of the nether part of a lance, and as straight. as arte or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kinde of groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now one of these trees considered with all his yong ones, may (indeede) shrowd foure hundred or foure thousand horsemen, if they please; for they couer whole Vallies of ground where these trees grow neere the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner part of Trinidado. 13 The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, shooting alway downeward to finde roote under water, are in those Seas of the Indies, where Oysters breed, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue scene fiue hundred Oysters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oysters grew on trees in India. But that they beare any such huge leaves, or any such delicate fruit, I could neuer finde, and yet I have travailed a dozen miles together under them: but to returne to Goropius Becanus. This tree (faith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the fight, as the tree of Knowledge of good ande-

uill is described to be. Secondly, this tree having so huge a trunke ( as the former Authors report, and  ${\tt 20}$ Becamus beleeueth) it was in this tree that Adam and Eue hid themselves from the presence of God, for no other tree (saith he) could contayne them. But first it is certayne, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunke or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger then the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the wordes of Moles translated in medio ligni, are by all the interpreters understood in the plurall number (that is) in the middelt of the trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of Moles Bar-cephas, word for word) is, That when Adam and Eue found themselues naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeede) that either the tree it selse was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neere it: because Adam being posses 30 with shame, did not runne vp and downe the garden to seeke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaves of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse, which Plinie auoweth in these wordes; Latitudo foliorum pelta effigiem Amazonia habet; The breadth of the leaves hath the shape of an Amazonian shield: which also Theophrast confirmeth; the forme of which Targets Virgil toucheth:

PL. 1.12.6.5.

Gen.3.7.

Virg. AEn. l. 1. 494.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis PENTHESILÆA furens.

The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield PENTHESILÆA leades into the field.

Here Becanss desireth to be beleeved, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to give credit to this his borrowed discoverie, vsing this confident (or rather cholericke) speech. Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hac à nobis de sicu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Mosis narratione comparet, vi audeat dicere aliam arborem inueniri poste, qua cum illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered with the narration of Moses, as to dare to anow, that any other tree can be found, which doil 50 more properly answere, or agree therewith? But for my selfe, because I neither find this tree, sorting in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of Fhilo: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees, neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of

no great weight as touching his kinde: only thereby, and by the cafe Commandement by God given to Adam, to forbeare to feed thereon, it pleated God to make tryall of his obedience : Prohibits, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum pure ac August de Civit simplicis Obedientia bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, then thereby to Destinate 200 commend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obedience.

d III.

Of BECANUS bisnot unwittie allegorizing of the Storie of his Ficus Indica.

Vt in this I must doe Becamus right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in these few wordes. As this Tree (saith he) so did Man grow straight and vpright towards God, vntill such time as he had

transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downeward, and stouped toward the earth, which all the rest of Adams posteritie after him have done, rooting themselves therein and fastning themselues to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbragiousnesse of this tree, he compareth to the darke and shaddowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iustice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the shaddow of death, till it pleased CHRIST to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning & redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to finde among so many large leaues, may be compared (faith he) to the little vertue, and vnperceiued knowledge among fo large vanities, which obscure and shaddow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choller and bitternesse: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest sorrowes and repen-30 tances. That the leaves are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaves) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (faith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their follicitude, their outward shewes, & publike ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we feeke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we finde it of the bignesse of the smallest peaze; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodnesse, to all the world inuisible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body, and boughes of this Tree, by fo much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpasse the meanest: so is the little fruit of fuch men, and fuch trees, rather fitting and becomming the vnworthyest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or the poorest and basest Man, then such a flou-40 rishing statelinesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas Adam, after he had disobayed God, and beheld his owne nakednesseand shame, sought for leaues to couer himselfe withall, this may serue to put vs in minde of his and our sinnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which, we vie so many uncharitable and cruell practices in this world,

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and evill: with some other notes touching the storie of ADAMS sinne.



Ow, as touching the fenfe of this tree of Knowledge of good and cuill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it selse, Moses Bar-cephas an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by Masius) giueth this judgement : That the fruit of this tree had no fuch vertue or qualitie, as that by the tasting thereof, there

was any fuch knowledge created in Adam, as if he had beene ignorant before; but as Iunius also noteth: Arbor scientia boni & mali (id est) experientia boni & mali ab euentu; The Tree of knowledge of good and enill (that is) the experience of good and enill by the euent. For thus much we may conceive, that Adam being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workemanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection then ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant, out of whose seede all men liuing haue growne vp; and hauing received immortalitie from the breath or spirit of God, he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobaying of Gods commandement was the fearfullest euill, and the obferuation of his Precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health doe (not-to withstanding) conceine, that sicknesse is grieuous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witnesse: so was it with Adam, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himselfe another terror then he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his owne guiltie foule, he beheld therein the horror of Gods judgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had tryall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased euill, which could not be exprest. He then saw himselfe naked both in body and minde; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, & not because the fruit thereof had 20 any such operation, by any selfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such fort as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, by cause of the event (as is aforesaid) so was the Well of contention therefore Gen. 2 6, 20.21. called Elek, and the Well of hatred Sitnath, because the Heardsmen of Isaac and Gerar contended for them; and the heape of stones, called the heape of witnesse, betweene Iacob and Laban, not that the stones bare witnesse, but for a memorie of the couenant. So Iacob called the house of God Bethel: and Hagar, the Well in the De-

> But, Adam being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a 30 farther knowledge then he had perceived in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his issues doe) into the miseries and forrowes incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glorie which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward by the gentle winde of pleasing perswasions vnawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of Satan, who laboured to poyson mankinde in the very roote, which he moystned with the liquor of the same

ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

Gen.3.17.

Cap. 31.48.

Cap.16.14.

70

But what meanes did the Deuill finde out, or what instruments did his owne subtletie present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischiefe by? euen the vnquiet vanitie of the woman; so as by Adams harkening to the voyce of his wife, contrarie 40 to the expresse commandement of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and Companion, but not for a Counseller. But because thou hast obayed the voyce of thy wife, &c. (faid God himselfe) Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in forrow (halt thou eate of it all thy life. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; euen by the most vgly and vnworthy of all beasts, into whom the Deuill

Secondly, what was the motiue of her disobedience? euen a desire to know what was most vnsitting her knowledge, an affection which hath euer since remained in al the posteritie of her Sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yeeld to 50 her perswasions? euen the same cause which hath moued all men since to the like consent, namely, an vnwillingnesse to grieue her and make her sad, lest shee should pine and be ouer-come with forrow. But if Adam in the state of perfection, and Salomon the fonne of Dauid, Gods chosen servant, and himselfe a man endued with the

greatest wisedome, did both of them disobay their Creator, by the perswasion and for the loue they bare to a Woman, it is not so wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked pra-Aices, by the perswasions of their wives, or other beloued Darlings, who couer over and shaddow many malicious purposes with a counterfait passion of dishmulate forrow and vnquietnesse.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things betweene the fall of ADAM, and the floud of

Of the cause and the reuenge of CAINS sinne: and of his going out from God.



30

He same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possest Adam, Cain also inherited: for Cain (enuious of the acceptation of his Brothers prayer and facrifice) flue him, making himselfe the first man-slayer, and his brother the first Martyr: the reuenge of which vnnaturall murther, although it pleased God to mitigate, when Cain cryed out that his punishment was greater then he could beare: For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the sonnes of Adam, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) he destroyed all mankinde, but Nosh and his family: for it is written.

The earth alfo was corrupt before God: of which in the same place Moses giveth a rea- Gen.6.v.11.13. son, for faith he, The earth was filled with crueltie : and anon after, God himselfe made the cause knowne vnto Noah, saying; An end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with crueltie through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the earth, or 40 from the earth. Neither was this crueltie meant to have beene in taking away the liues of men only, but in all forts of Iniustice and Oppression. After this murther of ABEL, CAIN went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of NoD, Gen. 4.v. 16. towards the East side of Eden : in which wordes, The going out of Cain from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literall sense; God being wholly in all parts of the world : Totus in calo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed aug decinitate virumg, simul; God (saith S. Augustine) is wholly in heaven, and wholly in earth, Deilizzeng. not by enter changed times, but all at once; and that this is true, David witnesseth: If I Pfal. 139.8. be in beauen (faith DAVID) thou art there; if in hell, thou art there also: but what is meant thereby ? Exit à facie Dei (faith CHRYSOSTOME) CAIN went out from chrysoft in Gen. 50 the presence of the Lord (that is) he was left of God, disfauoured and bereaued of his Homile.

Of CAINS dwelling in the Land of NoD: and of his Citic Enoch.

gard of the murther committed, iustly searing (by his owne words) the like violence:

And who oeuer findeth me (faith CAIN) (hall flay me. Now that Nod or Naid was a

Region wherein Cain inhabited, appeareth by the word (dwelt) for dwelling fignifieth an abiding; and we call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no

dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, Moses teach-

eth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East side of Eden. Secondly, it is said by Moses, that after Cain departed from the

Hieron,rad. Hebr.

Iefethl.s.c.3.

His word Nod or Naid, S. Hierome and many others understand to signifie wandring, or incertayne habitation: vexation or agitation. faith Junion; but the Seventie convert it otherwise, and take 2 od for the proper name of a Countrie, and so doth tofephus. But it seemeth to me. that Cain was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, then any thing elfe, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in re-

Gc#.4.14.

Gen.4.16.

Verf. 23.

17.

presence or fauour of God, he built a Citie, and called it by the name of his first borne, Enoch; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortifie himselfe against revenge. Cyrillus saith, that Cain and Abel were figures of Christ, 20 and of the Iewes; and that as Cain, after that he had flaine Abel vniuftly, had thenceforth no certayne abiding in the world: so the lewes, after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the lewes had never fince any certayne Estate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne vpon the earth. Now this Land of Nod, Iunius taketh to be in Arabia Deserta, a Region of Nomades; but Ara-

bia the Defart is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, neither are these Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the world soener, which in old time lived by pastorage, and fed (as we call it in Ireland) voon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes, Nomades, and by the Latines, Pastores vagi, as the Northerne Tartarians, the Getulians, and Numidians in 20 Africa, the ancient Brittans, and the Northerne Irish: yea, such were the inhabitants

of Italie it selfe, till such time as Italia (who gave them that name) taught them the husbandrie of tillage, vsed at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that part of Affria, called by Ptolemie, Calena, which also might be derived of Carena, the Countrie of Cain. And that Cain inhabited in those parts, it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father Adam; for thus it is written, GE N.3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken and in the

Verse following: Thus he cast out man, Oc. and at the East side of the garden of Eden he

let the Cherubins: which sheweth that the entrie into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance Adam was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of Paradise 40 which was Eastward, according to the Text. Cain also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word Nod or Naid doe fignifie profugus, that is, a fugitiue, we can give no longer time to this vncertayne habitation of Cain, then till he built the Citie of Enoch, the first of the world, which he inclosed either for his owne defence, or (as Iolephus writeth) to oppresse others thereby. So as for mine owneo-

pinion, I am resolued with the Septuagint, that Nod was the proper name of a Regions and for the word (yagabond) which Cain vieth of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (vagabond) is therein understood for such an one as transileth in feare of reuengement: for whofeever findeth me (faith CAIN) shall flay me; or else (vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fa- 50

And because these Henochians, so called of the Citie Henoch, were the first societie and civill affembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these people (either for crueltic, strength, or other actions) lived in the memorie of Nosh and his sonnes; so

that after the Floud (as there were of all forts of natures, force vertuously, some impiously disposed, and every active minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in crueltie and oppression tooke on them their names whole natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these Henochians were not the least. Perchance the place it selfe where Henoch stood before the Floud, and whereof the Monuments might remaine (as the pillars or the foundation of Iappe did)gaue occasion to the Planters of that place to cal themselues by the same names: for of those Henochians there were many Nations in the borders of Pontin, and Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, and Bactria, and of the same name many Mountaines, as those to which are otherwise called Coraxici. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of Quotidicaliania these things, which the most aged Time hath couered ouer or defaced, we may (ac- in boc magno orcording to the counsaile of Plato) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith satisfie our be mutatur, notative for the counsaile of Plato) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith satisfie our be mutatur, notative for the counsaile of the c felues, if of fogreat and almost worne-out antiquitie, if of the eldest peoples names with incimitur, and Nations there remaine any print or foot-steps to Posteritie.

In \* Pine, P. Mela, Strabo, Valerius Flaccus, Lucan, Stephanus, wee finde those nominalextinitis Henoches described, though diversly written, as in Plinie, sometimes Henoch, in Mela ribus joriuntur, Entochi, in Flaccus Heniochi, in Lucan Enochij, all which inhabite vpon the Sea Euxinus, Scheca ad Albibut yet none of these are on the East side of Eden, or (according to Moses words) East- "Plin.1.6.s.g. ward from Eden. For Moses, in all places where he describeth any Region, was fo 11.016.

20 exceeding precise, as sometime hee vseth the word East or South without borrow—Media.e.vsl. Strabolib.11. ing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or to-Val. Flace.16, wards the East or South. In the place of Gene/is the eleventh hee writeth the word Lucan. 1.3. v. 37. (East) simply and directly. And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the V.2, Land of Shinar, but in this of Cain he addeth the word (towards) as, in the Land of Nod towards the East side of Eden; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two

eyther to the North or to the South of the East.

But as we may coniecture that these Nations tooke name of Henoch, the Citie of Cain, or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was repeopled after the Floud fo it is probable that these Henochij of Colchis, and other parts adjoying were not the first of that name, after the sonnes of Noah began to fill the World againe: because, had this Henoch the Citie of Cain stood in any of these parts, it had then beene seated North, and not East or Eastward from Eden. But as Planie findeth their habitation towards Pontus, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till hee tracke them ortrace them out to their originall. For he calleth these of Colchis (now Mengrelia) Plin.1.6.c.4.5. Sanni Heniochi; Etolomie Zani; beyond which an hundred and fiftie myle Eastward Prolital. Afa. 3. hee fin Jeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; and beyond these againe hee discouerethathird Nation, from whence all the rest tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the Mountaines of Paro-panifus, betweene them and the great River of Oxus, which bordereth Bactris on the North lide; and these 40 Henochij are due East from the Region of Eden, and Eastward from the very Garden

And although we cannot be affored, that these Henoshij tooke name from the memory of the Citie of Enoch directly, yet because they inhabited due East from Paradise, and afterwards spred themselves Westward (as all Noahs sonnes did that came into Shinar) the comecture is farte more probable, then that of Annius the Fryer, who fets Henoch in Phanicia, quite contrary to Moses word: Phanicia from all parts of Eden being directly West.

And besides these several Nations of the Henochy, Stephanis findeth a Region cal- stephale Pro. led Henochia, and the same also in the East, with divers Mountaines about Bastria and Sogdiana of the same name. Onely the Gracians (according to their fabulous innentions of all things else) out of the word (Heniochi) which lignifieth Carts or Coachmen, make these Nations to have sprung from the Waggoners of Castor and Pollar. Nat. Comes cal-(to wit) AMPHITEs and Telebius, who attended them in the enterprize of Islow into Rhecas. Colchies And though I doe not deny, but that Isfon with other Greekes ranged the Na. com. 1.8.c.9.

CHAP.5. S. 2.

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Strab.l.11.

Coasts of Asia the lesse in an open Boate or kind of small Galley, \* of whom I shall \*In the second speake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the Golden Fleece Booke of this was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boate, which could hardly carie their owne Rowers, being foure and fiftie, there was no place, and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

## ð. III.

of Moses his omitting fundry things concerning CAINS Generation.



V T of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the Citie of Henoch in prophane Story , thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answere some sew objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of Genesis: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for Cain (hauing no other assistance then

his sonne Henoch) to performe such a worke as the building of a Citie, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of Cain (because he was the Parent of an impious race) Moses vseth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first race, 20 which wasted by the least account, 1656. yeeres, in fine short Chapters. Yet thus much may every man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens lives so long a measure, as 800. and 900. yeeres, that in such a space Coin had not want of leasure and meanes to build many such Cities as Henoch, be the capacitie answering to what other of the World soeuer: for in what age of Cains life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his issues Moses had the least care. And as it was sayd of Cain, that he built a Citie: so was it sayd of Woah, that his three sonnes peopled all the World; but in both, the processe of time required to bee vnderstood; which aduice feeing Moses vseth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the 30 Scriptures to reasonable men, wee may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the birth of Abel, and oblation of Cain, he spake it in this sort, Fuit autem post dies multos or & fine dierum (that is) in processe of time, it came to passe that CAIN brought an Oblation. And therefore it is in like fort to bee understood of Cain, that many yeeres fore-gone, and when his people were increased, he built the Citie of Enoch or Henoch.

And where it is written, as of Cain, that he built Enoch, so of Salomon, that hee built the Temple of Hierusalem; yet it is well knowne of Salomon, that hee employed in that worke, 150000. Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to fay, The King inuaded; when hee caused an inuasion to bee made: and hee built, a when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing wee find, that Moses had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of Cains iffues, it is not to be maruailed at, why he also passeth ouer in a word the building of Enoth, without addition of any circumstance: for of Cain, Moses writeth in this manner : CAIN also knew his wife, who conceived and bare HENOCH, and hee built a Citie, and salled the name of the Citic after the name of his sonne HENOCH. Andto HENOCH was borne IR AD, and IR AD begat MEHVIAEL, and MEHVIAEL begat METHV SAEL, and Me-

THYSAEL LAMECH. Now of Seth, Moles writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. And Sern lines 105 - yeeres, and begat ENOCH, and SETH lived after hee begat ENOCH 807. geeres, and 5 Legat Sopnes and Daughters: fo as all the dayes of SETH were 912. yeeres; and her dyed: as for the vecres and times of the wicked, they were not numbred in libro vinentium, fauth CIRIL. But in SETH was the Church of Go D established, from whom christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke Mo(es walked in, and finished it with care, passing ouer the Reprobate Generation (as aforefavd. Of the Line of Adam by Cain, Moses remembreth but eight Generations. reckoning Adam for one, and of the Line of Adam by Seth ten, counting Adam also therein, as followeth:

# I. ADAM.

	2.	Cain.	2.	Setb.
	3.	Henoch.	3.	Enosh.
	4.	Irad.	4.	Cainan.
	₹.	Mahuiael.	5.	Mahaleel.
1	ó.	Mathusael:	6.	larad.
	7.	Lamech, who by Ada had	7.	Henoch.
	<b>8.</b>	<i>Iubal</i> and <i>Tubal</i> , and by <i>Silla</i>	8.	Mathu (alem.
		Tubalcain, and Noema.	9.	Lamech, and
		, ,	10.	Noab.

These be the Generations of Adam by Cain, which the Scriptures mention: but Iolephus giueth vnto Lamech threescore and seuenteene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two wives Ada, and Silla: and to these three sonnes of Lamech, Moses ascribeth 20 the invention of Pastorage, of Musicke, and the working in Metall: for it seemeth that Inbal first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were vntamed, and brought them into Heards and Droues: Tubal invented Musicke, Gen. 20.21.22 and Tubalcain the working in Brasse and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third given to idlenesse and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Sheep-heards, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the issues of Seth began the Services of God, Divinitie, Prophecie, and Afronomie: the children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

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# ò. IIII.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their children.



Second scruple hath beene made, How it came to passe that the Patriarchs begat their children at so divers Ages, as Cainan or Cenan at seuentie yeeres, Mahaleel and Enoch at threescore and fine yeeres, whereas lared begat not any of his vntill hee was 162. yeeres olde: Mathusalem begat at 187. Lamech at 182. and Noah at 500. yeeres. Now this diffe-

rence hath bin the more enforced, because it cannot be coniectured, that eyther Iared, Mathusalem, or Lamech abstained from marriage out of the Religion of abstinence, 40 feeing that Enoch, who was translated by God for his singular sanctities, begat children before he was threescore and ten yeeres olde.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that Moses did not number the generations beforethe Floud precifely, according to the first begotten and eldest sonnes of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the Line of Neah from Seth, and afterward from Noah to Abraham, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or yonger as hee found them: for it is likely that Henoch was not the eldeft of larad, nor Lamech the first borne of Mathusalem, nor Noah of Lamech; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrarie, but that Noah might have had many sonnes before Shem, Ham, and Japhet, though these three were only named, and surriuing, and which by God were reserved to bee 50 the Fathers of Mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find Mahaleel to bee begotten by Kenan at threescore and ten yeeres who was the first sonne of Kenan, and then reckon that Mathu (alem begat Lamech in the 187, yeere of his life, the difference feemeth strange, where Lameth is taken for the eldest. But Moses rejecteth all theother sonnes of Mathusalem but Lamech only, because he was the Father of Noah as a-

2. King 6.

Gen.4.17.

€.6.0.5.

foresaid. Of this Saint Augustine hath somewhat else in his 20. and 2 ri Chapters forelavel. Or ್ಷಮಿಸಿ ಆರ್ಥವರಿಗೆ ಸರ್ವಿಸಿಕ ಸಂಪ್ರಕರೆ De Claitae Deirogis and in in come

But de Moles counted the Generations of the first age, and so to Abraham, and the children of the promise after him, so doth S. Matthew recite the Genealogie of their not by the eldelt fonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-borne, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitorie only; and therefore the Euangelist nameth Isaac, and not Ismael, though Ismael were first in time: so doth he take Iacob the yonger, and not Esau the elder: neyther is Christ derived from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, Reuben, Simeon, or Leui, but from Iuda a fourth brother, and so from Dauid a yonger sonne of lessa; & and lastly we find, that the Kingdome it selfe of Iuda was not given to the Heirein nature, but to the Heire of grace, namely Salomon.

I.Kings 2.

Mat. 1.1.

# Q. V. Of the long lines of the Patriarchs: and some of late memoric.



HE third Objection is, that the great difference of yeeres betweene those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well-neere seenea thousand yeeres, makes it disputable, whether the account of times 20 were of the same measure as in after-ages, seeing, that soone after the Floud, men lived not a third part of that time, and in succeeding ages

and to this day not the tenth.

Salir. Poli Hift. Macreb Satur. l.b.y.cap.s. Plin.l.7.c.48.

They that have hereon resolved that those yeeres were but Lunarie yeeres, (to wit) of a Moneth or thereabouts, or Egyptian yeeres, are easily consuted. For whereas Seth begat Enosh in the yeere of his life 105. if those yeeres bee taken but for Moneths, then had Seth lived but eight yeeres and one Moneth when hee begat Enosh: and if the time of Enosh haue the same allowance, when he begat Kenan, then could Enosh at that time have beene but fixe yeeres and fortie eight weekes old; and fo it may be gathered of the rest; excepting only Adam, who was created perfect in to his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and feed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to giue an abilitie of Generation at 6.7. or 8. yeeres, agreeth with the short lives of the Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from Adam, the workemanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the World, had length of daies and ability of body agreeable. Againe, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunarie yeeres, then there would follow this extremitie, that those which lived longest, and vpwards of nine hundred yeeres, had by that account but the time of fourescore and tenne and odde yeeres, which were not only leffe by farre then the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but short of many mens lives in this decrepit age of the World, wherein many exceed fourescore, and some hundred yeeres. Further (if need bee) to disproone this reckoning, whereas it is written, Gen. 25. That Abraham dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeeres: all which (if the former account were of Lunarie yeeres) makes but seuentoene and an halfe of our yeeres.

And if we seeke for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equall strength or little differing : for of the first and purest seed there must of necessitie spring up the fairest and fruitfullest Plants. Secondly, the Earth it selfe was then much lesse corrupt, which yeelded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmefull qualitie, as since that time the Curse of God for the crueltie of mans heart brought on it and Mankind: Neither had the Waters of the Floud infused such an impuritie, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbes, and Fruits vpon the Earth received a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things under the Sunne haue one time of strength, and anCHAP.5. S.5. of the History of the World.

other of weaknesse, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformitie: so Time it felfe (vnder the deathfull shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worne out that lively vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants: yea the Heauens themselves being of a most pure and clensed matter, shall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who Pfil. 102. 11.15. by the ordinance of God receive operative vertue from the superiour.

But besides the olde age of the World, how farre doth our education and simplicitie of living differ from that old time? the tender bringing up of children, first fed and nourished with the milke of a strange Dugge; an vnnatural curiositic hauing to taught all women (but the begger) to find out Nurses, which necessitie only ought to commend vnto them: The hastie marriages in tender yeeres, wherein, Nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any root sufficient to maintaine her owne top; and such halferipe feeds (for the most part) in their growing vp wither in the bud, and waxe olde even in their infancie. But about all things the exceeding luxuriou fnesse of this gluttonous Age, wherein we presse Nature with ouer-waightie burdens, and finding her strength defective, we take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of ftrong Waters, hot Spices, and prouoking Sawces; of which Lucan hath these elegant Verses:

—O prodiga rerum

Pharfal.l.go

Luxuries, nunquam paruo contenta paratu: Et quesitorum terra pelago quiborum Ambitiofa fames, & lauta gloriamenfa, Discite quam paruo liceat producere vitam: Et quantum Natura petat. Non auro myrrhag, bibunt : sed gurgite pure Vitaredit : satis est populis fluuius q. Cerciq.

O wastfull Riot, neuer well content

With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious Of Cares by Land and Sea farre fetcht and fent: Vaine glorie of a Table sumptuous, Learne with how little life may be preserued. In Gold and Myrrhethey need not to carroufe, But with the Brooke the peoples thirst is served:

Who fed with Bread and Water are not sterued;

The Agyptians affirme that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeeres, be- Pier. Hiereg. 1.2. 40 cause the heart in a perfect bodie waxeth and groweth to strength siftie yeeres, and afterwards by the same degree decaieth and withereth. Epigenes findeth in his Philosophie, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty yeeres, and Berofus to a hundred and feuenteene veeres. These opinions Plinie repeateth and reproducts, producing many Examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and review of the eighth Region of Italie, there were found in the Roll (fayth Plinie) Plinie, case foure and fiftie persons of an hundred yeeres of age: seuen and fiftie of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and five and twentie: foure, of an hundred and thirtie: as many that were hundred and fine and thirtie, or hundred and fenen and thirtie yeeres old: and last of all three men of an hundred and fortie: and this fearch was 50 made in the times of Vespasian the Father and the Sonne.

The simple dyet and temperate life of the Essans gaue them long account of ma- Ioseph.antio.1.13 ny yeeres: To did it to the Secretaries of Agyptian Ceremonies, to the Persians Ma- cap.8. gisians and Indian Brachmans. The Greekes affirme out of Homer, that Nestor lived plint q.c.48. three Ages, and Tirefias fixe, Sybills three hundred yeeres, Endymion of the leffe Afia

little leffe: Also Masanssa of Numidia lived very long, and Dando of Illyria. Among the Kings of Arcadia many lived three hundred yeeres (layth Ephorus.) Hellanicus affirmeth of the Epeians, that some of them live full two hundred yeere: and so doth Diodorus Siculus of the Egyptians; and that these reports are not fabulous; Iolephus bringeth many witnesses with himselfe, as Marethon, Berofus, Mochus, Estius, Hieronymu Agyptius, Hecataus, Ephorus , and others. And Anthonie Fume an Hillorian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeere 1570, there was an Indian pre. fented to Solyman, Generall of the Turkes Armie, who had out-lived three hundred vecres. I my selfe knew the old Countesse of Defmond of Inchiquin in Munster, who lived in the yeere 1589, and many yeeres fince, who was married in Edward the to Fourths time, and held her loynture from all the Earles of Defmond fince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Munster can witnesse. Strozzius Cigogna, Out of Torquemada Maffaus, and the like Authours, telleth of some that have not only farre exceeded the terme prescribed by Epigenes; but beene repayred from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference betweene the abilitie of men in those dayes wherein Galenthe Phisician lived, it may easily prove vnto vs what reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first age. For Galen did ordinarily let bloud fixe pound weight, whereas wee (for the most part) stop at sixe Ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes 20 of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure and thin Ayre, and temperate vie of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long vpright; on Ayre wee feed alwayes and in euery instant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppresse and ouercharge Nature, maketh her to sinke vnawares in the midway; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Ayre, and a temperate vie of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

# δ. V I.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledge by Tradition: and that ENOCH writ before the Floud.



Fourth scruple hath beene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to Moses, seeing there was no Storie thereof written, and if any such had beene, yet it is conceived, that all memorie of Antiquitie perished in the Vniuersall Floud.

But if we consider the curiositie and policie of elder ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also couered 40 and hid from the vulgar fort, as Iewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as what soeuer was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wife men to a posteritie equally zealous; Ex animo in animum fine literu , medio intercedente verbo: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by Efdras Origen, and Hilarius, (as Mirandula conceineth) that Moses did not onely vpon the Mount receiue the Law from God, but withall, secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem; a mort fecret and true explanation of the Law; which (faith he, out of the same Authours,) hee delivered by mouth to Iosuah, and Iosuah to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, 50 which hee called fecretiora, to the rude multitude, were no other quam dare fanctum canibus, & inter Porcos [pargere Margaritas, then to give holy things to Dogges, and to cast Pearles before Swine. In succeeding times this vinderstanding and wisedome began to bee written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beafts,

Dion. Arcep. Fol.18.

CHAP.5. S.6. of the History of the World.

birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priefts. Of the first the Cabala of the Iewes was an imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to Zoroafter, Mercurius, Cadmus, and others; but falsely.

This Cabala importeth a Law, received by tradition and vnwritten. Cabala in He- cabalaeff fienbrew is receptio in Latine, and a recessing in English. And this custome was also held non veuelata. by the Draids & Bards of our ancient Britaines, and of later times by the Irilb Chroni- P. M. 82. elers called Rymers. If then fuch as would feeme wifest in the vie of reason, will not Miranda 10, fel acknowledge, that the storie of the Creation or beginning of all things was written ro by inspiration, the holy Gholt guiding the hand of Moses; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then vied) be deliuered vnto him by a more certayne presumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquitie had preserved and left to their successors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the iniurie of the time and other hazzards. For, leaving to remember that Adam instructed Seth, and Seth his children and succesfors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that Methulalem lived together with Adam himselfe two hundred fortie and three yeeres, and Noah with Methusalem no lesse then fine hundred yeeres : and before Noah dyed, Abraham was fiftie and eight yeeres old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinarie way 20 might come to Ifrael, and lo to Moles.

But besides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the vse of letters was found out in the very infancie of the world, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and bricke by Enoch : of which losephus affirmeth, that one of them remayned lof l.r. euenin his time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to Seth. But of these prophecies of Enoch Saint Inde testifi- Ind. Ep. v. 14. eth; and some part of his Bookes (which contayined the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in Arabia falix, in the Dominion of the Queene of Saba (faith Origen) of which Tertullian affirmeth that he had seene Origen. Homil. 1 and read some whole pages. It is not therefore strange, that Moses came to the know-30 ledge of the Creation, and storie of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scrip-

tures) make more manifelt. Now for the Bookes of Enoch, how soeuer some men make question of them, sure I amthat Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Beda, Procopius, Gazeus, (with others) cite Orig. Homil. 28. them in their writings : although Medina, for an argument to proue them vnwrittentraditions, alleageth that Pope Geiafius among other the Apocryphall Scriptures Euang. Iohan.

(which he rejecteth) named not these of Enoch; but that what societ was remem- Gelas distant bred out of them, the same was deliuered by Tradition from the Iewes. But I ra-40 therthinke with Pererius, that such a Booke there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Heretikes, who tooke occasion upon the antiquitie thereof, and out of that place of Michael contending with the Deuill about the body of Moses, to frame and adde thereunto many inventions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is, that neither Philo, nor Iosephus (the most diligent searchers of Antiquitie) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint Av-GVSTINE, Scripsisse quidem nonnulla diuina Enoch ellum septimum ab Adam negarenonpossumus: That ENOCH the sewenth from ADAM did write divers divine things we cannot denie. Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected be-50 cause of the antiquitie, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Booke was found amongst those Canonicall Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in Armario Iu-

daico (faith Tertullian) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might be preserved by mulicrum. Noah. Surely, that Enoch wrote the prophecies remembred by Inde, no man can

Hebr. 11.5.

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denie; how they were delivered to posteritie I know not, whether by the lewes Cabala, or by what other meanes, the same is but mans coniecture. And (certainely) by the knowledge ascribed to Noah of the motions of the Heauens, and of the Natures and conjunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to Zoreaster, and then to Abraham, it is very probable that Woah had feene and might preserve this booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and found out, but left by Seth to Enoch, and by Enoch to Noah, as hath beene said before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of Seth to Enoch, and that Noah lived with Methusalem, who lived with Adam, and Abraham lived with Noah, it is not strange (I say) to conceive how Moses 10 came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by Gabala and Tradition. had the vindoubted word of God neede of any other proofe then selfe-authoritie.

Of the men of renownee before the floud.

Ow let vs consider the relation of Moses, who nameth seuen descents of Cains children, and of Adam by Seth ten: Seth being given by God in stead of Abel; and of Seth was Enosh begotten, in whose time men 20 began to professe Religion, and to offer facrifice in publike. For although Adam instructed his children in the knowledge of God their

Creator, as appeared by the facrifice offered by Cain and Abel; yet it seemeth that after the birth of Enolb men began publikely to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they serued and praised God by Communion and in publike manner, or calling vpon the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of Enosh the sonne of Seth, to the time of Henoeb the some of Iared, there is nothing remembred by Moses, but their owne births, the births of their fonnes, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of Henoch it is written, That he walked with God, and he was no more seene: for God tooke him a- 20 way. By that, that he walked with God, was meant, that he was a just and vpright man, and that he feared, loued, and obayed God. For the same phrase Moses vieth of Noah. NOAH was a just and vpright man in his time, and NOAH walked with God. The Seuentie connert it, ENOCH placuit Deo; HENOCH pleased God. And although Aben-Ezra and others understand this place, (tulit eum Deus : ) scilicet, mortuus est; God tooke him away (that is ) he dyed, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he dyed; yet the difference which Moses maketh betweene the pietie of Henoch and the rest of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he vfeth to all elfe, makes it manifest, that Henoch was not dissolved as the rest. For to all 40 the rest of the Patriarchs, Moses vseth these wordes, And he dyed; but of Henoch he spake otherwise, saying only, he was missing, or he was not seene. Et non inueniebatur (Saith the Epistle to the Hebrewes) quia Deus eum transsulit; And be was not found, for the Lord tooke him away. In the same place it is expressly added, that he saw not death.

But whether this taking away of Enoch were not with the same kind of changing, which S. Paul promiseth, when he saith, that when the end shall come, we shall not all die,

but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After Henoch, Moses passeth ouer to Methusalem and Lamech, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death : saving that Lameth prophecied of his fonne Noah, faying, This same shall comfort us concerning our worke, and forrow of our to bands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed. Of Noah, Mofes writeth more amply, then of any of the rest of Adams children by Seth, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his familie) prescrued, because he was an vpright man in his time, and feared God.

Bur of the warre, peace, gouernement, and policie of thefestrong and mightie men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memorie remayning : whose stories if they had beene preferued, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been electro posteritie. For the exceeding long lines of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wirs had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeeres) how much of necessitie must the same adde of wisedome and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoener can be told of after times; especially in respect of this old age of the world. when we no fooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to HIPPOCRA-10 TES. The breus, ars long a, tempus praceps; (which's) Life is fort, Arte is long and Time is Allera beadling: And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of Moses: These were might ween, Gon. 5.4 which in old time were men of renowne. But these men of renowne ( whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body and crueltie of minde) trufled fo much to their owne abilities, as they forgat altogether the pierie of Seth, and the waves wherein Henoch walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were emillonly verfs. enill, and continually enill. And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of Cain, but it was then vinue fall, when the children and fonnes of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and misted by their idolatrous. Wives, the Daughters of cain, or 20 of those other men, louing themselves and the world only.

That these fonnes of God were Angels, which being taken with the beautie of wo- Gen. 5. v. 24. men, accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely, Lactantius and Eufebius, missed by 10fephus: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this millaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themselues with large answeres and very needlesse: the question being vncapable of dispute, especially since S. Chrysoflome and S. Augustine have answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honored with the title of Gods children, it dothencry where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as Christ witnes-30 feth) behold the face of God, (that is) alwayes attend his Commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fell with Lucifer, for sake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become Incubi, or Succubi, contrarie both to Nature and Grace,

d. VIII.

That the Giants by Moses (o called, were indeede men of huge bodies : as also diners in later times.



were more then madnesse to imagine.

F these Giants which Moses calleth mightie men, Goropius Becanus an Antuerpian (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall then the bodies of Nimrod or Hercules) hath written a large discourse, intituled Gigantomachia, and strained his braines to proue, that there were neuer any such men: his reasons (who soeuer desires to lose time) he may

finde them in the Treatises beforenamed. It is true that Cyrillus reproues the Gracian Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelesty, That the Giants haue in elder times not only cast vp Mountaynes vpon Mountaynes, but remoued Islands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting vp Hils, 50 and making warre with the Gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the storie of Nimrod, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God faw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of Orpheus and Heliodus, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the sonnes of God, and by

I.Cor.15.51.

Gen. 5 . 24.

6.9.

the Earth the Daughters of men : which verses of Orpheus are by John Caffam (who hath written a wittie discourse of this subject) thus changed into Latine :

> Nomine cœlestes illos dixère Gigantes Orti quod terra fuerint & sanguine cali.

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, ô heaven, they came, Whom thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and selfe-beleeuing men dispute of, and make doubt 10 of if they cannot conceive that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there have beene in all times fince ? Seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifeftly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlative strayning of wordes, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them Oppressors, because they were Giants, and therefore had abilisie to oppresse, then say, That they were called Giants onely, because Oppressors. For first, Moses himselfe calleth them mightie men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and asterwards. men of renowne, (that is) of great vndertaking and aduenterous action. And if the fame stature of body, and abilitie had not beene found among divers Nations after the generall floud, then might this place of Moses have more willingly harkened to a

Num.15.34. Deut.1.v.21,20

Ames c. 1.

Gen. 14.5.

Verf.21.

Bar. 3. 2. 26. Deut.3.v.11.

Cap. 14.4. 1.Sam.17.4.

dispute, and yeelded to interpretation. But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will referue to accompanie the Giants of Albion, in the storie of Britanie) the Scriptures doe cleerely and without all allegoricall construction anow, That, besides Nimrod, there were found of these Giants in the time of Abraham, of Moses, of Iolua, and of David: namely, the Rephaims in Afteroth; the Zuzai or Zanzummims in Ham, and the Emims, which dwelt anciently in the Land of Moab : whom Moses (for stature) compareth with the Anakims, which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for Giants 30 as the Anakims: Likewise, where Moses speaketh of the Land of Ammon, he vseth these words: That also was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: and whom the Ammonites call Zamzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims. And these Giants called Rephaims in Asteroth and Karnaim. and the Zuzei or Zanzummims, Chedorlaomer King of Elam ouer-threw, affifted by other Kings his affociates. Also the Prophet Amos found among the Ammonites men of Giantlike stature, whom he compareth to the Cedar, and whose strength to the Okes; and the Prophet BARVCH, These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre. Particularly it is written of og, King of Basan, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and soure cubits broad: for onely 40 og King of Basan remayned of the remnants of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of Basan, foure hundred yeeres after the Expedition of Chedorlasmer. Moreouer, those Discouerers and Searchers of the Land of promise (sent by Moses from Cadesbarre in Paran) made report at their returne of the great stature of those Num.13. v.34. people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of Anak, in these wordes: All the people which we faw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sonnes of Anak, which come of the Giants, to that we feemed in our fights like Graffe-hoppers, and fo we were in their fight, (that is) the Searchers found in their owne judgements a maruailous difference between the Anakims and themselves: insomuch that the Israelites were so stricken with feare, as they rather sought and defired to returne againe into 50 Egypt, and were more willing to endure their former flauerie, then to fall by the strokes of those fearefull Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put vs out of doubt, that Goliab the Philistine of Gath, was a Giant of fixe cubits and a span long: the Armor which he wore waighed five thousand shickles of brasse: the shaft of his speare

was like a Weauers beame, and his speare head waighed sixe hundred shickles of vron. Also in Samuel there is mention of another Goliah, lurnamed Getheus, because 2.Sam.21,2.19. he was of Gath: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slaine by Iehona- 1.chron. 20.21. than, Davids Nephew, who had twelne fingers, and as many toes : a man of great flature, and the fangers were by fixes, even foure and twentie.

Alfothan Alf as it had beene a Kid, and after flue thirtie of the Philiflines, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a law-bone of an Asse: And lastly, he tooke the gates 16.3. of Azzib, and the two Posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them to you his shoulders, and carryed them to the top of the Mountayne before Ebron. If then it be approved by every judgement, that both Nature and the Heavens waxe old, and that the great age of Time hath (withit selfe) infeebled and almost worncout the vertue of all things, then I fay, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her yong ones more throng and beautifull, then it did in after-ages: so also those Giants, those mightie men, and men of renowne as farre exceeded the proportion, nature, and ftrength of those Giants, remembred by Moses of his owne time, and after him their

and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne 20 in the withered quarter and Winter of the world: If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and new-

fuccessors, as the ordinarie proportion of all men in generall, soone after the floud

But the wickednesse (especially in crueltie and oppression) of these men was such, as Godtherefore by the floud gaue end to all flesh, but to the just Noah and his family. and God repented him that he had made man, which S. Augustine thus expoun- Gen. 6.61 deth : Neg, enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sai pænitet, cuius est de omnibus om- Decivit Deis nino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa prascientia. Sed si non vtatur Scriptura talibus 1.15.6.25. verbis, non le quodammodo familiarius infinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult effe consultum: vt & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quarentes, &

20 alat intelligentes; God (faith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men v(e to doe) but if the Scripture did not vfethose wordes or the like, it should not (in a fort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all forts of men, for whom it

would prouide: that it might terrifie the proud, firre up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and mourish those that under-

# CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rifing, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old

Legends. 10

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ansignt truth.



ERE before wee proceede any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the Greekes and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inuentions, 20 and by breaking into parts the Storie of the Creation. and by delivering it over in a mystical sense, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumperie, have fought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those inter-mixt discourses of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne

out of the bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned Chymist can aswell by separation of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of 30 the most healthfull herbs and plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) so, contrarie to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which seeke after God and Truth finde our enery-where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Storie of the first Age, with all the workes and maruailes thereof, amply and liuely exprest.

## ð. I I.

That the corruptions themselves were very ancient: as in the family of NOAH, and in the old Ægyptians.

Vt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one having erred but once, the other euer) as concerning mankinde it tooke such effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being with-drawne) all the posteritie of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a

perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmefull qualitie, as the waters of the generall floud could not fo wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankinde. Yea, even among the few sonnes of Noah, there 50 were found frong effects of the former poylon. For as the children of Sem did inherit the vertues of Seth, Enoch, and Noah; so the sonnes of Cham did possesse the vices of the sonnes of Cain, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the Chaldeans began soone after the floud to ascribe divine power and honor to the Crea-

### of the History of the World, CHAP.6. S.3.

rure, which was only due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the Egyptians and Phanicians did not only learne to leave the true God, but created twelve feuerall gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped; and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus fayth, Duodecim Deo- Herodin End rum nomina primos Ægyptios in vsu habuisse, atg, Gracos ab illis cepisse mutuatos, cos se prius terpe. aras, & imagines, & templa Dÿs sibi erexisse; The Ægyptians (layth he) sirst deutsed the names of the twelue Gods, which the Greekes received from them, who first erected unto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples for the Gods.

# d. III.

That in processe of time these lesser errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the erose Superstitions of the Agyptians.



V r as men once fallen away from vindoubted truth, doe then after wander for euermore in vices vnknowne, and daily trauaile towardes their eternall perdition: so did these grosse and blind Idolaters euery Age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very GoD; and did not

20 thereby erre in worshipping mortall men only, but they gaue divine reverence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Euening, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Passions and and Affections of the Minde, to Palenesse, Sicknesse, Sorrowes, yearo the most vnworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemie, Rhodius Anaxandrides Nat. com. Li. C. 7 derideth in this manner.

> Bouem colis, ego Deis macto bouem. Tumaximum Anguillam Deum putas : ego Obsoniorum credidi suauisimum. Carnes fuillas tu canes, at gaudeo Hijs maxime: canem colis, quem verbero Edentem vbi deprehendo forte obsonium.

I facrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore. I broyle the Egyptian Eeles, which you (as God) implore: You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I find it sweet. You worship Dogges, to beate them I thinke meet, When they my store deuoure.

# And in this manner I VV E NAL.

Porrumant cape nefas violare aut frangere morfu: O fanctas gentes, quibus hac na cuntur in hortis Numina!

Sat.15.2.9.

The Egyptians thinke it sinne to root up, or to bite Their Leekes or Onyons, which they ferue with holy rite? O happy Nations, which of their owne fowing Haue store of gods in euery Garden growing!

ø. 1111.

Aug.l 19.0.22.

Eufeb.l. 1. Prap.

Euang.c.7. & li.

Cic.l.3. de nat.

Gen.4.16.

Phorn.l.dena-

Lo.m Protago.

Gent.

De Ciuit Dei.

ò. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient Records among the Azyptians and others the first Idols and Fables were invented: and that the first IVPITER Was CAIN, VVLCAN, TVBALCAIN, 66.



V T in fo great a confusion of vanities, were among the Heathens themselues there is no agreement or certaintie, it were hard to finde out from what example the beginnings of these inuentions were borrowed, or after what ancient patterne they erected their building, were to it not certaine, that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and

of what soener was done therein, partly from some inscriptions vpon stone or metall remaining after the Floud, and partly from Mizraim the sonne of Cham, who had learnt the same of Cham, and Cham of his Father Noah. For all that the Agyptians write of their ancient Kings, and date of times cannot be fained. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their Iupiters also, their Saturnes, Vulcans, and Mercuries with the rest, which S. Augustine out of Varro, Eusebius out of many prophane Historians; Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, and many more have observed. to wit, the Phanicians, Phrygians, Cretians, Greekes, and other Nations; yet was Cain the some of Adam (as some very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the 20 first and ancient Jupiter; and Adam for the first Saturne: for Jupiter was sayd to have Deorum.
Armob.a. contra invented the founding of Cities; and the first Citie of the World was built by Cain, which he called Enoch, of whom were the Henochij before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of Plato in Protagorus, which also Higinus in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that, many Cities were founded by divers men : Tamen primam latissimam à primo & antiquissimo Iova adificatam : yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient IVPITER, seated in the East parts, or in India, according to that of Moses: And CAIN dwelt towards the East side of Eden, &c. where also the Henocky were found after the Floud. And therefore was Inpiter by the Athenians called Policus, a Founder of Cities, and Herceios, an Incloser or strengthener of Cities; 30 (fay Phornutus and Paufanias) and that to Jupiter Herceios there were in very many places Altars & Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Floud, Plato also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after Mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which as his meaning hee deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke of Lawes: for he faith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Floud. This first supiter of the Ethnickes was then the same Cain, the sonne of Adam,

who marrying his owne Sifter (as also lupiter is sayd to have done) inhabited the East, where Stephanus de vrbibus placeth the Citie Henochia. And besides this Citie of Henoch, Philo Indans conceiveth that Cain built fixe others, as Maich, I ared, Tehe, 40 Gen.4.20.21.22 lefea, Selet and Gebat: but where Philo had this I know not. Now as Cain was the first Jupiter, and from whom also the Ethnickes had the invention of Sacrifice: so were Jubal, Tubal and Tubalcain (Inventors of Pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musick) the same, which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, Mercurius, Vulcan and Apollo; and as there is a likelihood of name betweene Tubalcain and Valcan: so doth Augufine expound the name of Noema or Namath, the Sister of Tubalcain, to signifie Venusta, or beautifull Voluptas, or pleasure; as the wife of Vulcan is sayd to be Venus, the Ladie of pleasure and beautie. And as Adam was the ancient and first Saturne, Cain the eldest Iupiter, Eua, Rhea, and Noema or Naamah the first Venus: so did the Fable of the dividing of the World betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of Saturne arise, 50 from the true Storie of the dividing of the Earth betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of Noah: so also was the Fiction of those Golden Apples kept by a Dragon taken from the Serpent, which tempted Euah: so was Paradife it selfe transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Hesperides: the prophecies, that

christ should breake the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables of Hercules killing the Serpent of Helperides, and descending into Hell. and captinating Cerberus: so out of the taking vp of Henoch by God, was borrowed the conversion of their Heroes (the Inventors of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Starres and Heauenly Signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and ascension of Astrea; of which ouid:

> Vltima cælesiûm terras Astraareliquit; Astræa last of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

Ouid, Met.l.t.

· For although thereby the Ethnickes would understand Justice it selfe to have fai- Nat. com. l. 2 c. 2 led, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person; yet as it is vfual among the ancient Potes to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of Men and Women, as Defire by Cupid, Valour by Mars, Beautie or Luft by Venus, so doe they also the persons of Men by like Vertues and Vices, and therfore by Infrice and Astrea, Enoch: the Iustice and pietie of Enoch being in the same manner exprest, as that of Noah was by Moles, for Woah was fayd to be a just man; And No AH walked Gen.7. with God. And of Enochit is written, that he walked with God, and hee was no more feene: for Godtooke him away.

V. 1.

CHAP. 6.5.4.

20 From this Storie also of the first Age, and from that part where Moses remembreth the Giants begotten by the Sonnes of good men youn the Daughters of the wicked (whom Moses calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre vndertaken against the gods, from the building of the Towre of Babel by the Giant Nimord, as S. Augustine termeth him. Which warre of their Giants L. de Civit. Dei. Cornelius Seuerus thus describeth:

Tentauêre (nefas) olim detrudere mundo Sydera, captiniá, lovis transferre Gigantes . 1 Imperium, er victo leges imponere calo.

The Giants did advance their wicked hand Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe, And robbing love of his Imperiall Crowne, On conquered Heauens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that Nimrod purposed to raise the building of Babel to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any conjunction of the Starres, should bury them under the moysture of a second Floud, but that by this building (if they had beene herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heauen it selfe. Also the making of Leagues, Peace and Couenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, wherof Virgil both in the eight and twelfth of his Eneides hath a touch, was as it feemeth borrowed from Mofes, Exod. 24. Who when he read the Booke of the Couenant, sprinkled the people with bloud:

We find also many remembrances of Seth, the paternall Ancester of Henoch and Ioseph.Li.comra Noab: for Amenophis, the same King of £gypt, which raigned at such time as Mofes Appear. carried thence the children of Ifrael, (as of late some learned men mistaking his time supposed) called his Sonne and Successour Setho, of Seth, and of the same Seth (as many men of good judgement have granted) were the Princes of Thrace called O Seuthes, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memorie of Plut. in Iside. Seth most manifestly preserved, that the Agyptians worshipped Seth, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whome they called a principall Prouince Setheitica. Wee also finde in Bithynia the Citie of Sethia, and others of Strab.1.17.

the same name elsewhere. And sure from the Agyptians did the Gracians borrow

this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie preceding their owne; and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gaue the same names to their owne Idols which the Agyptians did to theirs.

è. V.

Of the three chiefest Ivpiters; and the strange Storie of the third.



V T of all those Armies of Iupiters remembred by the Ancients, Cicero maketh but three, because those were of most fame : which other Writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals. 10 The first was supiter, the sonne of Ether and Dies, so called, because

the one had reference to his celestiall conditions (for ather is as much as (hining or pure fire ) the other discouered his naturall vertues, which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to beethe sonne of Calum or Heauen, for the same former

respect; and this Iupiter was an Arcadian, and King of Atheus.

The third of whom all the Gracian Fables were deuised, was of Creet (now Candie) the sonne of Saturne and Ops. The name derived from the Latine is taken of Juuans Pater, from the Greeke Word Zeus, it signifieth life, but somewhat strained. Boccas in his Genealogie of the gods conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from 20 Jupiter the Planet; but whether that Starre had fuch a name, before the same was giuen to men, I know not. Inpiter is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called there after Iupiter; but howfoeuer they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, vet, by imitation, all kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sirnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honor and reputation in the World, (howfoeuer deserved) as the worthiest, that ever were, acquired by their well deseruings. Ioues omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui, The Ancients called all Kings IVPITERS, as TZETZES in his Varia historia confirmeth: Regesolim Ioves vocarant omnes: Inolde 30 times all Nations called their Kings IVPITERS. But where this last and most remembred IVPITER was borne it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of Creet: Mai.com.lii.c.7 others, that hee was but fent thither by his Mother Ops or Opis, to bee fostered and hidden from the furie of Titan his Vncle: because it was conditioned betweene Saturne and Titan, that Saturne being a yonger brother, and raigning (for his owne life) by Titans permission, hee should put to death all his male children, lest the Titans might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement because Saturne performed in his first borne, it is fained that Saturne denoured his owne children. Hereof Lycophron, thus turned into Latine:

Haud fit pinguior, Crudis sepulchrum quòd sit ipse filys.

Saturne to be the fatter is not knowne, By being the grave and buriall of his owne.

This composition betweene Titan and Saturne, Sybilla also witnesseth in these; Conceptis verbis : TITAN iurare coegit. SATURNUM, de se natum ne nutriat vilum, Quo possint regnave (enis post fata Nepotes.

> Things thus agreed: Titan made Saturne Sweare No Sonne to nourish; which by raigning might Vsurpe the right of Titans lawfull Heire.

But Opis the mother of Impiter, being delinered at once both of Impiter and Iuno, conveied Iupiter (first called Ly [anias) into Crete, as shee did afterwards his two brothers, Neptune and Pluto: where hee was brought up in Gnoffus, the chiefe Ci-

tie of that Iland, by Cresta the King, or by the Curetes, a people and Nation thereof. Other challenge him to be of Thebes, and a Thebane; others call him an Arcadum.

others make him of Messena. The like contention is found among the Greekes touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their blacke coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting fuch a God: others, that he was nourished by Beares: others, by To Goats: and of all these the idle Greekes have many prettie Tales. But in the end when Titan had knowledge, that Saturne had broken his faith, he fet on him, and tooke him

and his wife Prisoners, whom Inpiter againe rescued and delivered.

CHAP.6. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

But lastly, the Father and the Sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. Saturne being the leffe powerfull fled into Italie, and left his Kingdomes in Greece to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues the name of Iupiter was given him; yet, after he was once fettled and became potent, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adultery. without all respect of honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such, as doe ascribe the actions of many to one Jupiter, that not therewith satisfied, hee was after-20 wards knowne to offend in the sinne of Sodome with Ganimedes and others; and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne fister Iuno, but he rauished, betraved. stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest same, Niobe, Laodemia, and Alemena the wife of Amphitryon, by whom he had Pelasgus, Sarpedon, Argus, and Hercules: by Tayget he had Taygetus of whom the Mountaine Taygetus tooke name, with another some called Saon, of whom Sauona: by Antiope he had Amphion and Zetus: by Leda Castor and Pollux . Helen and Clytemnestra: by Danae Perfeus: by Iordana Deugalion: by Charme (the daughter of Eubulus ) Britomartis, by Protogenia hee had Athleus the Fa-30 ther of Endymion; and by Io (the Daughter of Inachus) Epaphus, the Founder of Memphis in Agypt: which Epaphis married Libya, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for so the Greekes afterward called Africa. Hee rauished Agina the Daughter of Elopus, and carryed her into the Iland Oenopia or Oenotria, afterward called Agina, on whom he begat Accus: by Torrhebia hee had Archefilaus and Carbius: by Ora Colaxes: he had also Dardanus by Electra, who built Dardanium, afterward Ilum and Troy. Hee begat the Brothers Talici, on Thalia, and on Garamantis Hiarhas. Hee had besides these (if they belye not their chiefe God) Phileus and Pilumnus, inventors of Bakers Craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that hee could not be Father to all these, who were borne in Ages so farre differing. And of to these his seuerall ranishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens Wiues, Daughters and Sonnes, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient Fables of his transformations into showres of Gold, Eagles, Buls, Birds, and Beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Gracian Forgeries. And yet did not the Greekes and Romanes feare to entitle this Monster, Optimus Maximus, though Cicero in his second Booke de natura Deorum affirme, that he deserved nothing lesse, and in his Oration pro domo sua, reprocheth Clodius for his Incest, by the name of supiter. His buriall was in Crete (laith Lucian) Cretenfes non folum natum apud se & sepultum Luc. in Sacrif. IOVEM testantur, (edetiam sepulchrum eins ostendunt: The Cretians or Candians doe not onely anow that IVPITER was borne and buried among them, but they shew his grave and O sepulchre: which Epiphanius also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the Mo-

numents of his Tombe in the Mountaine Ialius. This Callimachus in his Hymnes also witnesseth, but as offended thereat, sayth thus;

The Cretians ever Lyars were, they care not what they fay: For they a Tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu'st alway.

Diodorus

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Diod.1.2.c.5.

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Diodorus Siculus tels by way of report from the Libyan Fables, confirmed (as hee faith) by some Greeke Writers, that the originall of these gods was from the Westerne parts of Africk. For there among the Atlantida raigned one Vranus (which fignifieth Heauen) called so for his great skil in Astrologie, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wiues 45. Sons; but by his principall Wife Titea, hee had 17. Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name the Titanes. Of Titea, likewise it is said. that the for her goodnesse was canonized as a Goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Husband was stiled Heauen. But of al the children of Titea, her Daughter Basslea (which name sounding as Queene in English, she is by the Latine Trans- 10 lator of Diedorus called Regina) excelling the rest as far in vertue as in yeeres, was by generall consent of her Brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as O ucene after her Fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to Husband her Brother Hyperion, to whom thee bare a Sonne and a Daughter, called Sunne and Moone. The beautie and towardlinesse of these children moued her Brethren to enuie, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the Succession: wherefore they tooke the Boy and drowned him in the River Eridanus, now called Poe. The losse of this childe caused his Sister to breake her owne necke; and the losse of both her Children made the Mother to play many mad prankes, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild fashion, in fight of all the people, before whom shee is said to have vanished away. Ere shee 20 dyed, her Sonne (as the Fable hath it) fignified vnto her in a Dreame, that he and his Sifter by the providence of God should become immortall, that also the Sunne and Moone should bee called by their names, and that their death should bee revenged vpon the Murderers. According to which it is faid, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withall held her selfe as a Goddesse, and termed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her Brethren whilest they were young. Hyperion and his Race being extinguished, the other Sonnes of Franus divided the Kingdome. Of these Alias and Saturno were chiefe. Atlas raigned ouer the Countries lying about the Mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a just and wife Prince, deeply skilfull in Astrologie, and for 30 inuention of the Sphere, sayd to haue supported Heauen. Hee had many Sonnes; but the principall of them called Hefperus, being of his Fathers qualities and studies, was fayd to have beene carried away by the Winde, from the top of an high Hill in the midst of his Contemplations, and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vponthe Morning Starre. The seuen Daughters of Atlas were also sayd to have beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be deisted, or registred among the Worthies, brought forth Children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen Starres called Pleiades tooke name. Saturne the Brother of Atlas raigned in Sicilia, part of Africk and Italie. Iupiter another of the Sonnes of Vranus, raigned in Crete; who had tenne Sonnes which he 40 called Curetes; he called that Iland after his Wives name Idea; in which Ile he dyed, and was buried. But this Inpiter must not have beene that great one, but Vncle to the Great Iupiter, if these Fables of the Libyans were true. Saturne (as these Libyans tell the Tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in subjection. His Sister Rhea was married to Hammon, who raigned in some part of Africk. Hammon louing others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter, called Minerua, neere to the River Triton, who thereupon was called Tritonia. Hee also begat on Amalthea a Sonne called Bacchus, whom he caused secretly for feare of his life to be brought up at Ny/a, an Iland in the River Triton, under the tuition of his Daughter Minerua, and certaine Nymphes. To Amalthea he gaue in reward a goodly 50 Countrie, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the Tale of Amaleheas plentifull Horne, famous among the Poets. When Rhea heard these newes, she fled from her Husband to her Brother Saturne, who not onely entertained her as a Sister, but tooke her to wife, and at her instigation made warre vpon Hammen.

Hammon, vanquished him by affistance of the Titanes, and made him flee into Crete. The Curetes, Impiters children before mentioned, held the Iland at that time; which was new named Crete by Hammon, after the name of Creta the Kings Daughter, whom he tooke to wife, and had with her (women as may seeme being very gracious in those times) the Kingdome. Bacchus was growne a proper yong man, had found out the making of wine, the arte of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankinde, before the flight of his Mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had hapned, and that Saturne was comming against him with the Titanes; he leuved an Armie, to which the Amazons living not farre from o Ny/a, added great forces, in love of Minerua, who was entred into their profession. So Bacchus leading the men, and Minerus the women, they fet forward against Saturne, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the Titanes prisoners, returned to Nyla; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a fecond Expedition. In the fecond Expedition he behaued himfelfe fo well, that he wan the love of all the people by whom he passed; infomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of Saturnes rigorous gouernement, he was greatly strengthened, and the Enemie as much infeebled by daily reuolts: Comming to the Citie of Hammon, he wan a battaile of Saturne, before the very walls. After which Saturne with his wife Rhea fled by night, fetting the Towne on fire to despight Bacchus. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by Bacchus, and kindly entreated. Saturne had a yong sonne by Rhea, called Jupiter. This child Bacchus tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East countries; and comming into £gypt, he left this Iupiter, being then a Boy, Gouernour of the Countrie; but appointed vnto him as an Ouer-feer, one Olympus, of whom Impiter grew to be called Olympius. Whilest Bacchus trauayled through all Nations, as far as into India, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the Titanes had found out his Father Hammon in Crete, and began to warre vpon him. But Bacchus returned out of India, with whom Iupiter from &gypt, and his fifter Minerua, together with the rest that afterwards were held as o gods, ioyning all their forces, went into Crete, ouerthrew the Titanes, chased them, tooke, and fluethem, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when Hammon and Bacchus were dead, they were deified; and the great Impiter the sonne of Saturne fucceeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the world, having none of the Titanes left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the Libyan Gods, and the Levotian fables of Olivis, there is a rude refemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true historie. For the expeditions of Ofiris, and of Bacchus; the warres of the Giants in the one storie, of the Titanes in the other; the Kingdome of Agypt given by Hercules Lybicus to Orus, by Bacchus to Impirer, the Rattles of 1/is, and the Cymbals of Basilea, with many pettie circumstan-40 ces, neerely enough resemble each other, howsoener not alike fitted to the right persons, Sanchoniato (as Eusebius cites him) would have all these to be Phanicians, Eusebhians. and is earnest in saying, That it is a true storie, and no Allegorie. Yet he makes it feeme the more allegoricall, by giving to Vranus or Heaven for Daughters, Fate and Beautie, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by Diederus, though Diedorus have enough. To the Genealogie he addes Elius or the Sunne, as Father of Vranus, and among the children of Vranus, Iapetus, Betilus, and Dagon (whom Diedorus doth not mention by their names) giving withall to Vranus the proper name of Terrenus or Indigena, and of Illus to Saturne, but omitting Iupiter of Crete. The Pedigree of them is this:

1/4: Buch Bafilea Amal Iapetu: thea. Bacchu Epime theus. Deuca-Alcyo-Elettra.

Of CHAM, and other wicked ones, whereof some gat, some affected the name of Gods.



F Inpiter Belus, the sonne of Saturnus Babylonicus, otherwise Nimred, it seemeth that Cicero had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after these times were the Greekes but Saluages, if they seeke no farther off for their Gods.

But the Agyptians, euen after the floud, began (somewhat before this Chaldaan Inpiter) to intitle Cham, the parent of their owne Mizraim, Inpiter Chammon, or Hammon. For the Etymologie of this word (Hammon) which the Greekes deduce ab arenis; from the fands, is ridiculous (faith Peucer;) neither yet is his owne much better, who brings it from Hammath, which fignifieth heate : because the said Temple of Jupiter Hammon was seated in Libya, where the ayre is exceeding hot and fcortching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter Inpiter (among the Greekes and Romans the most renowned) it is certaine that he was borne not long before the war of Troy, as by many of his sonnes is made manifest; namely, Castor, Pollux, Hercules, Sarpedon, and others, which lived in that age of Priamus, vnder whom, and with whom Troy was destroyed.

Now feeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that Alexander Macedon, Tyberius, 10 Nero, Caligula, and others, fought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: For by what reason could the same Deitie be denved vnto Laurentia and Flora, which was given to Venus? feeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots as shee was.

# d. VII.

That the wifer of the ancient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.



Vt that euer Pythagoras, or Plato, or Orpheus, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (ouer-busily) have mixed their owne inventions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did Pythagor as hang both Homer and Hesiodus in hell, where

he fayned that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that Homer had read over all the bookes of Moles, as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which Instine Martyr remembreth many in that Treatise converted by Mirandula. As for Plato, though he disfembled in somethings, for feare of the Inquisition of the Areopagites, yet S. Augu-O fline hathalreadie answered for him (as before remembred) Et mirifice is delectatus est, qua de uno Deo tradita fuerant; And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, faith Iustine Martyr. Now howsoeuer Lattantius pleased to reprehend Plate, because (saith he) Plato sought knowledge from the Egyptians, and the Chaldeans, neglecting the lewes, and the bookes of Moses: Eusebius, Cyrillus, and Origen, finde Euseb, Preb. E. reason to beleeve the contrarie, thinking that from thence he tooke the grounds of uang. lib. 11. all by him written of God, or fauouring of Divinitie: and the same opinion had S. Ambrele of Pythagoras.

But whether it were out of the same vanitie, which possess all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that Plate also published (not vnder the right Authors names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the severitie of the Areopegites, and the example of his Master Socrates, by them put to death by poylon, I cannot judge. Instine Martyr (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to Platoes feare, whose wordes among many other of the same effect, are these: PLATO Mosis mentionem facere, ob id, quod vnum folumg, Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum tall matters non putauit, veritus Arcopagum; PLATO fearing the Arcopagites thought it not fafe for him among the Athenians to make mention of Moses, that he taught that there is but one God. But for that Divinitie which he hath written in TIMEO; id ipfum de Deo dif- therein first feruit quod & Moses; He discoursed and taught the same of God (faith Ivstine Mar-TYR) which Moses did. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answer Moses, O Ego sum existens (which is) Iam; and, existens missi me advos; I am hath sent me unto Pausanin Attic. Jou, herein did Plato (faith Iustine Martyr) no otherwise differ then that Moses vied Nat. com. 1.2.6.7 the word (qui) and Plato the word quod: Moses enim qui existit (inquit) PLATO Gent. sol.8. quadexistit; For Moses saith, He who is; PLATO, That which is. Now of Gods in- 14. ve sup. comprehensible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expresse the same, Exad 3.14.

Cyril.cont.lu-Origen, cont.

Pencer de Oracul.

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All

ule ( !

In Timeo.

Laertius.

De Leg b. 1. 10.

he giueth this testimonie : Genitorem Vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quam inuentum impossibile digne profari; It is as hard to finde out the Greator of the Vniner fall, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily. And what can be more agreeable to the Maiestie of Gods nature, then this propertie by Plato acknowledged ? Deus bonus & quidem. Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non sausa; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good but of any thing that is evill he is no cause at all : and againe, Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi , & originis omnium rerum: The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the original of all things. Apple 1vs the Platonist : Summus Deus infinitus est, non (olum loci exclusione, sed etiam natura dignitate: Et nihil est Deo similius & gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus; The 10 mest high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature : neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God then a man of a perfect beart. THALES affirmed, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient : Quia nunquam effe capit; Because he neuer had any beoinning. ZENO, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men. Athenodorus, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was euervwhere present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to Moses storie of the Creation, then this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in Euripides, Scholler of Anaxagoras?

> Cælum terrag, vnius formæ fuit: Sed cum fuissent abiuncta amplexu mutuo, Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita, Arbores, aves, fera, quafg, affert mare, Genusg, mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one forme did beare: But when disioyned once they were From mutuall embraces. All things to light appeared then, Of trees, birds, beafts, fishes, and men The still-remayning races.

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato: so we finde the same excellent understanding in orpheus, who enery-where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God, though he vie the name of IVPITER, thereby to avoid the entire and danger of the time; but that he could attribute those things to the sonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which he doth to this IVPITER, there is no man who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith MIRANDVLA) quos ORPHEVS canit, non decipientium da- 40 monum , à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit ; (ed naturalium virtutum dininarumg, funt nomina; The names of those Gods whom ORPHEVS doth sing, are not of decesuing Deuils, from whom enill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of natural and diuine vertues. Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his instruction to Musaus, and the Hymne following teach vs : Respiciens vero ad divinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum aduerte intendens cor dis rationis capax conceptaculum : rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi Regem. Vinus est ex fe genitus, ex eo omnianata sunt : Ipse vero in illis versatur, nec quisquam cum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.

Autogenes.

Then marking this my facred speech, but truely lend Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend, And fee the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone

All elfe; in which hee's still, nor could it ere befall A mortall eye to fee him once, yet he fees all.

And againe the same Author,

CHAP.6. \$.7.

IVPITER omnipotens, & primus, & vitimus idem; IVPITER est caput & medium : Iovis omnia munus. IVPITER est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi. IVPITER & mas est, & fæmina nescia mortis. Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis IVPITER ignis. Et Pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA, eft IVPITER iple Rex, & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem. Nam prius occulait, magno polt numine, sacrum Cor referans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is Goo, and the same last is he. God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be. God is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie. He is the male and female too, shall never die. The spirit of all is God, the SVNNE, the MOONE, and what is higher. The King, th'originall of all, of all the end. For close in holy brest he all did comprehend, Whence all to bleffed light, his wondrous power did fend.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Agyptians, Grecians, and other Nations by them infected were I will onely repeate two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to those large and learned Collections of Instine Martyr, Clemens, Lattantius, Eusebius, Engubinus, Pencer, Plesis, Danaus, and others. For Cleanthes the Stoick, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and 30 properties: Boms, iustus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, viilu, speciosus, optimus, seuerus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, inst, holy, possessing himselfe, profitable, beautifull, best, senere, free, alwayes doing good, safe without feare, glorious, and selfe charitie. Erich ARMVs affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced enery nature, was only and enerywhere powerfull: agreeing with DEMOCRITYS: Rex omnium ipfe folus; He is the only King of Kings: and with Pindarus the Poet, Deus unus, Pater, creator summus, atq. optimus artifex, qui progressus singuis dinersos secundum merita prabet; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giueth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deferts. This God (faith Antis-THENES) cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere knowne; Nisi in o patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habes : Saue onely in that euerlasting Countrey, whose image thou hast none at all. Hereof also XENOPHANES COLOPHONIVS: Vnus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis, There is one God among gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals : and X ENOPHON . Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quicscere facit , magnus potenfa, quod omnibus patet : qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perluftrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mightie, as is manifest to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifest to mone, saue only to himselfe, who illuminateth all things with his ownelight. Finally, Plato faith : Totius rerum nature caufa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, aternus animantium sospitator, asi-50 duus mundi sui opisex, sine propagatione genitor, neg, loco, neg, tempore vilo comprensus, cog, paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilu; God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the Soule, the eternal preserver of living creatures, the continual framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place nor time: therefore few can conceive him in thought none can expresse what he is. Hieron. in Com. Therefore was it faid by S. HIEROME, St enim cunctos Philosophorum reuoluas libros. neselle est ut in eu reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, ut apud PLATONEM, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud Zenonem Stoicorum Principem, inferes & immortales animas, Oc. If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde in them Come part of the Vestels of God, as in PLATO, God the Creator of the world: In ZENO Prince of the Stoicks . Hell and immortall soules , &c. And this is certayne, that if we looke into the wifedome of all Ages, we shall finde that there neuer was man of folid vnderstanding or excellent judgement : neuer any man whose mind the arte of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensiue inspection aduised; but 10 that he hath found by an vnresistable necessitie, one true God, and everlasting being, all for euer causing, and all for euer sustayning; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly express, then that Agyptian Hermes, how soeuer it fayled afterward in his posteritie: all being at length by deuillish policie of the Agyptian Priests purposely obscured; who invented new gods, and those innumerable, best forting (as the Deuill perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.

# d. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Indaisme, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under IVLIAN miraculously confounded.



Vt all these are againe vanished: for the inventions of mortall men are no lesse mortall then themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldeans worshipped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which the lacke of fuell starueth, water quencheth, and want of ayre suffocateth: Iupiter is no more vexed with Iunoes ielousies; Death hath per-

fwaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that Time which hath deuoured it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the Bodies and Images of him and his : yea, their 10 stately Temples of stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to Baal, can no where be found vpon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to Diana. There are none now in Phanicia, that lament the death of Adonis; nor any in Libya, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can aske counsaile or helpe from Inpiter. The great god Pan hath broken his Pipes, Apolloes Priests are become speechlesse; and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfait Agrptuns, and coozening Aftrologers.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to these his ouer-throwes and dishonors : for after the Temple of Apollo at Delphos (one of his chiefe Mansions) was 40 many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repayred, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it received the last and veter subnersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the Eubaan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians vtterly fackt: Thirdly, by Pyrrhus the sonne of Achilles: Fourthly, by the Armie of Xerxes: Fiftly, by the Captaynes of the Phocenfes: Sixtly, by Nero, who carryed thence fine hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe fet vp at the common charge. But what soeuer was gathered betweene the time of Nero and Constantine, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remayned till such time as Iulian the Apostata sent thither to know the successe of his Parthian enterprise, at which time it was veterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heauen; and the image of Apollo himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten downe and lost in the earth. The

Снар.6. \$.9. of the History of the World

The like successe had the lewes in the same tulians time, when by his permission they affembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of Hierusalem: for while they were buffed to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrowne by an Earthquake. and many thousands of the lewes were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others flaine, and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though Am. Marcellinus report it more Am. Mar. 123; favourably for the lewes, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith hees cap.1. Allypius and the Ruler of the Province of Indea, being by Iulian busied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming Bals of fire iffuing neere the foundation, and oft confuming the Workemen, made the enterprize frustrate.

# ò. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.



Ow the Deuill, because hee cannot play upon the open Stage of this World (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as euer, findes it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effe-Auall adoration of himselfe then euer. For whereas hee first taught

them to facrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; hee now fets before them the high and shining Idoll of glorie. the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tels them that Truth is the Goddesse of dangers and opressions: that chastitie is the enemie of Nature; and lastly. that as all vertue (in generall) is without taste: so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth euery sense: for true wisedome (sayth hee) is exercised in nothing else, then in the obtaining of power to oppresse, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this Arch-politician finde in his pupils any remorfe, any feare or feeling of Gods future Judgement, hee perswades them that God hath so great need of mens foules, that he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: interorupting by his vigilant endeuours all offer of timefull returne towardes God by lave ing those great blockes of rugged pouertie, and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine presence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwayes frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other defolate and ouer-growne with graffe, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miferie passing by the one, worldly prosperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one wee find our fufferings and patience to attend vs: (all which have gone before vs to prepare our joyes) at the other our cruelties, couetous nesse, licentious nesse, injustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terribe forrow) staying

for vs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemie was euer most diligent: fo is he now more laborious then euer: the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an euening, and

the Worlds Tragedie and time neere at an end.

# CHAP. VII. Of NOAHS Floud.

Of Gods fore-warning; and some humane testimonies; and some doubting touching the truth of NOAH'S Floud.

10/eph.1.1.6.4.

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this destruction it pleased God to give warning vnto Noah: who (faith lo (ephus) fearing to perish among the rest, Secedens cum suis in aliam regionem migrauit: He departed with his children, and transiled into another Region. And of these Giants from whom Noab withdrew himselfe, Berofus writerh in this manner; That they exceeded in all forts of inhumane and unnaturall wickednesse, and that they were contemptores & religionis & Deorum, contemners of religion and of the Gods: a- 20 mong which mightie men (layth Berefus) vnus erat qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic

nomen erat NoAH, There was one more wife and renerencing the Gods then the reft, whose name was No AH: who with his three sonnes Sem, Iaphetus and Cham, and with their Wines, and the Wife of Noah, (namely Titea the great, Pandora, Noela, and Noeela) preserved themselves in the Arke. This Arke God commanded Noah to prepare: And God Saydunto No AH, Make thee an Arke of Pine-trees: thou shalt make Cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without with Pitch. For God made Noah to know that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruell Generations were alreadie fashioned in the Cloudes, which soone after should swal-, low vp and couer all living creatures, which breathed in the Ayre: Noah and his Family excepted.

Latt.in Praf. de falsa relig.

Gen.6.14.

V.13.

But this vniuerfall graue of waters, and generall Deluge hath not beene received by all; for divine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things, to which their owne reason cannot reach : Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet : whilest the truth lieth wrapped up in obscuritie. Many there are who have disputed against the universalitie of this overflowing, and have judged that this Floud of Noah fell but on some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder ages there haue beene many other Flouds (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof Nicholaus Damascenus writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by Iosephvs: Istopantia ca. Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos consu-Euleb de prapile gientes sermo est diluui tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Area deuectum in huiui vertice halisse, lignorumg, relliquias multo tempore conservatas, qui fortasse is suit, de quo etiam Moses Iudaorum Legislator scribit : thus farre this Authour. There is (fayth hee) aboue Minyada (or the Countrey of Minya) an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called Baris : on which it is reported, that many having fled thither were faued in the time of the Deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and refted upon the top of the Mountaine, whereanthere remained a long time after certaine pieces thereof; and this might be the same, of which Moses the Law-giver of the lewes maketh mention. And of this opinion were the Thalmudists (fayth Annius) that many Giants saued themselves of vpon Mount Ston.

But Berosus (who after Moses was one of the most ancient, howsoener hee have beene since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with Mosts as touching the generall Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his Historiein these words: Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua universus perit Orbis, oc. Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the world V niner sall perished : witnessing withall, that Noah with his Wife Tites, and his three Sonnes with their Wines (in all eight persons) were onely saued.

ò. I I.

Of the Floud in the time of Ogyges: and that this was not NOAH'S Floud.



Снар.7. \$.2.

VT from the vanitie of the Greekes, the Corrupters of all truth, (fayth Lactantius) who without all ground of certaintie vaunt their Antiquitie, came the errour first of all: who therein flattering themselues alfo, fought to perswade the World, that there was no Floud preceded the Floud of Ogyges, King of the Thebans in Baotia, or rather of Attica;

and therefore fayth Rhodoginus; OGYGVM id appellant Poeta, tanquam peruetus dinerio, Rhodos, 15,033; ab OGYGE vetuftismo: The Poets gave the name of OGYGIA to thines exceeding an-

cient, as of OGYGES the most ancient.

But let Ogyges be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that hee o lived but in Iacobs time (though Eufebius makes him later, and in Mofes time) and Eufebide prap. was borne 67. yeeres after him. There is also an opinion, that Ogyges was Cadmus Enang. l. 100.30 (and then was he farre later) as Rhodoginus in the ninth Booke of his Antiquities remembreth : Sunt tamen qui in Agypto regnasse autument bunc : vnde sit CADMVs qui in Graciam profectus Thebas condidit, à boue ingulato sie nuncupatas; quontam Syrorum lingua bos dicitur Thebe. There are (fayth he) who thinke that this Ogyges did raigne in Egypt, whereby he should be CADMVS, who transiling into Grecce built Thebes, fo named of a Beefe flaine: because in the Syrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.

But this Floud of Ogyges fell in the yeare of the World 3440. according to Eusebius, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the Floud of Noah in the yeere 20 2242, after the same account; and so there came 1200, yeeres betweene these Flouds, wanting but two, though heerein Eufebius was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his Chronologie. Now although the verie yeere and time of this ouerflowing in Achaia, or rather Attica, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a great differenceamong Writers, yet wholoeuer makes it most ancient, finds aboue 500. yeeres

difference betweene that and the generall Floud.

For Paulus Orofius affirmes, that this tempest fell voon the Athenians, but 1040. Liba.c.1. yeeres before Rome built. Bucholzerus fayth it was 1042. elder then Rome; which was founded (according to the same Buchelzerus) in the Worlds yeere 2219.though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the Story of Abraham) it was built in the Worlds yeere 3280. Now the general! Floud preceded the building of Rome (fayth Bucholzerus) 1563. yeeres: and the Floud of Ogyges 40 (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place Ogyges in his true age) the difference betweene these two Flouds must bee 520. yeeres, to which we (allowing 60.more) find 580. And that this of Ogyges was not the same of Noah (except we call Noah, Ogyges prifens, as some doe) it appeares by this, that xenophon. Anthe Floud of Ogyges then King of Attica or Ogygia, did not extend it selfe any fur- mianus. ther then the bankes of Archi-pelago, or the Agean Sea. For whereas Mela, Plinie, and Mela.lib.3. Solinus witnesse, that the Citie of Toppe in Indea was founded before the Floud; and Plin.lib.5. that (notwithstanding the waight of Waters) there remained on certaine Altars Ioppe opoidum of stone the Title of the King, and of his Brother PHINEVS, with many of the antiquissimum grounds of their Religion: fure, it is no where found among prophane Historians on the toto, others antenundation of the Solitorians of the Solito nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Floud of Ogyges spred it selfe over any part of Sy-nem terrarum ria, much lesse over all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of Attica conditum. Soline about Athens, and that of Achaia in Peloponnesus, it is very probable. For it see- ibid.

thefe

meth that at that time it was, when Helice and Bura were swallowed vp (Cities seated on the North part of Peloponne (us) of which Ouid:

Quid.Metam. 46.15.303.

Si quaras Helican, & Buran, Achaidos vrbes, Invenies sub aquis.

Bura and Helice on Achaian ground Are fought in vaine, but vnder Sea are found.

Aug de Cinit.

Of this Floud of Ogyges was invented the Fable of Apollo and Diana. For Latona 10 the Daughter of Caus, the Son of Tstan, being beloued and forced by IVPITER, and by him gotten with childe, Iv No thereat enraged, permitted her (as they fay) no part of the Earth to bee deliuerd on; and withall caused the monstrous Serpent Python to follow and affright her, where soeuer shee trauailed, till at length arriving at the Ile of Ortigia she was there received: in which she was delivered, first of Diana, and then of Apollo, being Twins; whereof BARLAAM makes this exposition: That at fuch time as the Deluge (which happened in Ogyges his Raigne) ceased, out of the abundant moissure of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thicke mists and fogges, that in Attica, and along the Coasts of the Agaan Sea, neyther the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by 10 night could pierce the Ayre, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dryed, and these vapours dissipated) the Ayre began to be cleere, and the people of Ortygia espied the light of the Moone somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sunne also appeared: fabulously (because DIANA represented the Moone, and Arorio the Sunne) they were reported to bee borne in the Ile of Ortygia, thereof afterwardes called Delos: which fignifieth ma-

And surely it is not improbable, that the Floud of Ogyges, being so great, as Hiflories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the Ayre sensibly discerned in those parts, and some vnusuall face of the Skies. Varre in his Bookes, De 20 gente populi Romani (as he is cited by Saint AVGVSTINE) reporteth out of CASTOR, that fo great a Miracle happened in the Starre of Venus, as neuer was seene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out as ADRASTVS CYZICENVS, and Dion Neapolites, fa-

mous Mathematicians affirmed in the time of Ogyges.

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planet, I doe not remember, that I have any where read, of lo good Altrologers flourishing among the Greekes, or elle where in those dayes as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets so exact, that it should need no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude. I see no reason why the difference found in the Starre of Venus should bee so held miraculous; confidering that leffer mifts and fogges, than those which couered Greece with so long darknesse, doe familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should varie, questionlesse it was very strange : Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie : for it stands well with good reason, that the fide of Venus which the Sunne beholds, being enlightned by him, the opposite halfe should remaine shadowed, whereby that Planet would, vnto our eyes, descrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to bee horned, as the Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our

GALILEVS, a worthy Astrologer now living, who by the helpe of perspective p Glaffes hath found in the Starres many things vnknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth fo much to have beene discouered in Venus by his late observations. Whether some waterie disposition of the Ayre might present as much to them that lined with ogges, as Galilaus hath feene through his Instrument; I cannot telifure I am, that the dif

concrie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather convince man of ignorance, then nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of Ogyges, was (as appeareth by this of Saint Avgvstine) accompanied with fuch vnufuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) fignes testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of Noah which was generall and altogether miraculous, may feeme to haue had no other token, or foreshewing, then the long preaching of Noah himselfe, which was not fegarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came fodainly, and tooke them all away.

ò. III.

Of DEVCALIONS Floud: and that this was not No AHS Floud: nor the Vmbri in Italie a remnant of any univer fall Floud.



CHAP. 7. S.3.

Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine. was that of Deucation in Theffalia, of which Saint Augustine out of Varro: His temporibus ( Dt VARRO Scribit ) regnante Atheniensibus CRANAO. Successore Cecropis (vt autemnostri, Evsebivs & Hieronymys) adhuc codem CECROPE permanente, diluuium fuit, quod appellatum est

DEVCALIONIS: (that is) In these times (as VARRO reporteth) CRANAVS the succellour of CECROPS governing the Athenians, or (as our EVSEBIVS and HIEROME

(ay) CECROPS yet lining, that Floud (called DEVCALIONS) happened.

And in the beginning of the elementh Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, hee vieth these words: Eduxit ergo Moses ex Egypto populum Dei nouisimo tempore CECROPIS Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Asserbaret Ascat Ades, apud Sicvonies MARATHUS, apud Arginos TRIOPAS: Moses led the People of Godout Agypt about the latter times of CECR OPS King of the Athenians. ASCATADES raigning over the Assyrians, over the Sicyonians MARATHYS, and over the Argives TRIOPAS: fo as to leaving the curiolitie of a few yeeres, more or leffe, it appeareth, that this Floud of Deucalion was eyther at the egression of the children of Israel out of Agypt, or neere it: and then after Noah 753. yeeres, according to Functius, who makes Cecrops to liue in the yeere of the World 2409 or if we follow MERCATOR, then 739 yeeres after Noah, and in the yeere of the World 2395. But if Deucation were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to Codoman; then giving vnto Deucalion fortic yeeres of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one yeere of Mercators account. But Deucalion by all approoued Historians is said to have beene 82. yeeres olde at that time. Now Clemens Alexandrinus dates the time of this Floud of Deucalion, and the conflagration and burning in Phaetons time, by the Raigne of Crotopus 40 King of the Argines; but Crotopus lived King of the Argines fixe yeeres after Ifrael departed £ 2796, which makes twentie yeeres difference, according to Functius, who will have this Floud and burning to have fallen fourteene yeeres before Moles left Egypt: for he gaue of the Worlds yeeres to the Floud and burning the yeere 2440. and to Moles his egression the yeere 2454. And yet Cedrenus thinkes that Moles was cedron. 1. 1.34. more ancient, and lived with Inachus; but that cannot bee true: for then had the Floud of Dencalion, and the burning of Phaeton, preceded the Floud of Ogyges, which is denied by all: for that of The falie (called Deucalions) followed that of Attica (called Ogygia) at least 250. yeeres or thereabouts. Eusebius in his Chronologie makes it 230. and so doth P. Orosius: Eusebius about the 50. yeere of Moses life, and 50 Cyrillus about the 67. and both after 2V gahs Floud 770. yeeres : for these bee Clemens Alexandrinus his words: Fuit autem in Gracia tempore quidem PHORONEI, qui fuit Clem. Alex. I. post In Achym, inundatio que fuit tempore Ogygis, There happened in Greece in the time of PHORONEYS, who lived after INACHVS, the Floud of OGYGES. Now if the Floud of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or 1016. yeeres before the first Olympiad, ac-

cording to Eusebius and Orosius; (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020 it fals out that ogyges Floud happened before the Hebrewes left £gypt 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the difference betweene the o-Eusebin Chron. pinions of Eusebius and Orosius. And for my selse (who rather follow those Chrono. logers, which give 60. yeeres more to Abraham after the Floud, then the rest) I reckon the times which come betweene these Flouds in this fort. The generall Floud was in the yeere of the World 1656. Jacob was borne in the yeere of the World 2160 fo as from the beginning of the Floud to IACORS birth, there were confumed 512. veeres. Ogyges Floudhappened 100. yeeres after IACOB was borne; and therefore after the generall Floud 613. yeeres. Now Deucalion was borne in the yeere of the to World 2356, and had lived 82: yeeres, when his Kingdome of Theffalie was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Floud was after Noahs Floud ended 782. yeeres. And hereto Annius his Xenophon agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres betweenethe generall Floud and Deucalions birth; to which adde 82. yeeres of his Age(as before) and then the Floud of The false followed the general 782. yeeres. The words of that Xenophon are thefe: Ab inundatione terrarum adortum DEVCALIONIS, (ecundo anno Sphari, feptingenti supputantur anni, qui natus anno dues & octoginta Thef-Caliam vidit inundatam, From the drowning of the World to the birth of DEVCALION. in the second yeere of Spharus, are numbred 700. yeeres, and when DEVCALION was 82. yeeres old, he saw Thessalia drowned. This Floud happened in the Winter time a- 20 bout Parnaffus : witnesse Aristotle in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom Saint Augustine so often citeth for his excellent learning, especially in Antiquities) findeth this Floud of Deucation to have happened in the time of Cranaus, who succeeded Cecrops: Orofius thinkes it somewhat later, Amphitryon raigning in Athens, the third from Cecrops. Only this of Deucation was very great, and reached not only ouer The sale it selfe, and the Regions adioyning Westward; but it covered the greatest part of Italie: and eyther the same, or some other particular Floud then happening opprest Egypt, sayth Eusebius. And therefore did the Greekes eyther thinke it, or faine it to be vniuerfall; and Deucalien, then King, fauing himselse and some others on the Mountaine of Thessale (of all other the highest, sayth Solinus ) was by reason 30 thereof (as Strabo witnesseth) sayd to be the preserver of Mankind. That this Floud couered a great part of Italie, Plinie and Solinus makeit probable: who affirme that the people then inhabiting Italie were therefore called ouspriot quia ab imbribus dilung (uperfuissent; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Booke, and Trezenius in his second : which Vmbri these Authours make the Parents of the Sabines, and the Sabines to bee the Parents of the Samnites, Piceni, Lucani, Bruty, and all others inhabiting anciently the bankes of the Mediterrane Sea. But that these Vmbri were not the Inhabiters of Italie before the Floud of 200ah, and so tooke name by saving themselves vpon the Appenine Mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs: shewing who, and who only then were preserued, 40 Albeneus dipmo- which is sufficient. Report hath aduentured further, telling vs that the first people which after the generall Floud inhabited Italie, were the Camefenes; (so named from Camele, whom CATO in originibus, another of Annius his Authours names for a confort of Ianus) which people lived altogether a savage life; till such time as Saturne arriving on those Coasts, deuised Lawes to gouerne them by: the memorie of whose afts in that Region Diodor and Thallus among the Greekes, Wepos Cassus and Varroamong the Latines have preserved; and of whom Virgil:

fayth that Camese was the wife and fifter Latt. 1.1.c.13.

Solin 1.14.

Strab 1.9.

Sol.c.7. Plin.ibid.

Plin.l.3.c.14.

Æn.1.8.319.

Primus ab athereo venit SATVRNVS Olympo, Arma Tovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis, . Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis. Composuit, legela dedit; Latiumg, vocari Maluit.

of the Historie of the World. CHAP. 7. S.4.

> SAT VR NE descending from the heavens high, Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his sonne, His Kingdome loft, and banisht thence doth flie. Rude people on the Mountayne tops he wonne To live together, and by lawes: which done He chose to call it Latium.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the Ausones, and after them of the Sicani: Nations, which againe fought to displant the ancient Inhabiters:

Tummanus Aufonia, & gentes venere Sicani,

Virg.l.8. Æn.

Then came th'Ausonian bands, and the Sicanian tribes.

Of these Sicani (which lest Spaine and sate downe in Italie) Thucy dides and Plinie give Thucyd. 16. testimonie: who were againe expelled by the Ligi, faith Thucydides. After all these Plin.l.3.c.5. plantations and replantations came the Vmbri, descended of the Gaules (faith Annius) Annius ex Sanot of those Gaules of France, but of those of Scythia, who commanded a great part muele Thalmuof Italie, even all Hetruria and Campania, as Herodotus, Plinie, and Dionysius have af-20 fured vs; and therefore this floud of Deucalion was long after that of Noah. For all Plin.13.6.5. those Nations were planted in Italie, and disposses of Italie againe, beforethe Vmbri Dion, i.z. & 2. were ever heard of, or had being. So that Kingdome was first called Camasene, then Latium or Saturnia, then Ausonia, then Sicania; before the Vmbri (in whose time Deucalions floud happened) possess the same, about 306, yeeres before the war of Troy: Lycaon then gouerning Arcadia; who being the Father of two and twentie Sonnes, the yongest called Ocnotrius inuaded Italie, who gave it the name of Ocno- Pansan, Arcad. tria. This name it held vntill Italus of the same Nation changed it into Italie, after lib.8. his owne name, about 250, yeeres before the fall of Troy. After these came the Pe- arif. pol.7.c.10. lasgi, of whom Plinie in histhird Booke and fift Chapter; and Strabo in his fift; 30 Thucydides in his fixth speakes at large: and after them the Lydi under Tyrrhenus their Herod.L.2. Captayne, that gaue name to the Tyrrbeni; who casting thence the Vmbri, tooke Plinds.c.4. from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had possess and past ouer the Appenine Mountaynes) they added divers others, whereof Telsina (afterward Bononia) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation, as these Vmbri, in those parts, I doe not affirme: having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And Stephanus thinkes, that the name was derived from the Greeke word ombros; but that these Vmbri of Italie were descended of the Nation of Soythians (called Galli) it shall be

shewed hereafter.

dilli.

Of some other records testifying the universall floud : and of two ancient deluges in Ægypt: and of some elsewhere.

Aint Avgvstine out of Varro affirmeth, that the Greekes and Latines made not any mention of the vniuerfall floud, because they had nothing of antiquitie foregoing that of ogyges, and therefore (according to Rhodoginus before remembred) were all things among the Greekes (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called Ogygia,

which we in English commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every familie which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of di-

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Died l.x.

ume letters was not received, finde no parent of more antiquitie, then fuch as they had themselues, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the Grecians, so did others vaunt themselves to be Indigena, and growing out of the earth, or invent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the Chaldeans had certayne knowledge of No. hs floud, as Berofus witnesseth; and Nicolaus Damafcenus maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforefaid) though he also affirme by heare-say, that some Giants faued themselues voon the Mountaynes Baris in Armenia, but speaketh not thereof as from any authoritie approued : vling the word fermoest; That such a Euf. de prep. E- speech there was. And Eusebius remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian Abydenus: who writeth that Sissibrus, to preserve himselfe from a floud foretold him is by Saturnus, fled to the hils of Armenia by ship, ad Armenian nauigio confugiebat: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) fent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which he also did a second time, but at the third returne the birds feet were couered with mudde and flime. To this effect are Eusebius words out of Abydenus, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of Cyrillus also affirmeth, that Alex. Polyhistor maketh mention of this generall floud.

And Plate in Timee produceth an Agyptian Priest, who recounted to Solon out of the holy Bookes of Egypt, the storie of the floud vniuersall, which (saith he) happened long before the Gracian inundations. Fryer Annius his Xenophon remembreth 20 a third floud, which also Diodorus Siculus confirmeth, somewhat more ancient then that of Ogyges in Attica. For he named the generall floud for the first, which happened (faith he) under the old Ogyges, Sub prisco Ogyge, which was Noah; he calleth the second Wiliaca: Hercules and Prometheus then living, 44- yeeres before that of Attica, in the 34. yeere of Belochus King of the Affyrians, though I doe not beleeue him as touching the time. But this floud covered a great part of the nether Agypt, especially all that Region subject to Prometheus; and hereof came the fable of the Nat. com.l. 4.2.6 Vulture on Prometheus his liver, afterward flaine by Hercules of Agypt: which fiction Diod, Siculus delivereth in these wordes : Fluuium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatema, aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum, HERCYLEM cum consily magnitudine, 30 tum virtute, volunt è vestigio compresisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum conuertisse : Vnde & Graci quidam Poeta rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, HERCVLEM tradunt Aquilam PROMETHEI jecur depascentem occidisse; This floud (meaning of Nilus) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eigle: but HERCVEES by his great judgement and vertue did againe compresse and straighten this River, so farre extended and over-spred, turning it into the old channels: Whence certayne Greeke Poets (converting this labour and worke of HERCVLES into a fable) denifed that HERCYLES flue the Eagle, which fed on PROMETHEVS liner; meaning that he delivered Prometheus of that forrow and torment, which for the

A fourth floud chanced about Pharus in Agypt, where Alexander Macedon built Alexandria, as Annius conceineth out of his Xenophon, who in this briefe fort Xonop de aquin, writeth of all these inundations: Inundationes plures fuere: prima nonimesti is inunda-Comm.pu An- tio terrarum sub prisco Ogyg E: secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many inundations (saith this same Xenophon) the first which was uninerfall of nine Moneths, and this happened under the first Ogyges: the second was Niliaea, and of one Moneths continuance in the time of Hercules and Prometheus Egyptians: a third of two Moneths under Ogyges Atticus : the fourth of three Moneths in The falia under Deucalion : and a fift of the like continuance (called Pharonica) under Proteus of Agypt, about the time of Helens 50 rape. Diodorus in his fift Booke and eleventh Chapter, taking the Samothraces for his Authors, remembreth a floud in Asia the leffe and elsewhere, of no leffe destruction then any of the other particular inundations, faying, that the same happened before that of Deucalion: the Sea of Pontus and Hellespont breaking in ouer the land.

losse of his People and Countrie (by the waters destroyed and couered ouer) he 40

But there have beene many flouds in divers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembred, Niliaca and Pharonica in Agypt: as in the yeere of our Redemption 590. when in October of the same yeere, Gregorie then being Bishop of Rome, there happened a maruailous ouerflowing in Italie, and especially in the Venetian Territorie, and in Lyguria, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at Rome, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp and left vpon the Land, after the waters decreased and returned. And in the yeere 1446, there perished 10000, people, by the breaking in Munster. of the Sea at Dordroch in Holland: of which kinde I take that floud to be of Achaia 10 or Attics. Before that and in the yeere 1238. Trithemus speaketh of an earthquake Edwis, & terwhich swallowed many thousands: and after that of a floud in Friseland, in which multa hominaum there perished 100000 persons. Strozius Sigog. in his Magia omnifaria, telleth of milia opprettean inundation in Italie, in the time of Pope Damafus, in which also many Cities of runt. Frifti quog, Sicil were swallowed: another in the Papacie of Alexander the fixth: also in the yeere fluctus tota ex-1515. Maximilian being Emperor. He also remembreth a perilous ouer-flowing ne submersa fuit . in Polonia, about Cracouia, by which many people perished. Likewise Viginier a & perierunt French Historian speaketh of a great floud in the South part of Languedoc, which fell 100000. in the yeere of our Lord 1557, with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the world, and judgement day; faying, That by the violent 20 descent of the waters from the Mountaynes, about Nismes there were remooned diversold heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both covne of filuer and gold, divers peeces of plate, and vessels of other metall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the Goths inuaded that Province, in the yeere 1156.

That the floud of NOAH was supernaturall, though some say it might have beene forescene by the Starres.

Ow howfoener all thefe flouds and many other, which have covered at fenerall times feverall Regions, not only in thefe parts of the world, at feuerall times leuerall regions, do only in the butin America also, (as I have learned of some ancient Southsayers among them) may be ascribed to natural causes and accidents, yet that vniuerfall floud (in the time of Noah) was powred ouer the whole face

of the earth by a power aboue nature, and by the especiall commandement of God himselse, who at that time gave strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaynes of the deepe: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, then any abilitie of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoeuer vnion could performe, without receiving from the Fountayne of all power, strength, and faculties supernaturall. Henricus Mechlimensis, a Scholler of Albertus Magnus, in his Commentaries vpon the great conjunctions of Albu Masar obser-40 ueth, that before the floud of Noah, the like conjunction of lupiter and Saturne, happened in the last degree of Cancer, against that constellation since called the Ship of Argos; by which the floud of Noah might be foretold, because Cancer is both a waterie signe, and the house of the Moone, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of moviture, according to the rules of Astronomie, and common experience. And this opinion Petrus de Aliaco vpon Genesis confirmeth, affirming that although Alio de Concor-Noah did well know this floud by divine revelation, yet (this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not 50 only fignes, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which Gen. 7.11. is God himselfe: and further that by \* Catarratte cali (Englished the windores of \* The word

properly fignifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carryed downewards, dasheth and breaketh; of apazos allido or frango. Hence, because windores doe not only open but also shut, the word hath beene expounded (Windores) for barres or floud-gates.

heauen)

But

CHAP. 7. S. 7.

heauen) Moses meant this great and waterie coniunction; the word (Catarratta) fignifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (faith P. de Aliaco) it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the Heauens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby for sake those wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercy.

Of this iudgement was Gul. Parisiensis, who understood that the wordes Catarralla cali, or windores of heaven, were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for these waterie signes, Cancer, Pisces, Pleiades, Hyades, and Orion, and of the Planets. Mars, Venus, and the Moone: which are the forcible causes of the greatest inundations. His owne words are these: Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebraorum catarract as 10 cœli vocâsse, nisi partes illas cœli, qua generatiua sunt pluniarum & inundationum aquarum. quales funt signa aquatica, vt Cancer, &c. as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) I perceiue not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meaneth by those wordes (Catarract aceli, or windores of Heauen) unlesse he thereby understand those celestial powers, by whose influences are engendred the rayne, and inundations of waters, such as are the waterie signes of Can-

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable wisedome this conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigour and facultie, and gaue to every operation increase of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountaynes, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and 20 heape of their waters; taking retention from the cloudes, and condenfing ayre into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or howsoeuer else best pleased his Al-powerfulnesse.

ò. V I.

That there was no neede of any new Creation of matter to make the uniuerfall floud : and what are Catarracta Cali, GEN. 7. VERS. 11.

Ow if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God restet the seuenth day: (that is) he did not then after create any new species) which granted, it may seeme that then all the earth and aire had not waters sufficient to cover the habitable world sifteen cubits about the highest Mountaynes. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrayned himselfe or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the world had want of water to ouer-couer the highest mountaynes, I take that conceit to be vnlearned and foolish; for it is written, that the fountaynes of the great deep were broken up (that is) the waters for fook the very bowels of the earth; 40 and all whatfoeuer was disperst therein pierced and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs confider, that the Earth had aboue one and twentie thousand miles: the Diameter of the Earth according to that circle seuen thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center some three thousand five hundred miles: Take then the highest Mountayne of the world, Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or Allas, the Mountaynes of Armenia or Scythia, or that (of all other the highest) in Tenuerif, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest stretcheth about thirtie miles voright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the earth three thousand fine hundred miles deepe, should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirty miles vpright being found in the to depths of the earth one hundred and fixteene times: for the Fountaynes of the great Deepe were broken up, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the earth beareth to the extension of the ayre ouer and aboue it, wee shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleafed God to condense but so much of this ayre as euery-where compasseth and embraceth the earth, which condensation is a conversion of ayre into water, a change familiar in those elements, it will not seeme strange to men of judgement, yea but of ordinarie understanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was couered ouer with waters without any new Creation.

of the History of the World.

Lastly, for the opinions of Galielmus Parisiensis, and Aliacensis, to which I may adde Berolus and others, That such a conjunction there was, foreshewing that destruction by waters which followed; and that by the word Catarracte coli, or Windores of heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needes no other answere then to that observation of Ludouicus Viues, who affirmeth that by the gravest Astrologian it was observed, that in the yeere 1524. there should happen the like conjunction, as at Noahs floud, then which (faith he) there was never a more fayre, drie, and feafonable veere : the like destruction was prophecied of the yeere 1588. But Picus Earle of Mirandula proueth that there could not be any such conjunction at that

To conclude, I finde no other mysterie in the word Catarrasta cali, then that the cloudes were meant thereby: Moses vsing the word Windores of Heauen (if that be the fenfe of the word) to expresse the violence of the raynes, and powring downe of waters. For whofoeuer hath feene those fallings of water, which sometimes hap-20 pen in the Indies, which are called the Spowts (where cloudes doe not breake into drops, but fall with a reliftleffe violence in one body) may properly vie that manner of speech which Moses did; That the windores or floud-gates of heaven opened: (which is) That waters fell, contrarie to custome, and that order which we call naturall. God then loofened the power retentiue in the vppermost ayre, and the waters fell in abundance : Behold (faith Io B) he which holdeth the waters, and they drie 1000,12.0.15 vo, or better in Latine, Et omnia siccantur; And all things are dryed vo; but when he sendeth them out, they destroy the earth : and in the 26. Chapter : He bindeth the waters in the cloudes; but these bonds God loosed at that time of the generall floud, and called up the waters which slept in the great deepe: and these ionning together couered 30 the earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, he then com- Gen.8.2. manded them to returne into their darke and vast Caues, and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condensed into drops.

d. VII.

Of some remaynder of the memorie of NOAH among the Heathen.

OAH commanded by God, before the fall of those waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes, taking with them of enery Creature, which tooke life by generation, seuen of the cleane, and of the vncleane, two. Noah, according to Philo, fignifieth quietnesse: after others, and according to the prophecie of his Father Lameth, cellation; to whom after-times gaue many names answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, The first Ogyges, because in the time of the Grecian Ogyges there was also a great floud of Achaia: Saturne they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the name of Promethem, who was faid to steale away Iupiters fire; fire in that place being taken and vinderstood for the knowledge of God and heauenly things. Others thinke that he was so called for his excellent wisedome and foresight. He had also 50 the name of Ianu, (id eft) vinosus, because Iain signifieth wine in the Hebrew. And so Tertullian finds him written in libris ritualibus; In the bookes of ceremonies, preceding both Saturne, Vranus, and Ione: which three enjoyed an elder time then all the other ancientest fayned gods. And this name Iain is taken from the Hebrew and Syrian, and not from the Latine: for it was in vse before there was any Latine Nation,

or any Kingdome by that name knowne. Of the antiquitie of Ianus, Fabius Pictor giueth this testimonie : IANI atate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum haserat vlla regnandi cupiditas, Go. Vinum & far primus populas docuit IANVE ad (acrificia: primus enim aras & Pomæria & Sacra docuit; In the time of IANVS (faith he) there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then foldedit selfe about the bearts of men. IANV's first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meale: hee first fet vo Altars, instituted Gardens and Solitarie Groues, wherein they vsed to pray; with other holy rites and ceremonies. A greater testimonie then this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest 20 04h flourished, there was not any King or Monarch: Nimrod being the first that to tooke on him foueraigne authoritie. Secondly, Woah after the floud was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the first fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the first that rayled an Altar, and offered facrifice to God, a thankes-giving for his mercifull goodnesse towards him. Noah was also fignified in the name of Bifrons ( which was given to Ianus) because he beheld the times both before and after the floud, Quia praterita noue-Arn. cont.Gent. rit, & futura prospexerit, saith ARNOBIVS; Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of Ianus shaddowed by the name of Chaos, and semen orbis; The seede of the world; because as out of that confused heape was drawne all the kindes of Beasts and Plants: so from Noah came all mankinde: whereof Ouid in the person of Ianus:

Quid. de Faftis. lib. x .

сар.13.

Calius.

Gen.g.20.

Stuck. in libris

Gen.9.20.

Ben. 8 . . . .

Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant, Albice quam longi temperis acta cano.

The ancient call'd me Chaos: my great yeares By those old times, of which I sing, appeares.

He was also intituled Calamand Sol, Heaven and the Sunne, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomie : Vertumnus, Baschus, and Liber Pater; not that latter, which Diod. Siculus, and Alex. Approdifeus fo call, because he was the restorer of the Greeker to their former libertie, but in respect of the floud. For the Greekes called Liber wis, and his Nurses Hyades, of rayne, because Noab entred the Arke, when the Sunne iovned with the Starres Hyades, a confiellation in the brow or necke of Taurus, and ever after a monument of Noahs floud. He was also by others surnamed Triton, a Marine God, the Sonne of Neptune: because he lived in safetie on the waters. So Nat. com. lib.5. was he knowne by the name of DIONYSVS, quasi Stavioron, mentem pungens; Bitebraine, or wit-stinger, though Diodorus conceine otherwise, and derine that name à patre & loco; Of hu Father, and the place of his birth (to wit) of loue, and Nisa a Towns of Arabia falix, faith Suidas out of Orpheus. He had also the by-name of 40 Taurus, or Taurophagus; because he first yoked Oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of Moses: And Non H became an bushandman. Now how locuer the Grecians vaunt of their Theban Bacchus (otherwise Dionysus) it is certayne that the name was borrowed, and the invention stollen from Noah. But this name of Bacchus, more anciently Boacus, was taken (faith Gul. Stuckins, and out of him Daneus) from Woachus, (N) being changed into (B); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that Noah was the first planter of the Vineaster the floud : and of Noah (the first and ancient Bacchus) were all those fables deuised, of which Diodorus complayneth in his fourth Booke, and fifth Chapter. This first Bacchus (to wit) Noah, was furnamed Nysius, of the Mountayne Nysain India, where the Grecian Bacchus ne-50 uer came, what soeuer themselves saine of his enterprises ; and these Mountaynes of Ny/a ioyne with those of Paropanifus, and those other Easterne Mountaynes, on which the Arke of Noah rested after the floud.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second parent of mankinde

might the better bee preserued, there were founded by his issues many great Cities which bare his name; with many rivers and mountaines: which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, because the many names given him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we find the Citie of Plint.6. Noah vponthe bankes of the red Sea and elsewhere: the River of Noas in Thrace, Hered 14.

CHAP. 7. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

much for the name.

which Strabo calleth Noarus; Ptolomie Danius; dividing Illyria from Panonia. Thus Strabolig.

d. VIII.

Of sundrie particulars touching the Arke: as the place where it was made. the matter, fashion and name ).

2330w in what part of the world Noah built the Arke, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I finde any approved Authour that hath written thereof: onely Goropius Becanus in his Indo-Scrthia conceineth, that Noah built his Arke neere the mountaines of Cancalus. because on those hils are found the goodliest Cedars: for when Alex.

Macedon made the warre among a people, called Nyfer, inhabiting the other fide of 20 Caucasius, hee found all their burials and Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (faith Bocanus) Noah repaired, both to separate himselfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the Arke; to which also hee addeth the conveniencie of rivers, to transport the Timber which he vsed, without troubling any other car-

Onelv this wee are fure of, that the Arke was built in some part of the Easterne world; and to my vnderstanding, not farre from the place where it rested after the floud. For Noah did not vse any mast or saile (as in other ships) and therefore did the Arkeno otherwise mouethen the Hyske or body of a ship doth in a calme Sea. o Alfo because it is not probable, that during these continuals and downe-right raines. there were any windes at all, therefore was the Arke little moved from the place where it was fashioned and set together. For it is written: God made a winde to passe Gene, 8, 1, vpon the earth, and the waters ceased, and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the waters, there was not any storme or forcible winde at all, which could driue the Arke any great distance from the place where it was first by the waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion bee true, as it is very likely, that the Arke had fundum planum, a flat bottome, and not raised in forme of a ship with a sharpnesse forward, to cut the waves for the better speede.

This kind of Vessell the Hebrewes call Thebet, and the Greekes Larnax, for so they to termed Deucalions ship: and some say, that the hill Parnassus, to which in eight dayes he arrived, was first called Larmassus, and by the change of (L) into (P) Parnassus; Suph,de Vit. but Pausanias thinkes that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymphe Cleodora, called foliary. Parnassus, the inventour of Auguration.

Peucerus findes the word (Parnaffus) to have no affinitie with the Greeke, but De Oracul. fal. thinkes it derived from the Hebrew word Wahas, which fignifieth Auguration and 94. Distination: or from Har or Parat, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the leafe before

Insephus cals the Arke Machina, by the generall name of a huge Frame: and Epi- Epi, b. in Ancor. phanius out of the Hebrew Aron; but herein lieth the difference betweene Aron and O Theuer, That Aron fignifieth properly the Arke of the Sanctuarie, but Thebet fuch a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe vpon the waters.

Lastly, this Arke of Noah differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a couer and roofe, with a creft in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the roofe of an house; to the end, both to cast off the waters, and that thereunder Nosh

Senc.6.4.

Plin. 1.16.0.40.

IIO

himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomnesse of the many beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the Arke.

Of what wood the Arke was built it is vncertaine. The Hebrew word Gopher once and in this place onely yied is diverfly understood; and though the matter bee of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the Geneva Translation cals it Pinetree, the Rabbine Cedar, the Scuentie, square timber, the Latine smooth timber. Others will haue it Cypres trees, as dedicated to the dead. because Cypres is worne at funerals. But out of doubt, if the word Gopher fignificany speciall kind of timber, Noah obayed the voyce of God therein; if not, hee was not then curious as touching the kinde or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his grace 10 and mercie for his defence. For with Noah God promised to establish his couenant. Plinie affirmeth that in Agypt it was the vse to build ships of Cedar, which the wormes eate not; and hee anoweth that hee faw in Vtica, in the Temple of Apollo Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kinde of wood was not subject to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carie, and of a sweete sauour, lasting also better then any other wood, and because neere the place where the Arke rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountaines of the East, befides those of Libanus, it is probable enough that the Arke might be of that wood:20 which hath besides the other commodities the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. Pererius conceineth that the Arke had divers sorts of timber, and that the bottome had of one fort, the decke and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if Gopher may be taken for timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will serue for all parts of a ship, as well for the body, as for mast and wards. But Noah had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the Arke; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabines, thereby to seuer the cleane beasts from the vncleane, and to present their seuerall sorts of foode; and that it might bee capable of all kinde of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when Noah had ga- 20 thered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this ship without a rudder, and directed it without the helpe of a Compasse or the North starre. The pitch which Noah vsed, is by some supposed to have beenea kinde of Bitumen, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of Sodome and Gomorra, now the dead Sea or Alphaltes: and in the Region of Pabylon, and in the West India, and herein it exceedeth other pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard waxe.

Pererius.

ð. IX.

mans body, in the truth whereof the comming of Christ was foretold and performed.

That the Arke was of Sufficient capacitie.

De Ciultat, Dei. LIS.6.26.

He Arke according to Gods commaundement had of length three hundred cubites, fiftie of breadth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion it had fixe parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. Av G V S T I N E: Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesia, quasu salua per lignum, in quo popondit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinis, et il significat corpus humanum, in cuiu veritate ad homines pranunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt (saith he)it 50 is a figure of the Citie of God, trauailing in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, sawedby the tree whereupon the Mediatour betweene God and Man, the man Iesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, heighth, and breadth, answereth the shape of

CHAP. 7. S. 9. of the History of the World.

By what kinde of Cubite the Arke was measured, it hath beene a disputed queftion among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kinde of cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the palme cubit) which taketh one handfull more then the common. The third is called Regius Cubitus, or the Persian Cubit, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the facred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fift cubit, called Geometricall, which containeth fixe common cubits. But of all these fortes, which were commonly measured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a leffe proportion of bodies: fo is the common cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of leffe length then it was in elder times.

S. Augustine confidering the many fortes of beafts and birds which the Arke held. with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Arke had proportion after the Geometricall cubit, which containeth almost fixe of the Common. For measuring the Arke by the vulgar cubit, it did not exceede the capacitie of that vessel lib.a. built by Hiero of Syracuse, or the ship of Ptolomie Philo-pater. But S. Augustine (who Plutar. in vita at the first was led by Origen) changed his judgement as touching the Geometrical 1 Demetry. 20 cubit; and found vpon better confideration, that there needed not so huge a bodie to præserue all sortes of creatures by God appointed to bee reserved. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of fishes into the Arke, because they were kept living (faith S. Augustine) in their owne element. Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca que posfent in aquis vinere; non folum mer fa sicut pifces, verum super-natantia, sicut multa alites. It was not needfull to conferue those creatures in the Arke, which could live in the waters: and not only filles which can line under water, but also those fowls which sit and swim on them: and againe, Terra, non aqua, maleditta, quià Adam non huius, sed illius fruttum vetitum come- Aue.de Civit. dit. It was the earth, and not the waters, which God curfed for of the forbidden fruit of the Deilib. S.ca.27. earth and not of the Sea, did Adam eat; fo as S. Augustine gathereth hereupon, (asafore-30 faid) that so huge a Frame needed not.

Andif wee looke with the eyes of judgement hereunto, wee shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischiefe and of ignorance, then of any reverend reason, finde many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now sceme differing and of seuerall kindes, were not then in rerum natura. For those beasts which are of mixt natures; either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to præserue them: seeing they might bee generated againe by others, as the Mules, the Hyana's and the like: the one begotten by Asses and Mares, the other by Foxes and Wolues. And whereas by dis-40 couering of strange landes, wherein there are found divers beastes and birdes differing in colour or stature from those of these Northerne parts, it may be supposed by a superficiall consideration, that all those which weare red and pyed skinnes, or feathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and were plaine russet or blacke: they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my owne opinion I finde no difference, but onely in magnitude, betweene the Cat of Europe, and the Ounce of India; and even those dogges which are become wilde in Hispagniola, with which the Spaniards vsed to deuoure the naked Indians, are now changed to Wolues, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattle, and doe also oftentimes teare asunder their owne Children. The common Crowe and Rooke of India is full of red feathers in the Acoft. bifl. India. 50 drown'd and low Islands of Caribana; and the Blacke-Bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation: in the North parts of Virginia. The dog-fish

of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitu te made a difference of Species, then were the Negro's, which wee call the blacke-mores,

non animalia rationalia, not men, but some kinde of strange beastes: and so

the Giants of the South America should be of another kinder then the people of this part of the World. Wee also see it daily that the natures of sruites are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may bee made good fruit by often grafting, and the best Mellons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcummers by being set in a barren sovle: Therefore taking the kindes precisely of all creatures, as they were by God created. or out of the earth by his ordinance produced: The Arke, after the measure of the common Cubit was sufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the Common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly stature (and lesse allowance wee can-10 not give to the difference betweene them and vs) then did the Arke containe 600. foot in length, and 100, foot in breadth, and 60. foot deepe.

But first of all to make it manifest, that the Geometricall Cubit is not vsed in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the bed of Og King of Ba/an had beene nine Geometricall Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and Goliah, who had the length of 6. Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foote and a handfull, (a proportion credible) if these Cubites had beene Geometricall, then had beene 54. foot in heighth and vowardes, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of Goliah beene nine foot long, and farre waightier and bigger then all Da-20

uids body, who caried it away.

Againe, if the Geometricall Cubit had been vsed for a measure in the Scripture as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cubites of length, fine of breadth, and three of heighth) have reached the length of 27. foot vpright, and so must their Priestes have ascended by steps or ladders to have performed their facrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement given in these wordes: Thou Shalt not goe up with steppes unto mine altar, that thy shame bee not discouered thereon; and therefore was the Altar but three Common Cubites high which make foure foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was 30 not the Geometricall, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtlesse) might give much the more capacitie to the Arke, although it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of Animals, whose lives cannot bee preserved in the waters, might according to their present quantities bee contained in a vessell of those dimensions which the Arke had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vsuall measure: whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large bodies which were in the daies of M puh 40 might have roome sufficient in the Arke, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures to be saued, (that is) seuen of the cleane, two of the vicleane (with necessarie foode) might have place in the Arke, But as hath very learnedly declared: the briefe summe of whose discourse to that purpose is this. The length of the Arke was three hundred cubits, which multiplyed by the breadth, namely fiftie cubits, and the product by the heighth of thirtie cubits, sheweth the whole concavitie to have beene 450000. Now whereas the posts, walles, and other partitions of lodgings may feeme to have taken vp a great part of the hollow: the heighth of the roofe which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500. cubicall cubes, was a 50 sufficient recompence: If therefore in a ship of such greatnesse wee seeke roome for 89. distinct species of beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100 seuerall kinds, we shall easily finde place both for them, and for the birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meate to sustaine them all. For there are three

forts of beafts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beefe, the Sheepe: and the Wolfe: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to Aristotle) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beenes, one Lyon to two Wolnes, and so of the rest. Of beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater fort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the law of Moses, whereof seuen of a kinde entred into the Arke, namely three couples for breede, and one odde one for facrifice: the other eight and twentie kindes were taken by two of each kinde, fo that in all there were in the Arke one and twentie great beafts cleane, and fixe and fiftie vncleane, estimable o for largenesse as ninetie one Beeues; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any Species be omitted) let them be valued, as 120. Beeues. Of the lesser fort feeding on vegetables were in the Arke fixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for supplie, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which denoure flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to threescore and foure Wolues. All these 280. beasts might bee kept in one storie or roome of the Arice in their seuerall Cabbines; their meate in a fecond: the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for Noah and his family, and all their necessaries.

CHAP. 7. S. 10. + . 1.2. of the Historie of the World.

That the Arke rested upon part of the hill Taurus (or Caucasus) betweene the East Indies , and Seythia.

Apraterition of some questions lesse materiall: with a note of the vse of this question, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

Hat time Noah tooke to build the Arke, I leave to others to dispute, but he received the Commandement from God 100, yeares before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leifure sufficient. As for the number of deckes and partitions, which Origen deuides into foure, S. Augustine into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the

controuersie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the land, other times in the waters, as the Crocodiles (now called Alegartos) the Sea-cowes or Seahorses, were kept in the Arke, or no, I thinke it a needlesse curiositie; and yet to this faith Pererius, and others before him, that a fish-poole might bee made as well within the Arke, as in Hiero his ship of Segracuse. Lastly, to consider or labour to disproue the foolerie of the Hebrewes, who suppose that the Arke was lightened by a Car-40 buncle, or had windores of Christall to receive in light, and keepe out water, were but to reviue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seeke most to satisfie my selfe and others in, is in what part of the world the Arke rested after the floud: because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the seate of the terrestrials Paradise, and the resting of the Arke) doe onely and truely teach the worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the floud; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

A proposall of the common opinion, that the Arke rested upon some of the hils of Armenia.

Nd first, for the true place where the Arke rested after the floud, and from What part of the world the children of Nosh travailed to their first settlement

Exod, 20.26.

Deut.3.11.

1.Sam.17.4

Genc. 3.4.

and plantation, I am resolued (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were vtterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my humour or newnesse of opinion, or singularitie, but doe herein ground my selfe on the original land first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, that the Arke staiedupon one of the mountaines of Ararat, which the Chaldean Paraphrast hath converted Kardu, meaning the hils Gordai or Gordiai in Armenia the greater: (as the wordes Gordei and Kardu, feeme to bee one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of Ararat, which is in the greater Armenia, 10 Nicolaus Damalcenus cals this mountaine of Ararat, Baris, being the same which the Sec 1.7.5.1. Chaldean nameth Kardu, to which mountaine the Fryer Annius (citing this place out of Isfephus) makes him finde another adioyning, called Ocila, and to fay that the Arke (of which Mofes the Lawgiuer of the Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this Ocils. But I doe not finde any fuch mountaine in being, as this Ocila; neither is there any mention of it in the place of lofephus. Strabo remembreth a Promontorie in Arabia falix, of that name, and Plinie findes a Mart-towne fo called in the same, which Pto'omie cals Ocilis, Pinetus Acyla, and Niger Zidon. But this Ocila of Damascenus, or rather of Annius, seemeth to bee one and a part of the Armenian mountaines. Berolus calleththole mountaines of Armenia Cordiai, and Curtius Cordai: Ptolomie Gordai 10 and Gordiae: of which the Countrie next adioyning is by this Nicolaus Damascenus called Ninyada, perhaps (as Becanus coniectures) for Milyada or rather Minni: which word is vsed for Armenia Miner. And the very word of Armenia seemes to be com-Hierem.51.27. Nat. bifl. 1.5.6.12 pounded of this word Minni, and Aram: as if we should say Minni of Syria; for that Armenia also was a part of Syria, Plinie witnesseth. Epiphanius placeth the Cardyes about these mountaines, whom others call Gordieni or Gordeni. The mountaines are feated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of mountaines called Taurns, or Niphates in the plaines of Armenia the great, neere the Lake Thospitis: whence the River of Tigris flowethin 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines Gordiei (that which surmounteth the rest) Epiphanius 30 cals Lubar, which in the Armenian signifieth a place of descent: but this out of Isle-Loseph. de datiq. phus, which name (faith Iunius) was of the euent, because of Noahs comming downe with his children. But this also I take to bee a supposed euent; seeing any hill, from whence on euery side we must descend, may thus bee called: as Iunius corrects the place in tosephus sousapis (Kubaris.) That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because Iosep.d. 1. 6.4. sayes, the place is called an flan plan (as it were the descent or com-

t. III.

more faire, vp and downe vnto it, then to any of the rest adioyning.

ming downe) and Epiphan.l.i.cont. Haref. calsit Nous: which word in the Armenian and Agyptian tongue lignifieth descent, of Lubar, which is to descend; whence also

Lubra is a Synagogue, because it was commonly built on somehigh place: whereof al-

the Synagogue of the Egyptians are called Libertini, for Lubratenu. Yetthis opinion

hath beene embraced from age to age: receiving a habit of strength by time, and al-

lowance without any farther examination; although the name of Lubar might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was

fo the Latine Delubrum may seeme to be derived; and Act. 6.9. they that belonged to \$10

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would bane come fooner, had they come from fo neere a place as Armenia.

Byt there are many arguments to perswade me, that the Arke of Noah did not rest it selfe in any part of Armenia, and that the mountaines Ararat was not Bark, nor any one of the Gordican mountaines. For

CHAP.7. S.10. +.4. of the Historic of the World.

For first, it is agreed by all which follow Berofes, that it was in the 130, yeare, or in the yeare 13 1. after the floud, when Nimrod came into the valley of Shinar, which Valley was afterward called Babylonia, Chufb, and Chalden. If then the Arke had first foundland in Armenia, it is very vnprobable, that the children of Noah which came into that valley could have spent so many yeares in so short a passage: seeing the Region of Mesapotamia was onely interiacent, which might by calle iourneies have beene past ouer in twentie dayes; and to hasten and helpe which passage the nauigable riner of Tigris offered it felfe, which is enery where transpassable by boates of great burden: so as where the Desart on the one side resisted their expedition, the rito uer on the contrarie fide ferued to advance it; the river rising out of the same Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, where the Arke of Noah was first supposed to fettle it felfe; Then, if the Nations which followed Nimrod still doubted the furprise of a second floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it soundethill to the eare of reason, that they would have spent many yeeres in that low and ouerflowne Valley of Mesopotamia, so called of the many Rivers which imbrovder or compaffe it: for the effects witneffed their affections, and the workes, which they undertooke, their unbeliefe; being no sooner arrived in Shinar, but they began to prouide themselues of a defence (by erecting Babel) against any future or feared invndation. Now at Babel it was that Nimrod began his Kingdome, the first knowne 20 Citie of the world founded after the floud, about 131. yeares, or (as others suppose) ten yeeres later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they undertooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, To get vs a name (faith the Berossia). Text:) Secondly, thereby to vsurpe dominion ouer the rest.

t. IIII.

The second argument, That the Easterne people were most ancient in populositie, and in all humane glorie.

30 FOr a fecond Argument: The civilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more waight then any thing which hath beene, or can be said for Armenia, and for Noahs taking land there. And that this is true, the vie of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East Indians (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordnance of batteric, confirmed by the Portugals and others, makes vs now to vnderstand, That the place of Philostratus in vita Apollonij Tianeid.2.c. 14. is no fable, though exprest in fabulous wordes: when he saith, that the wife men, which dwell betweene Hyphasis and Ganges, vie not themselves to goe forth into battaile: but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning fent from Iupiter. By which meanes there it is faid, that Hercules Agyptius and Bacchus, ioyning their forces were defeated there; and that this Hercules there cast away his golden shield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to Cadmus, because he brought them first into Greece : of which the people (then rude and sauage) had reason to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no lesse ancient then Seth or Henoch were: for they are said to have written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the sloud. But from the Easterne world it was that Iohn Cuthenberg a Germane, brought the denice of Printing: by whom Conradus being instructed, brought the practice thereof to to Rome: and after that Nicholaus Gerson a Frenchman, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this mysterie was then supposed to bee but newly borne, the Chinaos had letters long before either the Egyptians or Phanicisans; and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any civill know. ledge, or any letters among them. And

And that this is true, both the Portugals and Spaniards have witnessed, who about an hundred yeares since discouered those Kingdomes, and doe now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the Chinaos account all other Nations but Saluages, in respect of themselues.

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of Alex. Macedon may justly bee called to witnesse, who found more Cities and sumptuositie in that little Kingdome of Porus, which lay fide by fide to the East India, then in all his other trauailes and vndertakings. For in Alexanders time learning and greatnesse had not trausiled so farre to the West as Rome: Alexander esteeming of Italie but as a barbarous Countrie, and of Rome as of a Village. But it was Babylon that stood in his to eye, and the same of the East pierced his ear's. And if wee looke as farre as the Sunriling, and heare Paulus Venetus what he reporteth of the vttermost Angle and Island thereof, we shall finde that those Nations have sent out, and not received, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civill, the farther West the more salvage. And of the Ise of Iapan (now Zipingari) Venetus maketh this report : Incola religioni, literis, & sapientia sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nibil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: vnum cognoscunt Principem, vnum Deum adorant, The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they vie in their 20 Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquitie, magnificence, civilitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in gouernement, is reported to be such by those who have beene employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

# t. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which SEMIRAMIS found in the East Indies.

 $\mathbf{B}^{\mathrm{Vt}}$  for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inualism of Semiramis before the indifferent and adulted Reader: who may consider in what age shee lived, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as Diodorus Siculus out of Ctesias reporteth) of more then three Millions to inuade India, to which hee adioyned also 500000. Horse, and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we beleeve but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that India was the first planted and peopled Countrie after the floud. Now as touching the time wherein Thee lived: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of Ninus; and the most approved Writers agree, that Winus was the Sonne of Belus, and Belus of Nimrod, 40 that Nimrod was the Sonne of Cush, Cush of Cham, and Cham of Noah. And at such time as Nimrod came to Shinar, hee was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of Babel may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast betweene Nimrod and Semiramis, brought foorthin that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whome shee encountred in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her owne, conducted by Staurobates King of India beyond India; of whose multitudes this is the witnesse of Died. Siculus. Stavrobates, auitis maioribus quam qua erant Semiramidis copis. STAVROBATES gathering together greater troupes then those of SEMIRAMIS. If then S these numbers of Indians had beene encreased but by a Colonie sent out from Shinar, (and that also after Babel was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of Staurobates must have been made of stone, or somwhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which Semiramis gathered

might eafily grow up in that time, from so great a Troupe as Nimrod brought with him into Babylonia (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Storie of Israel) so could not any fuch time, by any multiplication naturall, produce so many bodies of men, as were in the Indian Army victorious ouer Semiramis, if the Colonies fent thither had beene so late as Babel ouerturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if we allow 65. yeeres time after the Floud, before Nimrod was borne: of which, 20. yeeres to Cufe ere he begat Seba, after whom hee had Hauilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtecha: Gin. 104. and then 30. yeeres to Raamah, ere hee begat Sheba and Dedan, both which were borne before Nimred: and five yeeres to his five elder brothers, which make 65. and o then twice 30. yeeres for two Generations more, as for Wimrod, Sheba and Dedan with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third Generation might grow vp, which makes in all 125. yeeres, there will then remaine fixe yeeres to have beene foent in trauailing from the East, ere they arrived in Shinar in the yeere after the Floud 121. And so the followers of Nimrod might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at Shinzar in the yeere 101.: and the confusion to haue beene at Pelegs birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build Nimrods Towre in the Ayre; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require found foundations) in the Plaines of Shimaar. For except that huge Towre were built in a day, there could 20 beno confusion in that yeere 101. or at Pelegs birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that Nimrod vsurped Regall authoritie in the 131. yeere after the Floud, (according to Bero(us) and that the worke of Babel lasted fortie yeeres (according to GLYCAs) Hominibus in ea perficienda totis 40 annis incassum laborantibus: Menlabou- Glyc.inGen. ring in vaine 40. yeeres to finish it. By which account it fals out, that it was 170. Gione. fol. 173. veeres after the Floud, ere a Colonie was fent into East India; which granted (the one being the maine bodie, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly bee beleeved, that Staurobates could have exceeded Semiramis in numbers: who being then Empresse of all that part of the world, gathered the most of Nations into one

# t. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers considerations in the person of NOAH.

Ourthly, it is no way probable, that Noab, who knew the world before the floud, I and had lived therein the long time of 600. yeeres, was all that space 130. yeeres after the floud, without any certaine habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that Nimrod was but the conducter of those people, by Noah destined and appointed to fill and inhabite that middle part of the earth and the Westerne world; (which trauailes Noah put ouer to yong and able bodies) and that Noah himselfe then couered with many yeeres, planted himselfe in the same place which God had affigned him: which was where he first came downe out of the Arke from the waters: For it is written, that after Noab came downe out of the Arke he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth; and not to range ouer so many parts of the world, as from Armenia into Arabia fælix, where he should (if the tradition be sound) have left certaine Colonies: thence into Africa towards Triton; then into Spaine, where they say he settled other companies, & built Cities after the names of N oela and Noegla his sons wives: from thence into Italie, where they say hee found his sonne Cham the Saturne of Egypt, who had corrupted the people and subjects of Gomer in his absence: with whom Noah (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeeres; but then finding no amendment, they fay he banisht him out of Italie. These be but the fancies of Bero-Su Annianus, a plaine imitation of the Gracian fables. For let euery reasonable man

t. VII.

of the sense of Annivs the Commenter upon Beros vs: who finds divers places where the Arke rested; as the Caspian and Gordican hils which are three hundred miles a sunder; and also some place of Scythia.

Tremaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of Frier An-I nim, who in his Commentaries vpon Berofus and others, laboureth maruailously 10 to proue, that the Arke of Noah rested vpon the Armenian mountaines called Cashi: which mountaines separate Armenia from the vpper Media, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines Gordiei, hee hath no other shift to vnite these opinions, but by vniting those farre-distant mountaines together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, then to charge those men with errour, which have carefully overseene, printed, and published Ptolomies Ptol.tab. Asia. 3. Geographie, in which they are altogether diffeuered. For that last edition of Mercators, sets these hils fine degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly, if we looke into those more ancient copies of Villanouanus and others. we shall finde nothing in them to helpe Annius withall : for in those the mountaines 20 Caspij stand seuen degrees to the East of the Gordiei, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authoritie Annius strengtheneth himselfe, Diodorus whom hee so much followeth, giveth this judgement vpon them in the like dispute. Aberrarunt verd omnes, non negligentia, sed regnorum situs ignorantia, They have allerred Diodisa. (faith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes. But for an induction, to proue that the Arke of Weah stood on the mountaines of Armenia, he beginneth with the antiquitie of the Scythians: and to proue the same hee citeth Marcus Portius Cato, who anoweth that 250. yeares before Ninus, the earth cate de orig. was overflowne with waters, & in Scythia Sagarenatum mortale genus, and that in Scy- pars prima. this Sagathe stocke of mortall men was renewed. The same Authour also teacheth that 30 the Vmbri before remembred (who were so called, because saued from Deucalions floud) werethe Sonnes of the Galli, a Nation of the Scythians. Ex hijs venisse IANVM sum DYRIM & Gallis progenitoribus Vmbrorum, From these Scythians, he saith, that IANV s came with DYRIM and with the Gallithe progenitours of the Vmbri; And againe, Equidem principatus originis semper Scythis tribuitur, Certainely, the Prime antiquitie of off-fring is alway given to the Soythians. And herein truly I agree with Annius. that those Regions called Scythia, and now Tartaria, and by some Writers Sarmatia Assatica, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of Asia vnder tribute till Ninus time. Also Plinie calleth the Vmbri which long fince inhabited Plin.13.c.14. Italie, Gens antiqui Sima, a most ancient Nation, who descended of these Scythians. Now 40 that which Annius laboureth, is to proue that these ancient Scythians (meaning the Nephewes of Noah) did first inhabite that Region of the mountaines, on which the Arkerested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in Armenia, he faineth a nation of Scythians called Araxea, taking name of the mountaine Ararat, neere the River of Araxes. And because his Authour Cate helpeth him in part (to wit, That in Scythia mankinde was restored after the great floud, 250. yeares before Ninus) and in part vtterly destroyeth his conceit of Armenia, by adding the word Saza, as in Scythia Sagarenatum mortale genus, in Scythia Sagamankinde was restored hee therefore in the Proame of his Commentarie vpon Berofus, leaueth out the addition of Saga al-Boroflat. together in the repetition of Cato his wordes, and writes homines in Scythia faluatos. 50 For Seythia Saga or Sace, is vindoubtedly under the mountaines of Paropanifus, on Pio. Afia. tab.q. which, or neere which it is most probable that the Arke first tooke ground; and from

Tower of Babel in Shinaar or Babylonia.

But now the best authoritie which Annius hath, is out of Diodoriu: where he hath read,

those East parts (according to Moses) came all those companies which erected the General as

conceiue, what it was to trauaile farre in fuch a forrest as the World was, when after fo great a rotting of the earth by the floud, the same lay waste and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bushes and bryars that in those

veeres were growne vp. And there are so many reasons, prouing that Woah neuer came into the valley of Shinaar, as we need not suspect his passage into Italie or Spaine: For Ivoah, who was Father of al those Nations, a man reverenced both for his authoritie, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and issues to haue vndertaken that vnbeleeuing presumptuous worke of Babel. Rather by his presence to and prevalent perswasions he would have bound their hands from so vaine labours, and by the authoritie which he received even from God himselfe, hee would have held them in that awfull subjection, as whatsoeuer they had vainely conceived or feared, yet they durst not have disobeyed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authoritie ouer his children and people. Certainely, Noah knew right well, that the former destruction of mankinde was by themselues purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God. and to raise vp building against his Almightie power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probabilitie, that euer he came so farre West as Babylonia; but rather, 20 that hee sent those numbers which came into Shinaar (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder Nimred, or those vpon whom he vsurped. Nauclerus and Calestinus take the testimonie of Methodius Bishop of Tyre for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) Nimred, Suphene, and loctan: of which Nimred commaunded the issues of Cham, Iectan of Sem, and Suphene of Iaphet. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not bee effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sonnes of Sem: Iostan, Hauilah, and Opbir, are especially noted to have dwelt in the East India. The rest of Sems issues had also the Regions of Persia and the 30 other adjoying to Indus, and held also a part of Chaldea for a time: for Abraham inhabited Pr, till he was thence called by God, and whether they were of the Sonnes of 10st an, or of all the rest a certaine number (Cham and his issue onely excepted) that Noah kept with himselse, it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall speake at

large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moues me to beleeue, that Noah stayed in the East far away from all those that came into Shinar, is, that Moses doth not in any word make mention of Noah in all the storie of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And Noah, being the Father of all mankinde, and the chosen servant of God, was too principall a person, to bee either forgotten or negles steed, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawne himselfe, and rested apart with his best beloued, giving himselfe to the scruice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after hee had directed his children to their destined portions. For hee landed in a warme and settile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and drest the earth, after which, and his thankes giving to God by sacrifice, he is not remembred in the Scriptures, because hee was so farreaway from those Nations of which Moses wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

+ VII

read, that the Scythians were originally Armenians, taking name & Scytha Regecorum. from Scythatheir King. But (in a word) we may see his vanitie, or rather (indeede) his fallhood in citing this place. For Diodorus a most approued and diligent Authour beginneth in that place with these words: Fabulantur Seytha, The Seythians fable: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giueth this title to that very Chapter. Scytharum origo & successus, fabula, The original and successe of the Scythians. Afable, And (indeede) there needes no great disproofe hereof, since Ptolomie doeth directly delineate Seylhia Saga, or Saca, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the Persians (saith Herodotus) call all the Scythians, Saca, which Plinie confirmeth: for in respect that these Sace (faith Plinie) are the next Scythians to the Persians, there- 10 fore they give all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in Armenia can neighbour the Persians, there is no man beleeueth. But this supposed Scythia Araxea in Armenia lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the Saca; and the Countrie about Araxes, Ptolomie calleth Colthene and Soducene and Sacapene, without any mention of Scythia at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed Scythians, either within Imatio or without, to the number of 100. feuerall Nati-

Teb. Asia. 7. 68 ons are by Ptolomie precisely set downe. But to come to those later Authours, whereof some have written, others have seene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, Marius Niger boundeth Seythia within Imaus, in this manner: 20 (for Seytina without these mountaines is also beyond our purpose.) Seythia intra Imaum montem ea est, qua proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Aliatica: ab Oriente Imao monte : à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridia Saccis, Sordianis, Margianis, vfq. ostia Oxaamnis in Hyrcanummare excuntis; & parte infini mari bine vife, ad Rha flumines offia terminatur : Scythia within the mountaine Imaus is that part of the world, which in their owne speech is at this time called Gasaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica, (or of Asia) on the East by the Imaan mountaines: on the North by unknowne lands: on the South by the Sacca (which are the Saca) the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of

the same Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.

Rha no w Wolga. Com. z. Afic. fol.472.

**I20** 

L.6.c.17.

Ad meridiem Rexo Bolbhoro pars septentriomalis ponte Euxini víq in oftite Coracis flunii : underclichis à parte dextra Colchis, 1beris, Albanisq, in litgus Hyrcani maris prouenit. Spec.bift.1.30.

Now if Niger sets all Sarmatia Asiatica, to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (que magna sand regio est , & que innumeras nationes complectitur , Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations, (faith Niger) much of it being betweene Senting and Armenia, doth sufficiently warrant vs, that Armenia can bee no part of Scythia; and to make it more plaine, he diffeuereth Sarmatia it selfe from any part of Armenia, by the Regions of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, which he leaueth on the right hand of Surmatia, and yet makes Sarmatia but the West bound of Scythia.

And for Paulus Venetus, he hath not a word of Armenia among the Tartarian, or Scythian Nations; neither doth his fellow Frier John Plancarpio (cited by Vincentius in his description of Scythia) make any mention of Armenia; neither doth Haytonus an 40 Armenian borne, of the bloud of those Kings, (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himselfe for a Tartarian, or of the Scythian races descended: though he write that storie at large, gathered by Nicholaus Salcuni, and (by the commandement of Pope Clement the fifth) in the yeare 1307. published.

Neither doth Mathias a Michou (a Canon of Craconia in Polonia)a Sarmatian borne, and that trauailed a great part of Sarmatia Asiatica, finde Armenia any way within the compasse of Tartaria, Scythia, or Sarmatia; and yet no man (whose trauailes are extant) hath observed so much of those Regions as he hath done: proving and disprouing many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others hee burieth that ancient and received opinion, That out of the mountaines Riphai, and 50 Hyperborei in Scythia, spring the Rivers of Tanais or Don, Volga or Edel, proving by vnanswerable experience, that there are no such mountaines in rerum natura; and (indeede) the heads and fountaines of those famous Riners, are now by the trade of Masconia knowne to every Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie,

and marish grounds. The River of Tanois or Don, ariseth to the South of the Citie Tulla, sometwentie English miles, out of a Lake called Imanowesero in the great wood Okenitz kilies or Iepiphanolies. Volga, which Ptolomie cals Rha, and the Tartars call Edel. risethout of a Lake called Fronon, in the great Wood Vodkonzki: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of Borysthenes (now Negrer) and Dsuina or Di- signer berskin. uidna. And this learned Polonian doth in this fort bound the European Sarmatia. In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscouians, and those adioyning, bounded on the West by the River of Vissa, the name perchance misprinted consequentleth Vissa for Vissula, a River which parts Germanie and Sarmatia: and for the East border the Rater Vista for Vissula, a River which parts Germanie and Sarmatia: 10 hee nameth Tanais or Don. Sarmatia Affatica hee cutteth from Europe by the same namanga.

River of Tanais, and the Caspian Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this Pon. Mica, Vi. Assantia being part of that Scythia which Ptolomie calleth Scythia intra Imaum Visibia. montem: Scythia within the mountaine Imaus. And the farne Mathias Michon farther affirmeth, that the Soythians (which Frier Annius would make Armenians) came not into Sarmatia Asiatica it selfe aboue three hundred and a few odde veeres before his ownetime: these be his wordes: Constat cam esse gentem nouam, & acuentitiam à partibus Orientis, (mutatis fedibus) paulo plus abbins trecentis annis Afia Sarmatiam ingref-Sam: It is manifest (fayth hee, speaking of the Soythian Nation) that this is a late planted Nation come from the Coasts of the East: from whence they entred into Asia, and gat new 20 feates a little more then three hundred yeeres finee: For (indeed) before that time the Gothes or Pouloci inhabited Sarmatia Miatica. And this Mathias lived in the yeere 1511. and this his Discourse of Sarmatia was printed at Augusta in the yeere 1506. as Bucholzerus in his Chronologie witnesseth. Now these Soythians (sayth hee) came from the East, for in the East it was that the Arke of Noab rested; and the Seytha Saca were those people which lived at the North foot of those Mountaines of Taurus or Ararat, where they encounter or beginne to mixe themselves with the great Imaus. And were there no other testimonie then the generall description of the Earth now extant, and the witnesse of Ptolomie, it is plaine, that betweene al parts of Armenia and Soythia, there are not only those three Regions of Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, but 30 the Caspian Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth Armenia, there are (indeed) a Nation of Scythians (called Ariace) betweene luxartus and lattus; but what are these Scythians to any Ariaca, or Scythia Araxea which Annivs placeth in Armenia, more then the Scythians of Europe?

## t. VIII.

The fift argument, The Vine must grow naturally neere the place where the Arke rested.

TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, That No Au plan-Gen.9.22. ted a Vineyard, wee shall finde that the fruit of the Vine or Raysin did not grow naturally in that part of Armenia, where this resting of the Arke was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in Italie and France, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in Armenia, being a farre colder Countrie. For Tyrrhenas first brought Vines into France, and Saturnes into Latium: Servius Meide yea at such time as Brennus and the Gaules invaded Italie, there were few or no Vines Eutropius. in France. For (fayth Plutarch in the life of Camillus) the Gaules remained betweene 50 the Pyrene; and the Alves, neere vnto the Senones, where they continued a long time. vntill they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of Italie; and after they tafted thereof they hafted to inhabite that Countrie, which brought forth such pleafant fruit: fo as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in France, but from Italie brought thither; as by Saturne from elsewhere into Italie.

Now

Now it is manifest that Noah travailed not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counfaile how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after his Sacrifice and Thankesgiuing to God; and wheresoeuer the Arke rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare that hee trauailed farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that hee wasa Husbandman, and not a Wanderer.

## t. IX.

Answere to an objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

 $\mathbf{A}_{\mathrm{D}}$  that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinar*, it doth not appeare, fauing that it may be inferred out of these wordes (from thence) because it is written: So the Lord feattered them from thence upon all the earth; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Towre: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of Sybilla (as they are converted) it seemeth that all came not together into Shinaar, for they have this limitation : Quidam 10 eorum turrem adificarunt altisimam,quasi per eam calum esfent ascensuris Certaine of them built a most high Towre, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.

An answere to the objection from the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia; and the beighth of the Hils there.

 $B^{V\, au}$  before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see and consider, what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that %the Arke of Noah was forsaken by the waters on the Mountaines of Armenia. For the Text hath only these wordes: The Arkerested on (or vpon) the Mountaines of Ararat or Armenia, saith the marginall note of the Geneua, the Chaldean Paraphrast cals Epiph.l.s.contra it Kardu; of which the highest hath the name of Lubar, saith Epiphanius. Now this Ararat (which the Septuagint doe not convert at all, but keepe the same word) istakento be a Mountaine of Armenia, because Armenia it selfe had anciently that name: fo as first out of the name, and secondly out of the heighth (which they supposeexceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the Arke first fate thereon.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neyther is Ararat of Armenia lone, neyther is any part, or any of those Mountaines of equal stature to many o-4 ther Mountaines of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the Arke found the highest Mountaine of all other to rest on : for the Plaines were also vincouered, before Noah came out of the Arke. Now if there were any agreement among Writers of this Ararat, and that they did not differ altogether therein, wee might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Bookes of the Sybils it is written, that the Mountaines of Ararat are in Phrygia, vpon which it was supposed that the Arke stayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these Mountaines, and to prooue them in Phrygia, and not Armenia, they are placed where the Citie of Cælenes was afterward built. Likewise in the same description the maketh mention of Mar/yas, a River which runneth through part of Phrygia, 9 and afterward ionneth it selfe with the River Maander, which is farre from the Gordiean Mountaines in Armenia. We may also find a great mistaking in Iosephus, (thoughout of Berosvs, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that Io-SEPHVS fets Ararat betweene Armenia and Parthea toward Adiabene, and

affirmeth withall, that in the Pronince of Caron by others Kairos and Arnos . fo called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out, the people vaunt that they had in those dayes referred some pieces of Noahs Arke. But Parthia roucheth no where vpon Armenia, for Armenia bordereth Adiabene, a Prouince of Allyria; fo that all Media and a part of Affyria is betweene Parthia and Armenia. Now whereas the discouerie of the Mountaines Cordiai was first borrowed out of Berofus by losephus; yet the Text which losephus citeth out of Berofus, differs farre from the wordes of that Berofus, which wandreth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by Annius. For Lerofus cited by lofephus, hath these words: Fertur & namen hutus pars in 10 Armenia, apud montem Cordicorum superesse, & quos dam bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amulesi loci buius homines vii (olent: (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordican Mountaines; and that diuers doe lorage from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they we it in stead of an amulet. But Annius his Edition of the Fragment of Berofus vieth these wordes: Nameleuata ab aquis in Gordiai montis vertice quieuit, cuius adbuc dicitur aliqua pars effe, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maxime otuntur adex piationem: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, refled on the top of the Gordiean Mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by sacrifice therewith: so as in these two Texts (besides the difference of words) the name 20 is diverfly written. The ancient Berofus writes Cordiai with a (C.) and the Fragment Gordiai with a (G.) the one that the Bitumen is vsed for a preservative against Poyson or Inchantment; the other in Sacrifice; And if it bee faid that they agree in the generall, vet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approued Authour: for one of them vseth the word ((ertur) the other (dicitur) the one, that so it is reported, the other, that soit is sayd; and both but by heare-say, and therefore of no anothoritie nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neyther report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these Mountaines which Ptolomic cals Gordini, are not those Mountaines which himselfe giueth to Armenia, but hee calleth the Mountaines of Armenia 30 Moschici. These be his owne wordes: Montes Armenia nominantur ij, qui Moschici ap- Pto. Asia. tabe pellantur, qui protenduntur vfg, ad superiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, which Gretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the Hill which is called Pargardes; which Mountaines Plinie calleth Pariedri, and both which lye to the Plinie Calleth North of Gordiai or Baris, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the Gordiaan Mountaines in 39. and a halfe : from the Northermost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of Persia and Turkie, doe still remaine Christians. Concerning the other suppositions, that the Mountaines of Gordini, otherwise Baris Kardu or Lu-40 bar, (which Ptolomie calleth Togordiaion) are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.

## t. XI.

Of Cancasus, and divers farre higher Hils then the Armenian.

FOR the best Cosmographers with other, that have seene the Mountaines of Armenia, find them farre inferiour, and under-fet to divers other Mountaines even in 50 that part of the World, and elsewhere : as the Mountaine Athos betweene Macedon and Thrace, which Ptolomie cals Olympus, now called Lacas, (faith Castaldus) is farre furmounting any Mountaine that euer hath beene seene in Armenia: for it casteth shadethree hundred furlongs, which is seuen and thirtie miles and vpwardes: of plut. Munst. which Plutarch: Athos adumbrat latera Lemnia bouis: Athos shaddoweth the Cow of Lem- cosm.

Gen. 8-14.

t. XIII. Of the contrary situation of Armenia to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no

maruaile that the same ledge of Hilsrunning from Armenia to India, should keepe the same name all along: and even in India bee called Ararat.

Aftly, we must blow up this Mountaine Ararat it selfe, or else wee must digge it Ldowne, and carry it out of Armenia; or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer Coun-10 trie, and (withall) fet it East from Shinsar: or else wee shall wound the Truth it selfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to enery eye, wee must understand, that Ararat (named by Moses) is not any one Hill, so called, no more then any one Hill among those Mountaines which divide Italie from France is called the Alpes: or any one among those which part France from Spaine is the Pyrenian; but as these being continuations of many Hils keepe one name in divers Countries: fo all that long

ledge of Mountaines, which Plinie calleth by one name Taures, and Ptolomie both Plinie in his Taurus, Niphates, Coatras, Corones, Sariphi, vntill they encounter and croffe the description of Mountaines of the great Imaus, are of one generall name, and are called the Moun-Lycia, 15,6,27. 20 taines of Ararat or Armenia, because from thence or thereabout they seeeme to arise. So all these Mountaines of Hyrcania, Armenia, Coraxis, Caspij Moschiei, Amazonici,

Heniochi, Scythici, (thus diverfly called by Plinie and others) Ptolomie cals by one name Cauca (us lying betweene the Seas Caspium and Euxinus: as all those Mountaines which cut afunder America, euen from the new Kingdome of Granado, to the streight of Magellan, are by one name called Andes. And as these Mountaines of Argrat runne

East and West: so doe those maruailous Mountaines of Imaus stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of I. maus, even as Plinie calleth these former hils Taurus, and Moses the hils of Ararat. The reason of seuerall names given by Ptolomie was, thereby the better to distinguish the 30 great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and disseuer; as Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, Persia, Parthia, Caramania, Aria,

Margiana, Bactria, Sogdiana, and Paropanisus: having all these Kingdomes either on

the North or South fide of them. For all the mountaines of Asia (both the leffe and the greater) have three generall names, (to wit) Taurus, Imaus, and Caucafus: and they receive other titles, as they feuer and divide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which sunder Cilicia from the rest of Asia the lesse on the North fide, are called Taurus; and those mountaines which part it from Comagena (a Prouince of Syria) are called Amanus: the mountaines called Taurus running East and

40 ceth her passage, leaving the name of Amanus to the mountaines on her West banke; and on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowned by the name of Taurus, (as in Ptolomies three tables of Asia) and sometimes Niphates: (as in the fourth) retaining that vincertaine appellation follong as they bound Armenia from Melopota-

West, as Imaus doth North and South. Through Taurus the River of Euphrates for-

mia: and after the River of Tygris cutteth them afunder, they then take the name of Niphates altogether, untill they separate Assyria and Media; but then they call themselnes Coatras, though betweene the vpper and nether Media, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at Mazada in Media they are not found, but runnethrough the Easterne Media by pieces: in the middle of which Region they

call themselves Orontes, and towards the East part Coronus; out of the Southerne 50 part whereof the Riner of Bagradus riseth, which divideth the ancient Persia from Caramania: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of Coronus, they giue to the Parthians and Hyrcanians their proper Countries. This done, they change

themselues into the mountaines of Sariphi, out of which rifeth the Riner Margus, afterward yeelding her selfe to O. ws: (now Abia) and drawing now neere their wayes

I.C.13.

the Winds, Cloudes, or Raine ouertop it. Againe, the Mountaine of Antandrus in Mylia, not farre from Ida, whence the River Scamandrus floweth, which runneth through Troy, is also of a farre more admiration then any in Armenia, and may bee seene from Constantinople. There are also in Mauritania neere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of Allas, of which HERODOTVS: Extat in hog mari Mons, cui nomen Allas. ita sublimis esse dicitur, ut adillius verticem oculi mortalium peruenire non posint : Vpon this Coast there is a Mountaine called Atlas, whose heighth is sayd to be such, as the eye of no Aris, Met. cord. mort all man can discerne the top thereof. And if we may believe Aristotle, then are all these inferiour to Caucasus, which hee maketh the most notorious both for breadth to and heighth: Caucalus Mons omnium maximus, qui astiuum ad ortum sunt, acumine atá, latitudine, cuius iuga à Sole radiantur v fg, ad conticinium ab ortu : & iterum ab occasu; Caucasus (saith ARISTOTLE) is the greatest Mountain both for breadth and beighth of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightned by the Sun-beames, vs addonticinium (which is faith Macrobius betweene the first crowing after mid night and the breake of day: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine holds the Sunne-beames when it is darkein the Valley; but I cannot beleeue eyther: for the highest Mountaine of the World knowne is that of Tenerife in the Canaria: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not eniov the Sunnes companie at any fuch late houres. Besides, these Mountaines which Ari- 20 flotle calleth Caucas, are those which separate Colchis from Iberia; though (indeed) Cauca (us doth divide both Colchis, Iberia, and Albania from Sarmatia: for he acknowledgeth that the River of Phasis riseth in the same Mountaine, which himselfe calleth Caucasus, and that Phasis springeth from those Hils which sunder Colchis from Iberia. falling afterward into Euxinus: which River (it is manifest) yeeldeth it selfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of Trapezus (now Trabefunda) how soeuer Mercator bring it from Peryardes.

mos. Also the Mount of Olympus in Thessale, is sayd to be of that heighth, as neither

# t. XII.

Of divers incongruities, if in this Storie we should take Ararat for Armenia.

SO as it doth first appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine Ararat was: for the Bookes of the Sybils set it in Phrygia: and Berosus in Armenia: and as for Berosus authoritie, those men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that Baris was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the affertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many Hils which exceed all those of Armenia; and if they did not, yet it dothnot follow (as is before written) that the Arke should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any fuch Hill in Armenia, or in rerum natura, as Baris; for Baris (fayth Hierome) fignificth high Towres; and fo may all high Hils bee called indifferently; and therefore wee may better give the name of Baris to the Hils of Cancasus (out of which Indus riseth) then to any Hils of Armenia. For those of Caucasus in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of Asia.

Fourthly, the Authours themselues doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines Gordiei fland: for Ptolomie diffinguisheth the Mountaines of Armenia from the Gordiam, and calleth those of Armenia Moschier and Paryardes, as aforesaid. Now Paryardes is seated neere the middle of Armenia, out of which on the West-side riseth Euphrates, and out of the East-side araxis: and the Mountaines Moschici are those 50 Hils which distoyne Colchis, Iberia, and Albania (now the Countrie of the Georgians) from Armenia.

†. XIII.

M 3

CHAP.7. S. 10, † .15. of the History of the World.

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end, they first make themselves the South border of Bactria, and are then honoured with the Title of Paropanisus; and lastly of Caucasi, even where the famous River of Indus with his principal companions Hydaspis and Zaradrus spring forth, and take beginning. And here doe these Mountaines build themselves exceeding high, to equall the strong Hils called Imaus of Scythia, which encounter each other in 35.36. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now ealled Delanguer, and the rest Nagracot; and these Mountaines in this place onely, are properly called Caucasi (sayth Ptolomie) that is, betweene Paroponisu and Imau: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of Cashium and Pontus.

Ptol.tab. Afia.

# t. XIIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountaines Caucasi and toward the East Indies; and of other excellencies of the foile.

NOw in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and River Ianus, and the Mountaine Nyfeus (so called of Baccinus Nifeus or Roa) are found: and on these highest Mountaines of that part of the World did Goropius Becamus conceines that the Arke of Noah grounded after the Floud : of all his coniectures the most probable, and by best reason approued. In his Indoscythia hee hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantasticall opinions of this subject. And as the same Becanus also noteth; that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines: foit is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34.35 and 36 degrees of Septentrionall Latitude are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in Indea, Candia, and other parts of Greece: and likewise in this Region of Margiana, and under these Mountaines, Strabo affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of Palestana, where the Searchers 30 of the Land by Moles direction found bunches of equall bignesse at E/col.

NHM.12.24.

The fruitful nesse of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these Hils, Curtius witnesseth. For in Margiana neere the Mountaine of Meros did Alexander feast himselfe and his Armie ten dayes together, finding therein the most delicate Wine of all other.

## t. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diners chiefe points.

L.5.c.27.

A No therefore to conclude this opinion of Ararat, it is true, that those Mountaines doe also trauerse Armenia: yea, and Armenia it selfe sometime is knowne by the name of Ararat. But as Plinie giveth to this ledge of high Hils, even from Cilicia to Paroponisus and Caucasus, the name of Taurus: and as the Hils of France and Germanie are called the Alpes: and all betweene France and Spaine the Pyrenes: and in America the continuation of Hils for 3000. miles together, the Andes: fo was Ararat the generall name which Moles gave them; the diversitie of appellations no otherwife growing, then by their dividing and bordering divers Regions and divers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entreth by Gibraltar, the Mediterran and inland Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of Carthage, and over against it, it is called Tyrrhenum: betweene Italie and Greece, Ionium: from Venice to Durazzo, Adriaticum: betweene Athens and Asia, Ageum: betweene Sestus and Abydus, Hellespont: and afterward Pontus, Propontis, and Bosphorus. And as in

thefe, fo is the Ocean to the North-east part of Scotland called Deucaledonroum: and on this fide, the Brittaine Sea: to the East, the Germane and Baltick, and then the

For a finall end of this question we must appeale to that Judge which cannot erreeven to the word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine fense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction on then the words beare literally, because they are vsed to the very same plaine purpole of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the fense is plaine (and being so vinderstood, it bringeth with it no subfequent inconvenience or contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our felues any new or frange exposition; and (withall) to resolue our selues, that euery word (as aforesaid) hath his waight in Gods Booke. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such fort as S. Jugustine hath taught vs touching the Gospell of CHRIST IESVS (which is) Nequis aliter accipiat quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Enangelio legerit, qu'am si ipfammanum Det, quamin proprio corpore geflabat, conflexerit; That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the Gospell (the Disciples of Christ bauing writtenit) then if he had feene the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his owne body, fetting it downer.

The wordes then of Moses which end this dispute, are these: And as they went General sone from the East, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode: which proueth without controuersie, that Nimrod and all with him came from the East into Shinar; and therefore the Arke of Noah rested and tooke land to the East-ward thereof. For wee must remember, that in all places wheresoener Moses maketh a difference of Countries, hee alwayes precifely nameth toward what quarters of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of loctan, he nameth Sephar, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth Cains departure from the presence of God, he addeth: And CAIN dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East. Gen. 10,30. side of Eden: And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of Abraham after Gen 4.16.

30 he departed from Sechem, he yied these wordes: Afterwards remoduling thence water Gen. 2.8. a Mountagne Eastward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents : having Bethel on the Westfide, and Has on the East: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter it is written: And ABRAHAM went forth iournying towards the South: also when Exechiel Exech 38.6. prophecied of Goz and Magog, he sheweth that these Nations of Togorma were of the North quarters and of the Queene of Sabait is written, that Thee came from the Matth. 12.42. South to visit SALOMON: And the Magi (or wisemen) came out of the East to offer pre- Mauha,vis fents unto Chrift. And that all Regions, and these trauailes were precisely set downe vponthe points of the Compasse and quarters of the World, it is most manifest: for Eden was due East from Indaa, Saba South from Hierusalem: the way from 40 Bethel to Agypt directly South; and the Calefyrians, the Tubalines and Magazians inhabited the Regions directly North from Paleftina, and so of the rest. But Armenia answereth not to this description of Shinaar by Moses. For to come out of Armenia,

and to arrive in that Vally of Babylonia, is not a journying from the East, nor so neere vnto the East as the North: for Armenia is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of Moses (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred total calo, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of Armenia standeth in fortiethree degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in fortie fiue; and those Gordiean Mountaynes, whereon it was supposed that the Arke rested, stand in fortie one. But Babylonia, and the Valley of Shinaar are situated in thirtie five, 50 and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betweene East and West) the -

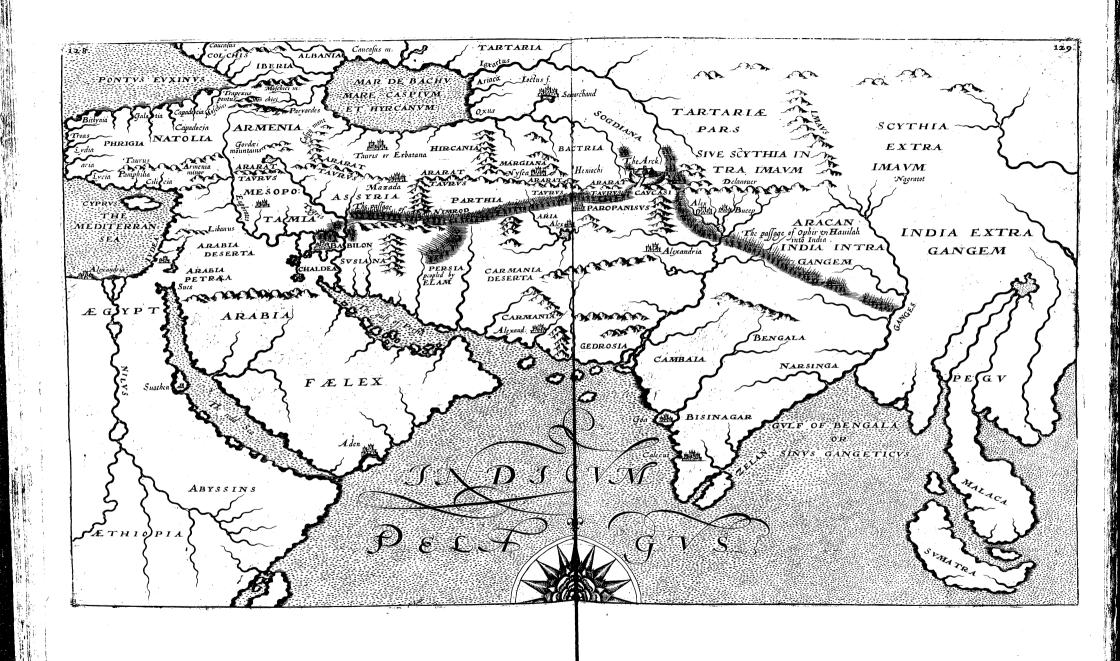
Gordiean Mountaynes stand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of Shinaer in 79. and 80. And therefore Armenia lyeth from Shinaar Northwest, nineric five degrees from the East; and if Armenia had beene but North, yet it had differed from the Eastone whole quarter of the Compasse. But Gregorie and Hierome warne vs. In feripinris ne

minima differentia omitti debet: nam finguli sermones, syllaba, apices, & puncta in diuina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus; In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted : for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore seeing Moses teacheth vs that the children of Woah came from the East, we may not beleeue Writers (of little authoritie) who also speake by heare-fay and by report, vt fertur, & vt dicitur, as Berofus and Nicolaus Damascenu. determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all-aduenture. But this is infallibly true, that Shinaar lyeth West from the place where the Arke of Noah rested after the floud; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first civill, 10 which had Noah himselse for an Instructer : and directly East from Shinaar in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies alfo, which ouertopped in number those Millions of Semiramis, proue that those parts were first planted: And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reafon sufficient: for my selse I build on his wordes who in plaine termes hath told vs, that the Sonues of Noah came out of the East into Shinaar, and there they abode. And therefore did the Arke rest on those Easterne Mountaynes, called by one generall name Taurus, and by Moses the Mountaynes of Ararat, and not on those Mountaynes of the Northwest, as Berofus first fained, whom most part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warme East where Noah rested, 20 where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. Placuit vero No Acho agricultura studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur : ob eamq, rem sua ipsius lingua I sh-Adamath ( hocest ) telluris vir appellatur celebratufg, eft; The studie of Husbandrie pleased No AH (faith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANUS) in the knowledge and order of which it is faid, that NOAH excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth. Which also sheweth that he was no Wanderer: and that he troubled not himselse with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where he was first delivered out of the prison of the Arke, whereinto God had committed him, to preserve him and man-

kinde.

CHAP.

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# CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the floud; and of the Sonnes of NOAH, SEM, HAM, and IA-PHET, by whom the earth was repeopled.

ð. · I.

Whether SHEM and HAM were elder then IAPHET.



these Sonnes of Nosh, which was the eldest there is a question made. S. Augustine esteemed Shem for August, de civit. the eldest, Ham for the second, and laphet for the yon- Dei, 1.16.c.3. gest : and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we finde everywhere in the Scriptures, and especially in Moses, that there was neuer any respect giuen to the eldest in yeeres, but in vertue, as by the examples of Henoch, Abraham, Iacob, and David, is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuersie; The Latine translation, and so the

Geneua, hath converted this Scripture of Genesis the 10.v.21. in these wordes: Vnto SHEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and elder brother of IAPHET, were children borne. But Iunius agreeing with the Sequence thagint, placeth the same wordes in this manner: To SHEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of Heber, and brother of IAPHET, the eldest sonne were children borne : So the transposition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after Iapket, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it beene as plaine for Iaphet, as it is by these translations for Shem. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in blond, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for Iaphet then for Shem. And where the Scriptures are plainely understood without any danger or inconvenience, it feemeth strange why any man of judgement should make valuation of coniecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that Noab in the five hundreth yeere of his life, begat the first of his three Sonnes, Shem, Ham, and Iaphet: and in the fixe hundreth yeere (to wit) the hundreth yeere following, came the generall floud; two veeres after which Shem begat Arphaxad, which was in the yeere 602. of Noahs life, and in the yeere of Shems life one hundred : so as Shem was but 100. yeeres old two yeeres after the floud: and Woah begat his first borne being 500. yeeres old; and therefore, were Shem the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeeres old at the floud, and in the fixe hundreth yeere of Noahs life, and not two yeeres after, Which seeing the Scripture before remembred hath denyed him, and that it is also written: Then NOAH awoke from his wine, and knew what his yonger fonne had Gen. 11. 2.24 done unto him (to wit) HAM; of necessitie the first place doth belong to laphet. This yonger sonne so converted by the vulgar and Geneua, Junius turnes it filius minimus; His yongest some; but S. Chrysostome takes it otherwise, and findes Cham to be the middle or fecond brother, and Laphet the yongest sonne of all: which Cham for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakednesse he derided) was difinherited, and loft the preeminencie of his birth, as Efau and Reuben did. Pere- in Gen. rius conceineth that Ham was called the yonger in respect of shem the eldest, but

CHAP.8. S.2.

anoweth withall, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of yonger and rongest, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that Shem himselse was alwaies named in the first place yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of Genesis, Shem is accounted before laphet: in the second Verse Moses leaveth to begin with the issue by Shem, and reciteth the children of Iaphet first. So the first place was given to Shem for his election and benediction, and for this waightierespect, that the Hebrew Nation, Abraham, the Prophets, David, and Christ our Sauiour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulear Pagninus, and the Geneua, who agree in this conversion, S HEM frater IAPHET major; or with the Septuagint, Iunius, and Tremelius, SHEM fratri IAPHET majoru; 10 or with Pererius, SHEM frater IAPHET ille magnus : inferring that Shem was the great and famous brother of Iaphet, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have feene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that laphet was the eldest. For where Pererius qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, That Shems age at the time of the floud did not agree with his eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that SHEM was an hundred yeeres old, and begat Ar-PHAXAD two yeeres after the floud; and againe in the 12. Verse : So SHELA lined after he begat EBAR, foure hundred and three yeeres, &c. so as the number of two yeeres, of three yeeres, of fine yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres were alwayes 20 precifely accounted.

II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World, as that all Histories must yeeld to Moses : that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction : and that the knowne great Lords of the first ages were of the issue of

🥦 Vt let vs goe vnto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly vnderstood, we shall finde that many Nations have supposed or fayned themselues those Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approched the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures how

the sonnes and issues of Noah were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receiue allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farreas the storie of Nations is therein handled, we must know that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie whatsoeuer, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath beene borrowed thence, and thereforelater then it, as all carefull observers of time have noted: among which thus writeth Eusebius in the Prowme of his Chronologie: Moses is found more ancient then all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as Homer, Hesion, and the Troian warre, and farre before Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Oapheus, Castoa, POLLVX, ESCYLAPIVS, BACCHUS, MERCURIVS, and Apollo, and the rest of the gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of IVPITER, whom the Greekes have feated in the top and highest Turret of their Divinitie.

For of the three Impiters remembred by Cicero, the ancientest was the sonne of Æther, whose three sonnes begotten on Proserpina, were borne at Athens, of which Cecrops was the first King : and in the end of Cecrops time did Moles bring the chil dren of Ifrael out of Agypt: Eduxet Moses populum Dei ex Agypto nouisimo tem

pore CECROPIS Atheniensis Regis; Moses brought the children of Israel out of Agypt, in the last dayes of CECROPS King of the Athenians, faith S. Augustine : and ver De Civil. Dei. was not Cecrops the Founder of the Citie it selfe, but Thefens long after him. But his.c.i. hecause the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand, by alleaging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leave it to the proper place.

First, weare to consider that the world after the floud was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of Noah wings, to flie from Shinaar to the yttermoft border of Europe, Africa, and Asia in haste, but that these children were directed by a , wife Father, who knew those parts of the world before the floud, to which he dispofed his children after it, and fent them not as Discouerers, or at all-adventure, but asfigned and allotted to every Sonne and their iffues, their proper parts. And not to harken to fabulous Authors, who have no other end then to flatter Princes (as Virgil did Augustus in the siction of Eneas) or else to glorisie their owne Nations; Let vs build herein vpon the Scriptures themselves, and after them vpon Reason and Nature. First, therefore we must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth enerywhere had in the 130. yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfullest Vallies with our owne barren and cold ground, informe our selues thereby, what wonderfull Desarts, what inpassable fastnesse of woods, reeds. brvars, and rotten graffe, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what Marishes, Fens and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaynes) was peftered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying winter depresset all vegetative and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twentie or thirtie yeeres these our grounds would all ouer-grow and be courred (according to the nature thereof) either with Woods or with other offensive Thickets and Bushments: much more did all forts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warme Summer, and having withall the start of 130. yeeres, to raise themselves without controlement.

This being confidered, it will appeare, that all these people which came into Shimar, and ouer whom 20 imred either by order or strength tooke the Dominion. did after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mightie People, disperse themselves into the Regions adjoying to the said Vally of Shinar. which contayned the best part of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Chaldea; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South. others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to Shem many Regions, both East and West from Shinaar, with the Dominion of Palestina, which the Canaanites first possest; yet could be not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the suddaine, but by time and degrees. For we finde, that Abraham the true succeffor of Shem dwelt in Chaldea at Vr; and from thence (called by God) he rested at Charran in Melopotamia: from whence after the death of Thare he traugiled to Sichem in Palestina: and yet there had passed betweene Shem and Abraham (reckoning neither of themselves) seven descents, before Abraham moved out of Chaldaa: where, and in Babylonia, all those people by Nimrod commanded, inhabited for many yeeres, and whence Nimred went out into Affria, and founded Ninine. In-

Cicero de Nat. Decrum,1.3.

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deed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as we can know) were, in that Age of the iffues of Ham; the bleffing of God given by Noah to Shom and Iaphet taking leffe effect, untill divers yeeres were confumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wifedome of God was appointed. For of Chus, Mizraim, and Canaan, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of Babylonia, Syria, and Ægypt, for many descents together.

# **∂.** 111.

Of the Iles of the Gentiles in IAPHETS portion: of BEROSVS his too speedie sea- 10 ting Gomen the sonne of IAPHET in Italie; and another of IA-PHETS Connes TVBAL in Spaine: and of the antiquitie of Longinque Nauigation.

O begin therefore (where Moles beginneth) with the sonnes of 14pheth, among whom the Iles of the Gentiles were divided: which divided; which came into Shinaar, was (if the dividen were made or Phylage birth) in the into Shinaar, was (if the division were made at Phalegs birth) in the yeere of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeere after the

floud one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of laphet were the Iles of the Gentiles. which include all Europe with all the Ilands adioyning, and compaffing it about: Europe being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea Hellespont and Egeum, Bosphorus and Euxinus cut it off from the great Continent of Asia, as also because Europe it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, saving that it is fastned to Alia by the North, for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the Mediterran to the South and Southwest, the Ocean to the West, and Brittish, Germane, and Baltick Sea, with that of Glaciale to the North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the Cyclades or Iles lying betweene Greece and the leffer Asia, and the Iles of Rhodes, Cyprisa, Crect or Candia, Sicilia, Corfica, Sardinia, Malta, the Iles of 20 Brittanie and Zealand, with their yong-ones adiacent.

This partition and portron of Iapheth, with the part which he held in Asia, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that bleffing of God by 200ah. Delatet Deus IAPHETH; Let God spresde abroad (orincrease the posteritie of) lapheth; and let him dwell in the Tents of SHEM. For though Junius here yeth the word (alliciat) and not dilatet: and the Geneua persuadeat; yet the Septuagint have dilatet or amplificet; and such was the bleffing given to our Fathers, which God promised to Abraham and his feede for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of Shem was a bleffing by God to the posteritie of Iapheth: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories; but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. 40 But to come to laphets sonnes, of whom Gomer is the eldest. This Gomer ( if we may beleeue Berofus and Annius, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late Writershaue followed) did in the tenth yeere of Nimrods reigne depart from Fund. (bronol. Babylonia, and planted Italie: which also Function confirmeth in these words: Anno decime NIMRODI, Ge. In the tenth yeere of NIMRODS reigne, GOMERUS GALLYS playted a Colonie in that land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeere of the fame NIMRODS reigne TUBAL Seated himselfe in Asturia in Spaine (now called Biscay) which was in the 140. and in the 142. yeeres after the floud, according to BEROSV'S. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of tongues the children of Noah did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with Nimrod in- 10 to Shinaar. Let vs therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Towrerequired, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe such a worke as Nimrod had erected (and as Function himselfe out of his Author Berofus witnesseth) ad altitudinem of magnitudinem montium; To

the heighth and magnitude of the Mountaines. Sure that both this Citie and Towre were almost builded the Scriptures witnesse: But the Lord came downe to fee the Citie General. and Towre, which the Sonnes of menbuilded. Let vs then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Bricke to fuch a Worke, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuerfall Floud conered the highest Mountaines sisteene Cubits; Let vs build vs a Citie and a Town (faith NIMROD) whose top may reach unto the Heaven; meaning, that they would rayle their Worke aboue fifteene Cubits higher then the highest Mountaine, otherwise they could not affure themselves from the seare of a second inundation: a great part 10 whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the World: as by the great ruine which these waters forceably ouer-bearing and ouer-flowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approved also by the Prophet Hieremie, speaking of Babylon in these wordes: Thou that divellest woon many waters. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which, Glycas vpon Genesis giueth fortie yeeres. For it seemeth, that the Towre was neere similard when God ouerthrewit it being afterward written, So the Lord feattered them from thence upon all the earth, and they left to build the Citie. Out of which place it may bee gathered 20 (because the Towre is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Worke of their supposed defence, which was the Towre: and that afterward they went on with the Citie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to bee noted, that till fuch time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Towre was throwne downe) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered Genit. them upon all the Earth, (that was) when they perceived not one anothers speech. Now to thinke that this Worke in the newnesse of the World (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeeres; and that Tubal and Gomer in the same yeere could creepe through 2000. miles of Desart, with Women, Children, and Cattell: let those light Beleeuers, that neyther tye themselues to the Scrip-20 ture, nor to reason, approoue it, for I doe not. And if the Arke of Noah was 100. veeres in building, or but neere fuch a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. veeres, it were more then foolishnesse and madnesse it selfe, to thinke that such a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Floud to the arrivall at Babel, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeeres, and whereof they had spent some part in travailing from the East. Againe, if all Asia set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of Diana, and yet they confumed in that Worke 400. yeeres (or bee it but halfe that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials and carriages: This Worke of the Towre of Babel could hardly (with all 40 the former wants supposed) bee erected in those few yeeres remembred. And for conclusion, let all men of judgement waigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wiues and Children, and Cattell, to trauaile 3000 miles through Woods, Bogs, and Defarts, without any Guide or Condustor; and we shall find it rather a Worke of 100. yeeres then of 100. daies. For in the West Indies of which the Spaniards have the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor Guide, they have not entred the Countrey ten miles in tenne yeeres. And if Nimrods people spent many yeeres by the account before remembred in passing from the East-India or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, untill they came into Shinaar which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the di-50 stance between ethose places containing 36. Degrees, which make 720. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keepe the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betweene Babylon and Biscay is much more: for the bodie of Biscay lyeth in ten Degrees, and Babylon or Shinaar, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of

way from Shinaar to Asturia or Biscay is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or

of the Historie of the World.

of miles 4140. And therefore if Nimrod tooke divers yeeres to find Shinaar, which

was but 2160. miles: or (supposing that the Arke rested in Armenia) little aboue 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrarie, but to allow as many veeres to

Gomer and Tubal to trauaile 3000 miles to Countries lesse knowne vnto them by

farre then the Land of Shinaar was to Nimred. For Paradise was knowne to Noah

before the Floud: and so was the Region of Eden by Moles afterward remembred;

but what hee vnderstood of most part of the World else it is vnknowne. And there-

fore did Annius ill aduise himselfe to plant Gomer in Italie, and Tubal in Spaine, in the tenth and twelfth of Nimrods Raigne: Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall

come by Sea, and so saue this great trauaile through Desarts by Land. But we neuer

read of any Nauigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what

a Nation be borne at one? But it may bee obiected, That the Sonnes of Inpheth might 10

Leather: of which kind I have seene at the Dingle in Ireland, and elsewhere. Naues ex corio circumsute in Oceano Britannico (saith Textor:) of which Lucan the Poet:

Primum cana falix, madefact o vimine, paruam Texitur in puppim, cesog, indutaiuuenco, Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat annem. Sic Venetus stagnanue Pado, fusog, Britannus Nauigat Oceano.

The moystned Ofyer of the hoarie Willow Is wouch first into a little Boat:
Then cloth'd in Bullockes Hide, vpon the billow Of a proud River, lightly doth it float Vnder the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of overswelling Pee Sailes the Venetian: and the Brittaine so On th' out-spred Ocean.

And although it cannot bee denyed, when Noab by Gods infpiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the Arke, that then many things concerning Nauigation were first renealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference betweene the Arke of Noah, and such Ships as were for any long Nauigation. Yea ancient Stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume vpon any long Voyages to Sea: at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as also common reason can tell vs, that even now when this Arte is come to her perfection, fuch Voiages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of Nimred any Ship, or vie of Ships fit for any long Nauigation, For if Gomes and Tubal had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exercise of Nauigation would not have beene dead for so many hundred yeeres 30 after. Leauing therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast Nations into Countries farre off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of Moses and the Prophets: to which Truth there is ioyned both Nature, Reason, Policie, and necessitie: and to the rest, neither probabilitie, nor possibilitie.

# è. IIII.

of Gog and Magog, Tubal, and Mesech, seated first about affathelesse, out of Ezechtel.
Cap. 38. 39.

Ow although many learned and reuerend men haue formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which also hath beene and is received: yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainely, that great learned man of this

latter Age, Arias Montanus was also in some things much mistaken: and for Inserting and the hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours with-all, so was he in this Plantation of the World very grosse and fabulous, whereby both Eusebius, Hierosolymitanus, Epiphanius, and others, that haue taken his testimonies for 50 currant, haue beene by him farre misled. But the better to conceiue what Regions of the World Gomer the first some of lapher posses, as also Tubal, it is needfull to beginnewith Magog; because the Scriptures take most knowledge of Gog and Magog, which two names haue troubled many Commentators, saith Matth, Beroaldus, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I find most

1:ai.1.66.v.8.

it is to imbarke so great a people as we may justly suppose those Conducters carried with them, will not easily believe, that there were any Vessels in those dayes to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattell, by whose Milke they lived and fed their Children: for Milke and Fruit were the banquetting dishes of our Forefathers. And in the eldest times, euen the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselues by the Heards and numbers of their Cattel:who had flocks of Sheep, and great Droues and Heards of their owne, and their owne Sheep-heards and Heardsmen. Now if Tubal had past by Sea from any part of Palastina, Syria, or Cilicia, he might have made 20 good choice within the Streights, and not have overgone Granado, Valentia, and other Provinces in that Tract : past the Streights of Gibralter, disdained all Andalusia and Portugal, with all those goodly Ports and Countries; and have sought out the yron. wooddy, and barren Countrey of the World (called Bifear) by a long and dangerous Nauigation. But before the iourney of the Argonauta there were scarce any Vessels that durst crosse the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which Island had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance fuch as they vsethis day in Ireland: which although it carried but foure and fiftie Paffengers, yet was it farre greater then any of the former times: Erat enim antea paruarum nauicularum vsus: For in former times they vsed very small Vessels. I denie not 30 but that the Tyrians gaue themselves of olde to farre-off Nauigations, whence Tibul-

Diod.Sicul.l.4.

Tibull, Eleg.7. Strabe.l.10. Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros,

lus ascribed the invention of Ships vnto them:

Tyrus knew first how Ships might vse the wind.

Diod. Sicul.1.1. Pl. n.1.7.c.56.

Thucyd.

And for those boates called long a naues or Gallies, Plinie faith that Agesias ascribeth the device to Paralus: and Philostephanus to Iason: Ctesias to Samyras; and Saphanus 40 to Semiramis: Archimachus to Ageon: to which invention the Erythrai are said to haue added certaine numbers of Oares: and then Aminocles the Corinthian to haue increased them: the Carshaginians afterwards to have brought them to foure Bankes: the Quing, Remi first to have beene vsed by Nesichthon the Salaminian, with which Vessels in those parts of the World, the Romans served themselves in the Punick War. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the denising of these Gallies on Sefostris, though Semiramis vied them in the passage of her Armie ouer Indus in Abrahams time. So it is said, that Danaus was the first that brought a Ship into Greece: and yet the Samothracians challenge the invention; and yet Tertullian (on the contrarie) gives it to Minerua: 50 others to Neptune; Thucydides to the Corinthians. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the £gyptians vsed to coast the Shores of the Red Sea vpon raffes, deuised by King Erythrin: and in the time of the Romans, the Brittans had a kind of Boat (with which they croft the Seas) made of small twigs, and couered ouer with

Plin.l.7.c.;6.
Euseb.de præp.
Euang.c.1.
Tert.de Coron.

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most judicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authoritie from the Prophet Ezechiel chiefly, who in the 38: and 39: Chapter directeth vs, what Nations the Gomerians, Tubalines, and Togormians were, together with the Magogians: of which Gog was Prince or chiefe Conductor in their attempts against Israel. For besides the portions of Europe, and the North-east parts of the greater Asia, which Iapheths issues possest, all Asiathe lesse was peopled by them. And that those of the issue of Iapheth (whom Ezechiel speakes of) were leated hereabout, it may best appeare, if wee consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, Ezechiel prophecieth of the vniting of the two Kingdomes of Israel and Iuda, after their deliuerie from 10

By which prophecie of Ezechiel, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purposeitis written; And DAVID my servant shall bee King over them, and they shall have one sheepe-heard, (that is) they shall bee vnited as they were in Davids time. Heereupon in the 38. Chapter Ezechiel prophecieth against those Nations, which should seeke to impeach this Vnion, and disturbe the people of Ifrael, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which insested the Israelites after their returne, and fought to subject them : all which were the subjects or Allies of Gog, 20 Prince of the Magogians, or Calefyrians, next bordering Palastina, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of Asia the lesse, which lay North from Indea. The words of Ezechiel are these: Sonne of man, set thy face against Goo, and against the land of MAGOG, the chiefe Princes of MESECH(or MOSOCH and Tv-BAL: and afterward; Behold, I come against the chiefe Prince of MESHECH and Tv-BAL: and in the fixth Verse; GOMER and all his bands, and the house of TOGORMA of the North quarters. Herein Ezechiel hauing first deliuered the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vaine assaile Israel. He iovneth them together vnder their Prince Gog, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of Inda, and how feated and ioyned together. Gog fignifieth 30 in the Hebrew (laych Saint Hierome ) tectum or covering of a house: and Pintus vpon Ezechielaffirmeth, that by Gog is meant Antichrist: for (sayth hee) Antichristus erit Diabolitegumentum Sub Specie humana: That Antichrist Shall be the couring of the Deuill under humane forme. Hee addeth that Magog is as much to fay as Gog: the letter (M) being an Hebrew Preposition, and importeth as much as of or from: so he taketh Magog for those people which follow Antichrist. So farre Pintus; at least in this not amisse, that he expoundeth Magog not for any one person, but for a Nation, with which agreeth this observation of Beroaldue. Magog (sayth he) in Hebrewis written Ham-Magog, which sheweth Magog to bee a Region or Nation: for the letter (He) which is vied but for an Emphasis (which the Hebrewes call Heliaiedia ) is neuer added 40 to proper names of men, but often to place. So as Gog was Prince of that Nation (called eyther Magog, or according to others, the people of Gog) also Prince of Meshech, (or Mosoch) and of Tubal: as by the first Verse of the 39. Chapter is made manifest: Bebold, I come against thee Gog the chiefe Prince of Meshech and Tv-BAI. This must needes bee meant by the Successours of Selencus Nicates, who this not (as other conquering Nations) seeke to make the Iewes their Tributaries onely, but endeuoured by all meanes, and by all kind of violence to extinguish the Religion it selfe (which the Hebrews profest) and the acknowledging of one true God; and to force them to worship and serue the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. S. Ambrose and Isi- 50 dore take Gog for the Nation of the Goths: belike because they inuaded Europe, and facked Rome, and many other places and Cities thereabout. Hermelaus Barbarus out of Pomp. Mela deriues the Turkes from the Scythians, esteemed Magocians of Goe. Many take Gog for the proper name of a Man: other of a Region: others for a Nation

In Ezek.

inhabiting a Region, as Junius, who faies that Gog is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the Greeke Stories call Gyges: who in former time having Slaine Candaules the Lydian, gave his owne name to that Nation, thence after called Gygades: and thereofalfo the Gygean Lake; which Lake Strabo alfo findeth in Lydea, (of which Gyges was King ) fortie Furlongs from Sardis. Planie calleth it Gygeum Strab.l.12. stagnum. Herodotus and Nisander set it about the Rivers of Hyllus, and Marander; but the difference is not great. Marius Niger maketh mention of this Gyges King of Lydia: who after he had subdued the Countrie about the River Rhodius which runneth into the Hellespont, called the Promontorie Trapele after his ownename Grees. These suid col. 207. 10 opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of Junius. For Magog, fayth hee, is that part of Asia the leffe, which Halyattes obtained, and after him his sonne Crassus; who (as Inning further notes) having maltred all those Regions as farre South as Innin Except;8 Libanus in that border built the Citie Gigarta or Gogkarta (which in the Syrian fignifieth the Citie of Gog) seated in Calefyria, whose people were the ancient Enemies

Now that Magog is found in Calefyria , Plinie affirmeth, faying ; Calefyria habet

Bambycen, qua alio nomine Hierapo'is vocatur, S, ris verò Magog. Calefyria hath in it

Bambyce, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Magog. Hee fur-

ther telleth vs that the monstrous Idoll Atergatic, called by the Greekes Derceto, was 20 hereworshipped, Lucian makes mention hereof, faying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yet hee expresseth not; for bearing perhaps the word Magog, as founding nothing elegantly in the Greeke. But if wee may beleeue Strabo, Snabilité. then was Edellain Mosapotamia the same Bambyce or Hierapolis, where the same Idoll was worshipped. Ortelius is doubtfull whether one of these Authours did not mistake the place of this Bambyce or Hierapolis. It may well enough bee that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from Palestina, and were both subject vnto the Kings of the Race of Seleucus. Now I doe not condemne the opinion of Hermolaus Barbarus following Islephus, but grant that perhaps Magoz might also bee the Father of the 30 Stythians; notwithstanding that in this place, where Gog is made the Prince of Magog, the Nations of Calefyria and the North parts adiovning bee meant by Magog: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might bee propagated into Scythia. Yet it is not to bee denied, that the Scythians in olde times comming out of the Northeast wasted the better part of Asia the lesse, and possest Calesgria, where they built both Scythopolis and Hierapolis, which the Syrians call Magog. And that to this Magog Ezecbiel had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie Hierapolis or Magog standeth due North from Indea, according to the wordes of Ezechiel, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the Israelites were the Prolomes Kings of Agypt: so those of the North were 40 the Kings of Afia and Syria, the Successiours of Selencus, the Successiour of Alexander Macedon. Gulielmus Tyrinsthinkes that this Hierapolis is that Rages, mentioned in the Lib. 4 cap.de Storie of Tobias. Plinierakes it not onely to have beene called Bambyce, as we have bello, Sacros faid, but also Edessa: not that by Euphrates; but another of the same name; now the knowne name is Allepo: for fo Bellomms expounds this Hierapolis, or Magog. This Citie had the title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for fo the word Hierapolis fignifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatrie, and wherein was worshipped the Idoll

If then wee conferre the words of Ezechiel in the third verse of the thirtie eight 50 Chapter, wherein heeiovneth together Gog Mefech, and Tubal: and withall remember that Hierapolis was the Citie of Magog, which also is seated directly North from Indea: with whom also Ezechiel coupleth Gomer, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceiue) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of Gog (which were Northerne Nations in respect of Indea) were not the Gomeri-

of the Mermaide Atergatis, or Atirgitis, according to Plinie, which the Greekes call

ans of France, nor the Tubalines of Spaine, but a people of the leffer Asia, and Calefyria: and therefore that the opinions of Berofus, lofephus, and who foeuer else hath followed them therein are to bee reiected. But if lofephus referre himselse to later times, and thinke that some Colonie of the Tubalines might from Iberia and Asia passe into Spaine (to wit, from that piece of Land betweene Colchis (or Mengrelia) and Albania: (most part possest by the Georgians) then is his judgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may bee granted, that in processe of time these people might from their first habitation passe into the Countries neere the Euxine Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into Spaine.

Tofephus makes mention of the Iberi, faying, that they were anciently called Tho- 10 belos, as of Tubal; from whence (faith Iustine) they paffed into Spaine to fearch out the Mines of that Region : having belike vnderstood that it was a Southerly Countrie and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the Tubalines called Chalybes lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as Apollonius witnesseth in these follow-

ing Verses, telling how the Argonautes did visit them;

Hac genstellurem rigido non vertit aratro, Sed ferri venas [cindit [ub montibus altis: Mercibus hac mutat, que vita alimenta ministrant :

The Calybes plough not their barren soyle But vndermine high Hils for Iron Veines: Changing the purchase of their endlesse toyle For marchandize, which their poore lines sustaines.

But it is more probable, that Spaine was first peopled by the Africans, who had ever fince an affection to returne thither, and to repeople it anew. This appeared by the Carthaginians of old, who were easily drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrie; and after by the Moores who held Granado, and the South parts eight hundred yeeres, till the time of Ferdinand and Isabel. And either of these opinions are 30 more probable, then that in the twelfth yeere of Nimrods raigne, Tubal past into Spaine, and therein built St. Pual: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde Mosoch or Mesech, and Tubal neighbours, and Gomer and Togarma not farre off, or elle we shall wrong Ezechiel: for he called Gog the Leader or Prince of Mesech and Tubal, and maketh Gomer and Togorma their affistants. And that Mefech inhabited Asia, Functius (though he followed Berofus) confesseth, for thefe be his wordes: Mes acvs, qui à Mose Mesech, priscos Messos de dula monte v/q, ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hac regio posteà Cappadocia dicta est, in qua wrbs Mazica, coc. hac est terra M A G O G principalis. Mes Acvs, whom Moses calleth MESECH, placed the ancient Messans from the mount Adulas, unto the coast of Pontus. 40 This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Mazica, Oc. this is the principall Countrie of M A G O G. And this doth Annius also auow, and yet forgets that Gog was Prince both of Mefech and Tubal: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of Spaniards, the other of Cappadocians, is very ridiculous; Spaine lying directly West, and not North from Iudea. Also Ezechiel in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth Mesech and Tubal joyntly. And for a finall proofe, that these Nations were of a Northerne neighbour land (how farre soeuer stretched) Ezechiel in the 38. Chapter makes them all horsemen. Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon horses, even a great multitude and a mightie. Then if any man beleeue that these troupes came out of Spaine ouer the Pyrenes, and 50 first passed over a part of France, Italie, Hungarie, and Sarmatia, and imbarqued againe about the Hellespont, or else compassed all Pontus Euxinus, to come into the lesser Afis, which is halfethe length or compasse of the then knowne world, he may be called a strong beleeuer, but he shall neuer be justified thereby. But on the contrarie it

is knowne, that Seleucis was a Province neighbouring Palestina or Iudea, and that Hierapolis (or Magog) ioyned vnto it: whose Princes commanded all Syria, and Alia the leffe, (namely the Seleucide) and held it, till Scipio Asiaticus ouerthrew Antiochus the Great : after which they yet possest syria till the time of Tigranes : and whether Melhech be in Cappadocia, or vnder Iberia, yet is it of the Tubalines, and one and the

Of Gomer the like may be faid. First he seated himselfe with Togorma, not farre from Magog and Tubal, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterward he proceeded further into Asathe leffe; and in long tract of time his valiant issue filled all Germany, 10 rested long in France and Brittaine, and possessed the vtmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as Melanctan well notes) the fignification of their parents name, which is Vimolt bordering. But when these borderers wanted further place, whereinto they might exonerate their swelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great Ocean, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our antiquities, M. William Cambden hath noted) that they were called Cimbri, which in their old language doth signifie Robbers; necessitie inforcing them to spoile their Neighbours, to whom in their original they were as necre joyned, as afterwards in the leates which 20 they possessed. For that the warlike Nations of Germanie were in elder ages accustomed to be beaten by the Gaules, the authoritie of Cafar affirming it is proofe sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into Asa the lesse, and occupyed those parts, which had formerly beene held by their Progenitors. I say not that they claymed those Lands as theirs by descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne pedigree. Neither can any man therefore denie, that they were of old feated in Asia, because in late ages they returned thither; vnleffe he will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre parts have invaded and conquered the land of Shinaar, may by that argument 30 be proued not to have iffued from thence at the first.

Now concerning Samothes for his excellent wisedome surnamed Dis, whom Annius makes the brother of Gomer and Tubal (which brother Moses neuer heard of, who spake his knowledge of Japhets sonnes) they must finde him in some old Poet: for Functius, a great Berofian, confesseth: Qui bie Samothes fuerit incertum est; Who inchron. this SAMOTHE & was it is uncertagne; neither is there any proofe that he was that same Dis, whom Cafar faith the Gaules Suppose to be their Ancester; yea, and Vignier con- Cafar Comments fesseth with Functivs : Mais on ne scayt qui il estoit; No man knowes who be was.

è. V.

Against the fabulous BEROSVS his fiction, That the Italian IANVS WAS NOAH.

20

T Vr before I goe on with Woah his sonnes, I thinke it necessarieto disprove the fiction which Annius hath of Noah himselse : an inuention (indeede) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authors of whom himselse hath Commented: as the Fragment of Berofus, Fabius, Piotor, Cato, Lauinius and others. Am, de Herruf.

50 For Annius feekes to perswade vs, that Noah (furnamed Janus) was the same which pullate our fafounded Genoa, with other Cities in Italie, wherein he lived 92. yeeres. This to dif catode origin. proue, by Moses silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else Lauin, illusticate to disproue it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of Babel, Erec, Achad, Gall.

Iofepb.l.1.

Chaine and Ninine by Nimrod, Noah was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeeres. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disproue the authoritie of that Berofus, on whom Annius groundeth, feeing fo many learned Men haue so demonstratiuely proued that Fragment to be counterfeit. Befides that, Tatianus the Affyrian in his Oration against the Greekes auoweth, that the ancient and true Berolus wrote onely three Books, dedicated to Antiochus the succeffor of Seleucus Nicanor: but Annius hath deuised fine Bookes, wherewith he honoreth Berosus. And whereas Berosus handled onely the estate of the Chaldeans and Affrians, Anniu hath filled this Fragment with the businesse of all the world: And if we may beleeve Eusebius better then Annius, then all the Kings of the La- 10 tines (before Aneas) consumed but 150. yeeres : whereas no man hath doubted. but that from Noah to Eneas arrivall into Italie there past 1126. (after the least rate of the Hebrew account) and (after Codoman) 1291. For Ianus (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with Ruth, who marryed Booz, in the Worlds veere (as some reckon) 2717. after the floud 1064. and Noah dyed 350. yeeres after the floud : and so there past betweene lanus of Italie and Noah surnamed lanus 704. yeeres. For Saturnus succeeded lanus, Picus after Saturnus, Faunus after Picus, and Latinus followed Faunus: which Latinus lived at once with Tautanes the 27. King of Assyria; with Pelasques of Peloponnesus; with Demophoon of Athens; and Sampson Judge of Ifrael. Now all these five Kings of the Latines having consumed but one 20 hundred and fiftie yeeres; and the last of them in the time of Sampsen: then reckoning vpwards for one hundred and fiftie yeeres, and it reacheth Ruth, with whom Janus lined.

True it is, that the Greekes had their lanus; but this was not Noah : fo had they Ion the some of Xuthus, the some of Deucalion, from whom they draw the lones, who were indeede the children of Ianan, the fourth sonne of Iapheth. For the vulgar & so the place translation (where the Hebrew word is Iauan) writes Greece, and the Sopiuagint, Hellas; of E(ai 66, 19. which is the same. So had they Medus the sonne of Medez, whom they make the lada: and (for parent of the Medes, though they were descended of a farre more ancient Father

(to wit) Madai the third sonne of Iapheth. Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the Brittish language hath remayned among vs aboue 2000. veeres, and the English speech euer since the invasion of the Angles, and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either Noah (by them called Isnus) had left in Italie his grand-child Gomer after him, or Tubal in Spaine, that no plaine resemblance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Seythian (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have beene found in the languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall plantations of lanas, Gomer, Tubal, &c. in Italie, Spaine, or France, are meerely fabulous. Let the Italians therefore content themselves with the Grecian Janus, which commanded them and 40 planted them, and who preceded the fall of Trey but 150. yeeres (faith Eusebius) which was in the time of Latinus the fift King: which also S. Augustine and Iustine confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this be not sufficient to disproue this vanitie, I may out of themselues adde thus much : That whereas some of them make Volta (others Camasena) the wife of this laws, who inflituted the holy Pire of the Veftal Virgins in Rome (the Latines and Romans taking from tunus all thein Idolatrous and Heathenish ceremonies) there is no man fo impious, as to beleeuethat Noab himselfe (who is faid by Adjes to bene walked with God, to be a inft man, and whom God of all mankinde made choice of could be either ignorant of the reme and only God, or fo wicked and ungratefull, total up or devile 50 any Heathen Saluage, or idolarrous adoration, or have instituted any ceremonie, contrarie to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfeli when

Lak Setraf.

to difficulting Poritions and Catronomic conference to a few of the first

). VI.

That Gomer also and his sonne Togorma of the posteritie of Iapheth were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spred Westward into Europe : and Northward into



Lucrinus.

O turne now to the sonnes of Noah, and the worlds plantation after the floud: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations of themselves themselves the second themselves are second to the second themselves the second the second themselves the second themselves the second the second themselves the second the second themselves the second themselves the second themselves the second the second the second themselves the second the second themselves the second the sec ons, & from thence fent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a man-

ner as that they might repaire to each other, and keep intelligence by Riuer: because the Land was yet Defart and ouer-prest with Woods, Reedes, Bogs, and rotten Marilhes. As when Nimrod feated in Babylonia, Chus tooke the South part of Chaldea, downe the River of Gehon, by which he might passe to and fro from Babylon to his owne plantation: those also, which were of the race of Shem, inhabiting at Vr or Orchos neere the Lakes of Chalasa, might by the fame River get up to Babylon, and receive fuccour from thence. All which Tract of Land vpon Gehon Southward, 20 Moses in the description of Paradise calleth the Land of Chush: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of Nimrod a Culhite, by whom the children of Shem (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for awhile opprest, till God afterward by the seede of Abraham made them his owne Nation and victorious. Hauilah, the brother of Nimrod, and sonne of Cush, tooke both bankes of Tigris, especially on the East side of the River: by which River his people might also passe to and fro to Babel.

The Imperiall seate of which Region of Hanilah or Susian, was anciently called Chulian or Chulan, afterward Sula. Culh himselfe tooke the bankes of Gehon, and planted those Countries Westward, and Southwest-ward towards Arabia the Stony, 30 and the Defart, where Ptolemie placeth the Citie of Chusidia, first Chusia.

Seba, and Sheba with the rest that planted Arabia falix, had Tigris to convey them into the Persian Gulfe, which washeththe bankes of Arabia falix on the East side: so as those sonnes of Cush might take Land downethe River as they pleased. Also the Citie of Miniue was by Nimrod founded on the faid River of Tigris; and from thence a Colonie past to Charran, standing also vpon a nauigable branch of Euphrates, In like manner did Iapheths sonnes settle themselues together, and tooke their seates in Asa the leffe: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of the Gentiles. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both Gomer, Magog, and Tubal, sate 40 downe first of all in that part of Syria, to the North of Palestina and Phanicia: and from thence Gomer or his children past on into Asia the lesse, as those of Magog and Tubal did; from whence the Tubalines spred themselves into Iberia: and the Magogians more Northerly into Sarmatia. The first Gomerians, and first planters in Afa the leffe, held the Countrie of the Cymmerians (witnesse Herodotus) the same Re- Lib.4. gion which was afterward by the Gallo-greekes called Galatia, to whom S. Paul wrote his Epistle so intituled. This Nation of the Cymmerians (whom the intinicible Seythians afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first plantations) gaue names to divers places; as to the Mountaynes aboue Albania (called Cymmerini) and to the Citie of Cymmeris in Phrygis: also Bosphorus Cymmerius tooke appellation from this 50 Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a Citie of that name, called Cymmerian: which Plinie faith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of Cerberion; but Cerberion was a Towne in Campania, fo called of the vnhealthfull waters, fauouring of brimstone, which Augustus caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake

The

Iu.c.27.14.

wate.

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The children of Tubal ranged as farre as Iberia, to whom the Moschici were neighbours, which others write Melhech. The Prophet Ezechiel (coupling them together) calleth Gog the Prince of Meschech and Tubal. For these Meschi (which Ptolemie calleth Moschi) inhabite Syracena a Prouince of Armenia, directly South from the Mountaynes Moschiei, in the Valley betweene the Mountaynes Moschiei, and the Mountaynes Paryardes: out of whose North part springeth the River Phasis from the East part Araxu; and from the West Euphrates; and of this Meschech are defcended also the Moscourans (saith Melanchion) and it may be, that in processe of rime some of them inhabited those Regions also : For Meshech (faith Melanchton) fignifieth extendens, enlarging or stretching forth. Togorma also at first did inhabitea- 10 mongst his parents and kindred. The Togormians were also called Giblei, a people neighbouring the Sydonians in Gabala, a Tetrarchie of Phanicia, the same which Plinie 1. King. 1. v.18. calleth Gaben: from whence Salomon had his most excellent Masons, which hewed stones for the Temple of Hierusalem. Thence the Togormians stretched into the lesse Iun.in Gen. 10. Armenia, whose Kings were hence called Tigranes, and their Cities Tigranokaria: of which Cities Tigranes subdued by Lucullus the Roman, built one. Hierosolymitanus hath planted the Togormians in Barbarie : forgetting the prophecie of Ezechiel against the Tyrians. They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy Fayres horses, and horse-men, and mules, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But 10/ephu takes them 20 for the parents of the Phrygians; which I doe not denie, but they might be in the enfuing ages : and so might the Tubalines be of the Spaniards; but it was from Iberia, and many hundred yeeres after the twelfth of Wimrods reigne. The lewes conceine that the Turkes came of those Togormians, because their Emperor is called Togar. The Chaldwans make them the Fathers of the Germanes. But Laonicus affirmes, that the Turkes descended of the Crim Tartar, which borders Musicouia. But for these subderivations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the floud is the matter which I labour to discouer; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must Wote, that those grand-children of Noah which were 30 of a more quiet, or (perchance) of lesse vinderstanding, and had not theresore the leading of Colonies sent out, their proper habitations can be hardly knowne: onely reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were couered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion ouer

> From Madai the third sonne of Inpheth, were the Medes. The Grecians bring them (as before) from Medus the sonne of Medea.

of IAVAN the fourth some of IAPHETH: and of MESCH, of ARAM, and MESHECH of IAPHETH.

F Jauan the fourth sonne of Japheth came the Janes , which were afterwards called the Greekes: and so the Latine and Greeke Interpreters terwards called the Greekes: and to the Laime and Orters and appearance for Isuan write Greece, as in Esay: Et mittam ex is qui sand shafe fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Greeciam; And twill fend those that efcape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italian din Greece. The Greeu

Company of the here vseth the word (Tarshich) for Tarsus, a Citie in Cilicia, though Tarsis in many places betaken for the Sea. The Tigurine and the Geneua vie the names Tubal and to Iauan, and not Italie and Greese: keeping the same Hebrew wordes. Of these Iones were the Athenians, though themselves dreame that they were Aborigines, or men without Ancesters, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe : who abounding in people sent Colonies into Asia the lesse, of whom came the lones of those

parts. Others derine the Athenians from Ion the sonne of Nuthus, the sonne of Den- Thucyd, falion; but the antiquitie of Ianan marres the fashion of that supposition, who so many veeres preceded Xuthus, Ion, or Deucalion. Paulanias tells vs that Xuthus stole out of Theffalie with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at Athens, he was graciously received by Exictheus, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two sonnes, Ion, and Acheus, the supposed Ancesters of the Athenians. For Attica was called Ionia (faith Plutarch in the life of The-(eus) who, when he had joyned Megara to Attica, erected a piller in that Ilthmos or Strait, which fastneth Peloponnefus to the other part of Greece : writing on that part 10 which looketh towards the East, these wordes : Hac non funt Peloponne fus, ast Ionia : Thele Countries are not of Peloponne (us, but of Ionia: and on the other fide which looked towards the South and into Peloponne fus, this : Thefe parts are Peloponne fus . and

not Ionia. Strabe out of Hecateus affirmeth, that the Iones came out of Affa into Greece, which is contrarie to the former opinion: That the Iones of Greece transporting certayne companies into Alia the leffe, the name of Iones was thereby therein retayned. And though Strabo knew no more thereof then he learned of the Greekes themselves, yet I finde this coniecture of Hecataus reasonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet fure I am that Asia the lesse had people before Greece had any : and 20 that Iduan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but tooke Afia the leffe in his paffage; and from thence past ouer the neerest way, leaving his owne name to some Maritimate Province on that fide, as he did to that part of Greece so called. But yet Strabo himselfe beleeved, that Jonia tooke the name from Ion the sonne of Xuthus: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of Paufanias. True it is, that the Greekes in after-times cast themselves into that part of Afia the leffe, opposite vnto them, which they held for divers yeeres. And howsoeuer the Greekes vaunt themselues to be the Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approued Historians (not their owne) deride and disproue their pride, and vanitie therein. For this dispute of Antiquitie (among prophane Writers) rested 30 betweene the Soythians and the Agyptians, as Iustine out of Trogus, in the warre betweene Vexoris of Agypt, and Tanais of Scythia, witnesseth: which preceded far the reigne of Ninus, and was long before the name of Greece was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in Georops time the Greekes were all salvages without law or religion, living like brute beafts in all respects : and Cecrops (faith S. Augustine) lived to- Lib. 18. de Civits gether with Moses.

The fixth sonne of lapheth was Meshech, whom the Septuagint cal Mosoch: (a part of thole Nations commanded by Gog the chiefe Prince of Melbech and Tubal.) But this we must remember, that betweene Mefech the sonne of Aram, and Meshech (or Mosoch) the sonne of lapheth, there is little difference in name, and both by divers In-40 terpreters diverfly written. Montanus with the Vulgar writeth Melch, the sonne of Aram, Mes; the Geneua, Mash; Iunius, Mesch. But it may be gathered out of the 120. Plaime, that either Melhech the sonne of Iapheth, was the parent of those people, or gave name to that Province wherein Danid hid himselfe : or else ( which may rather feeme) that it tooke name from Mesch the sonne of Aram. For David bewayling his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) vseth these words: Woeis me that I remayne in Mefech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar: which Iunius con- pfd, 120, v.s. uerteth thus: Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diù: habito tanquam Scenita Kedareni: The Septuagint gives it this fence: Woe is me because my babitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar; with which this of the Latine agreeth: Hen 50 mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitani cum habitantibus Kedar: The Chal-

dean otherwise, and in these wordes: O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asianis, habitaui cum taber naculis Arabum; O wretch, that I am, for I have travailed among those of Asia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians. But how soeuer or which soeuer conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of Kedar: which is a Province

it selfe hath Mesech. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (asit is most likely, because it answeres to Kedar, the name of a Nation) seeing Melb the sonne of Aram,

1. Chron. 17. is called Meshec, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from

Meshech or Mesh, both bordering Indea, and like enough to be commanded by one

Prince; for so Ezechiel makes Mefech and Tubal. But as for those that take Mefech out of the word Mosoch (given by the Septuagint) to be the Musconian : fure they

presume much vpon the affinitie of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am that Dauid neuer trauailed so farre North; (for to him Musconia was vtterly vnknowne) but

on: the same being a Citie on the Mountaynes of Sanir or Galaad. And yet Arias

Montanus makes Mosoch the father of the Muscouians : and herein also Melanchien

runnes with the tyde of common opinion, and fets Mefech in Musconia, though with

some better aduice of judgement; as, first seated in Cappadocia, and from thence tra-

uailing Northward : expounding the places of the 120. Pfalme, (Heimihi quòd exulo

in Melech) to signifie, Gentis eius feritatem insignem esfe; That the feritie of that Nation

exceeded: which fiercenesse or brutalitie of the Mulcoutans, David neuer proued, or

(perchance) neuer heard of. But the same feritie or crueltie which those Northerne

Muscoujans had, may aswell be ascribed to the Arabians and Kedarens. For this

quall fiercenesse to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long af-

ter, euen to this day (if the Arabians, Ismaelites, and Saracens, may be accounted one people:) the same being foreshewed by the speech of the Angell to Hagar, Gen. 16.

v.12. And be fall be a wild man : his hand shall be against every man, and every mans hand

against him. Now Arabia the Desart (saith Plinie) confronteth the Arabians Cochlei on the East, and the Cedrai Southward, both which toyne together vpon the Naba-

thei. So it appeareth (as before) that Mefech, Tubal, Gomer, Togorma, and Magoo.

neighboured Canaan and Israel, and that Kedar also did toyne to Mesech: all which were Regions of Syria, or of Asia the lesse, commanded by the Successors of Seleu-

it might well be, that long after the first plantation the issue of Mefech (or Mafoch)

might passe into Cappadocia, and thence into Hyrcania, and give names, both to Ma-

cega in the one, and to the Mountaynes Moschici in the other, and from thence might

cus, enemies of the reestablishment of Israel and Iuda. But (as I have alreadie said) 30

Countrie tooke name of Kedar the second sonne of Ismael, of whom a people of e- 20

about the border of Kedar (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perfecuti- 10

VIII.

of ASCANEZ and RIPHATH, the two elder Sonnes of GOMER.

Scanez was the Father of those which the Greekes call Regimi, (fayth lo(ephus) but he gives no reason why.

Eulebius makes Alcanez the Father of the Goths. The Jewes in their Thargum make him the root of the Germane Nation, but their expositions are commonly very idle. Plinie findeth Afrania in Phrygia, neere

the Rivers of Hylas and Cies: Melanchton being of the same opinion, that the Tufcones were descended of the Ascanez, (for Tuiscones, fayth hee, is as much to say, as of the Ascanez, preposito articulo die Ascanez) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as af- Melan, in card. it terwards at the Tombes of Martyrs. Not farre from Phrygia was the Lake Ascania. knowne by that name in the Romanes time. And among the Kings which came to the succour of Troy, was Ascanius (Deo similis, fayth Homer) like vuto God: because Hom. Iliad. 2. he was beautifull and strong: for in the same manner doth Virgil grace Anews, Os humeroff, Deo similis, in face and bodie like one of the Gods. Virgil also remembreth such

20 a River together with the Hils Gargara: as, Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transif, fo- ving Georgia. nantem Ascanium, Appetite leades them both ouer the Mountaines Gargara, and the roring Ascanivs. But this Plinic maketh more plaine in the description of Phragia. For he placeth the Citie of Brillion vpon the River Ascanius, which is adioyning to Milia. and is necre the border of the Troian Empire; and the Lake Acanez he directs vs to find by the description of Prusia, founded by Hannibal at the foot of Olympus, which Iyeth farre within the Countries of Bithynia: and then from Profia to Nicea are accounted fiue and twentie miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, euen betweene Profia and Nicea. And fo Iunius (as I conceiue him) takes them of Ascanez, to bee the inhabitants of Pontus, and Bithynia, and those North parts of Asia. Stephanus de Vrbibus 30 makes it a Citie of Troas, built by Ascanius the sonne of Aneas: saying, that there was another of that name in Mysia. Of Ascania a Lake of Buhynia, Ptolomie witnesfeth: and Strabo giueth Ascania botha Lake, a River, and a Towne in Mysia, neere vnto Cio; which also agreeth with Plinie. For Plinie findeth Prusia (before spoken of) neere Cio, and calleth the Islands before Troy Ascanes.

Now, whether these places tooke name of Asanez the sonne of Gomer, or of Ascanius the sonne of Aneas, it might be questioned : sure it is, that Ascanius which brought succour to the Troians, could not take his name from Aneus sonne, who was then eyther exceeding yong, or rather vnborne: and it seemeth that the Countries whence those succours came, were not out of any part of Phrygia or Mysia, but 40 farther off, and from the North parts of all Asa the lesse, which by Hieremie is called Ascanez, by the figure Synechdoche, as Iunius thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which deceiue not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet Hieremie we shall learne of what Nation the Ascenez were, whose wordes are thele: Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nation against her, call C.51.0.17. up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanez against ber, &c. meaning against the Babylonians. Ararat was Armenia the greater, as most Interpreters consent, so called of the Mountaines of Ararat which runne through it : Minni the leffer Armenia: Armenia being compounded of Aram and Minni. For Minni was the ancient name: (fayth Iunius and others before him) and Aram anciently taken for Syria, which con-50 tained all that Tract from Euphrates to the Sea-coasts of Phanicia and Palastina; and therefore Mesopatamia being in elder times but a Prouince of Syria, the Scriptures difference it in the Storie of Iacob and Esan, and call it Aram-padam. Then if these two Nations were of the Armenians, and Afcanez joyned with them (who altogether vnited vader Cyrus and Darius, came to the spoile of the Babylonian Empire) we shall erre

fend people more Northerly into Museouia, and so all opinions saued. But all saluage Nations ouer-growne and vncultivated, doe (for the most part) shew a late plantation, euen as Civilitie, Letters, and magnificent Buildings, witnesse anti-Tires, the feuenth sonne of lapheth, which Montanus reckons among the sonnes of Gomer, was the Father of the Thracians, as all Authors (worthie the examinati-Montan, in Chr. on) affirme. Is fephus was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scrip- 40 tures are altogether silent, what part of the world Tiras peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the

fonnes of Gomer, which were three:

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è. VIII.

much to call Askenaz Germanie or Almsine, for weeheare of no Swart Ruttiers at that siege. But the Aikenaz were of those Nations which were either subject or allied to the Medes: of which, if any of them came afterward into Phrygia, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of Eusebius, who makes them to be Goths; or that of 10sephus, who cals them Rhegini; or of the lewes, who will have them to be Almaines; when they confirme it either by

Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe. Of Riphath the second sonne of Gomer there is mention in the first of Chronicles. Beroaldus and Pererius thinke that hee wandered farre off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memorie of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contra-10 rie, but that he might seate himselfe with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no roome or soile in those dayes for all the sonnes and Grand-children of Moah. Therefore I take it to bee well vnderstood, that the Riphei were of Riphath, which the Greekes afterwards (according to Iosephus) called the Paphlagones: and Ripbes (fayth Melanchton) signifieth Giants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in Sarmatia: the most of number and power among them, Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti. The greatest number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti; who spake the ancient Polac: which being first called Riphei (for the love of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became Heneti, (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in Paphlagonia, as Homer witnesseth, and so doth Apollo- 20 nius in his Argonauticks: Now, when these Riphes (afterward Heneti) lought new Regions, they came along the shores of Euxinu, and filled the North part of Europe, contayning Russa, Lituania, and Polonia. From thence they croft thwart the Land, and peopled Illyria, desirous (sayth Melanchton) of a warmer soile of fruit and Wine. These Heneti or Veneti, whom Melanchton taketh to be one people, filled al that Land betweene the Baltick and Adriaticke Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe Venedieus is found in Russia. This Nation, after they were possess of Lituania and Polonia, disturbed the plantation of the Boij and Hermondury. Therefore, it seemeth to mee, that of Riphath came the Riphei, afterward Heneti; and fo thinketh Arias Montanus, first seated in Paphlagonia, but in course of time Lords of Sarmatia, and those other 30 parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Rivers of Vifula and Albis. The name ((aith Melanchton) (ignifieth wandering or Wanderers, or Nomades: a people which lined by White-meates and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third sonne of Gomer, Togorma, I have spoken alreadie; now therefore of Iauans children, which were foure:

d. IX.

Of the foure Sonnes of IAVAN: and of the double signification of Tharsis, either for a proper name or for the Sea.



F Elifa or Elipha, came the Loles: and of this Elifa all the Greekes were called Hellenes, fayth Montanus. Melanchton makes Elifathe Father of 50 the Loles in Asia fide : others of Elis in Peloponnessus, or of both. And seeing the Greekes were descended in generall of Janan, it is probable that the Loles and the Elei, tooke name of Elifa, his eldest Sonne. Ezechiel in the 27. speaking of Tyre, nameth the Isles of Elisa. Hyacynthus

& purpura de insulis Elisa facta sunt operimentum tuum ; Blue Silke and Purple, brought from the Isles of Elifa, was thy covering: The Chaldwans for Elifa write Italia: but the Vulgar, the Tigurine, the Geneua, and Iunius, keepe the word Elifa: and fo I thinks they might doe with reason. For there was not found any such Purple Dye in Italie in those dayes nor since, that I can read of : but those illes of Elisa, were by a better coniecture the Isles of Greece; and the best Purple was found afterward at Tyre it selfee and before that, among the Cyclades, and on the Coast of Getulia.

CHAP. 8. S. 9. of the History of the World,

Tharfis, the second Sonne of Janan, inhabited Cilicia, of which Tharlis is the Metropolis. Montanus for Tharfis in Cilicia, vnderstands Carthage in Africa; but (referuing to the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The Chaldean Paraphrast puts Carthage for Tharsis, but it hath no authoritie, nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of Salomon went euerv three yeeres to Tharsis, and brought thence Gold, Siluer, Elephants teeth, &c. the Chaldean Paraphrast translates Tharsis (Africa.) But Salomons Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at Elion Gaber, in the Bay of Elana, neere vnto Madian, where Iethro (Moses Father in Law) inhabited; a Province of Arabia Petras, Idumas, or of the Chustes; and they sayled to the higher part of the East India. For it had beenea strange Nauigation to have spent three yeers in the passage betweene Indea and Carthage, or any other part of Africa, which might have beene sayled in six or ten daies. 20 And if so great riches might have beene found within the bounds of the Mediterran Sea, all other neighbouring Princes would soone have entertained that Trade also. But this enterprize of Salomon is in this fort written of in the first of Kings: Also King SALOMON made a Nauie of Ships in Esion Gaber, which is beside Elath and the

brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom: and HyRAM fent with the Nanie his servants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of Salomon: and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420. Talents of Gold, Oc. But as the Nations about Pontus thought no Sea in the World like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that only: (whereof it came, that Pontus was a word vsed for the Sea in generall) so, because the Israelites and the Phanicians knew no o-30 ther Seathen that of the Mediterran in the beginning; and that the people of Thars had the greatest Ships, and were the first Nauigators in those parts with such Vesfels, they were therefore called men of the Sea : and the word Tharsis vsed often for the Sea. And whereas it is faid that the Ships of Salomon went every three yeeres to Thar sis, that phrase is not strange at all; for we vie it ordinarily where souer ween auigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out euery yeere, or every three yeere to the Sea, and therefore Tharlis was not therein named, eyther for Carthage, Africa, or India, but vsed for the Sea it selfe. But in this place Thar sis is truly taken for Thar sis, the chiefe Citie in Cilicia, founded by Thar sis

the second sonne of Jauan, or by his Successionrs in memorie of their first parent. To 40 this Citie arrived Alex. Macedon, before he gave the first overthrow to Darius, and casting himselfe into the River to bathe and wash his bodie, he fell into an extreme Feuer, and great danger of death: and in this Citie of That sis was Saint Paul borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (Gomer and his other fonnes inhabiting Alia the leffe, and that part of Syria adjoyning) Jauan, who was to passe ouer the Sea into Greece, tooke the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the Iones on that shore: gaue the Islands betweene Asia the lesse and Greece, to Elifa, and left Tharfis vpon the Sea-side in Cilicia; of whom that Citie tooke

The third sonne of Isnan was Cethim, of whom were the Romans and Italians, 50 faith Beroaldus, but I allow better of Melanchtons opinion, who makes Cethim the Father of the Macedonians. Cethim is a voice plurall (faith he) and fignifieth percussores, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of Esai.23. (according to Melanchton ) had relation to Alexander and the Macedonians: Hac calamitas ab Es AI pradictaeft, qui capite vicessimo tertio inquit, bited Macedonia.

was foreshewed by Es at the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced,

that the Destroyers of Tyre were to come out of Cittim. And although the children of Israel esteemed all men Islanders, which came vnto them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also Cittim might be taken for Italie, saith Beroaldus) yet wee

must take the sirst performance of the former Prophesie, which tooke effect with the

destruction of the Tyrians by Alexander, who after seuen Moneths siege entred that proud Citie, and cut in pieces 7000. principall Citizens; strangled 2000. and changed the freedome of 13000. others into bondage and flauerie. Now, that Macedon was taken for Ceshim, it appeareth plainly in the first of the Maccabees, in these Io wordes. After that ALEXANDER the Macedonian, the Sonne of PHILIP, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and flew DARIVS. King of the Persians and Medes. IOSEPHVS

fets Cethins in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (fayth hee) there remaineth the Citie Ci-

tium, the Countrey of Zene the Philosopher (witnesse Laertius) which Citie Pintus

vpon Exechiel affirmeth, that it flood in Saint Hieromes time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Islands of Cethim: and in that sense might Cyprus bee so called also; and yet because Tharsis was the very next Port to Cyprus, and directly ouer against it, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharsis: and finding that Island too streight for his people after they

were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both on Asia side and Greece, were in-20

Dodanim the fourth sonne of Ianan, and the youngest Brother (by the most opi-

nions) sate downe at Rhodes, as neere Cethim, Tharsis, and Elisa, as he could. For Do-

danim and Rhodanim are vsed indifferently by many Translators: the Hebrew (D)

and the Hebrew (R) are so like, as the one may easily bee taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirme. There is also found in Epirus the Citie of Dodona, in the Pro-

uince of Molosia. And as Cethim, when he wanted soile in Cyprus : so Dodanim (sea-

ted in a farre lesse Island) did of necessitie send his people farther off; and keeping a-

longst the Coast, and finding Peloponnesus in the possession of Elifa, hee passed a little 30

farther on the Westward, and planted in Epirus. And though the Citie of Dodona

was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as Dodanim himselfe, yet his Poste-

ritie might giue it that name in memorie of their first parent, as it happened all the

World ouer. For names were given to Cities, Mountaines, Rivers, and Provinces,

after the names of Noahs children, and grand-children; not in all places by them-

felues, but by their successours many yeeres after: euery of their Families being de-

firous to retaine among them by those memories, out of what branch themselues

were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by

new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished:

names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountaines and Riuers, as to things (af-

ter their judgements) freest from any alteration.

therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their owne 40

Thus then did Iauan settle himselse and his children, in the edge and frontier of

habited by his Father and Brothers, he fent Colonies ouer the Agean Sea, and inha-

fonnes of shem, which spred themselves towards the West, and the borders of the Mediterran Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sonnes of Cham or Ham, which were foure:

> Mizraim, 6 Phut, and

That the feate of CHVSH the eldest sonne of HAM, was in Arabia, not in Athiopia: and of Brange Pables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded upon the mistaking of this point.

Of Iosephus his Tale of an Ethiopesse wife to Moses, erounded on the miltaking of the feate of CVSH.

Hat Ham was the Father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Pfalme verfe 51. Then ISRAEL came to Egypt, and IACOB was a stranger in the land of HAM: and in the 78.

Plaine, Hee stew all the sirst-borne in Egypt, euen the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of HAM. There is also found a great Citie in Thebaida, called Cheramis: (as it were the Citie of Ham ) of which name Herodo- Herodin Entertus also dicouers an Handin the same Region. But because chush is the elder sonne pe. 30 of Ham, it agreeth with order to speake hirst of him. Now though I have already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and (I hope) prooued that Chush could not be Athiopia: yet seeing it commeth now to his turne to speake for himselfe, I will adde some farther proofe to the former. For the manifestation hereof fers many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senselesse Interpretations. Surely, how soever the Septuagint and Insephus have herein failed, yet it is manifest that Chush could not be Athiopia, but Arabia: ( to wit) both that Arabia called Petraa, and a part of Arabia the Happie and the Defart: which Regions Chulh and the Chulites presently planted, after they left Babylonia to Nimrod, wherein they first sate downe altogether. And there is nothing which so 40 well cleereth this Controuersie, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12.v. I. where Moles his Wife is called a Chulite; together with some places which speake of Nabuchodonofors Conquests. For whereas lofephus and the Septuagint in the place, Num.12.v.1. as also elsewhere, vnderstand Chush for Athiopia, we must give credit to Mofes himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that lofephus was grosly mistaken, or vainely led by his owne inuention. For loscophus presuming that Chush was Athiopia, and therefore that the Wife of Moses (which in Scripture, Num. 12. verse 1. is called a woman of Culh) was a woman of the land of Ethiopia, faineth that Tharbis the Daughter of the King of Athiopia, fell in love with the person and same of Mos, while he besieged Saba her Fathers Citie; and to the end, to obtaine Moses for 50 her Husband, shee practised to betray both her Parents, Countrie, and friends, with the Citie it selfe, and to deliner it into Moses hands. The Tale (if it bee worth the reciting) lyeth thus in losephus. After hee had described the strength of the Ethiopian Citie Meroe, which he faith at length Cambyfes called fo from the name of his Sister, (the olde name being Saba) he goeth on in these wordes : Hic cum Mos Es de- Aniq. Lac. 5.

Asathelesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands, and neighbour Provinces thereof, as Iapheth their Father had done in the body of the leffer Asia, together with Isuans brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Mefech, and

the rest round about him. And in like fort did Chush (the some of Cham) people B4bylonia, Chaldes, and the borders thereof towards the West and Southwest: and the fonnes of Chush (all but Namrod, who held Babylonia it selfe) travailed Southward in Arabia felix, and Southwestward into Arabia petree: the rest of his children holding 50 the Regions adioyning to Nimrod. Mizraim the brother of Chush in like manner tooke the way of Agypt: and his brother Canaan the Region of Palestina adioyning.

The Sonnes of Canaan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrenes, and to those of the

sidere

sidere exercitumotiosum agrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conferere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Ethiopum Regi filia, nomine THARBIS, Oc. which Tale hath this sense in English: When Moses was griened that his Armielay idle, because the Enemie besieged, durst not Sally and come to handy strokes, there happened this accident in the meane while. The Ethiopian King had a Daughter called THARBIS, who at some affaults given beheld the person of Moses, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had not only up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Athiopians to the very brinke of Subuersion : these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increased, shee made meanes to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants to offer her selfe unto him, and become his Wife; 10 Which Moses on this condition entertained, that thee should first deliver the Citie into his possession: whereunto shee condescending, and Moses having taken outh to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

## †. II. A dispute against the Tale of Iosephys.

THis Tale (whereof Moses hath not a word) hath Iosephus fashioned, and therein also vtterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a Citie of Arabia for a Citie of A. 20 thiopia: as he names Ethiopia it selfe to have beene the Countrie of Moses his Wife, when (indeed) it was Arabia. For Sabais not in Athiopia, but in Arabia, as both Strabo and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne teach vs, saying that the Sabeans are Arabians and not Athiopians; except lofephus can perswade vs , that the Queene of Saba which came from the South to heare the wisedome of Salomon, were a Negro, or Blacke-Moore. And though Damianus à Goes speake of certaine Letters to the King of Portugall from Prester John, of the Abisines: wherein that Athiopian King would perswade the Partugals that hee was descended of the Queene of Saba, and of Salomon; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that Salomon had any Sonne by that great Princesse: which had it beene true, it is likely that 30 when Sishac King of Egypt inuaded Roboam, and sackt Hierusalem, his Brother (the Sonne of Saba and Salomon) who loyned upon Egypt, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aide and succour to Roboam against Ieroboam, who drew from him tenne of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neyther is it any thing against our opinion of Moses his Wife, to have beene an Arabian, that the Scriptures teach vs, that Moles married the daughter of lethro Priest of Midian or Madian: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, ouer against the bodie of Egypt, and neere Esion Gaber, where Salomon prouided his Fleet for India, in the Region of Edom, may well bee reckoned as a part of Arabia, as the Red Sea is called Sinus Arabicus. For Edumaa ioyneth to the Tribe of Iuda by the North, to Arabia Pe- 40 trea by the East, to the Mediterran by the West, and to the Red Sea by the Southeast. And if wee marke the way which Moses tooke when he left Egypt, and condu-Cted Israel thence, it will appeare that hee was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia it selfe, hee had formerly liued fortie yeeres; where it seemeth, that besides his carefull bringing vp in Egypt, hee was instructed by lethroin the Egyptians learning. For 10/ephus confesseth, and Saint Stephen confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisedome of the Egyptians. But on the other side this Text makes much against losephus, whereit is written in Exodus the second, Therefore Moses fled from PHARAO, and dwelt in the Land of Madian or Midian, and not in Æthiopia. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as wordes can expresse, in what 50 Region Madian was, where it is written, When Moses kept the Sheepe of IETHRO his Fatherin Law, Priest of Madian, and draue the Flocke to the Defart, and came to the Mountaine of Go D in Horeb. Now that Mount Horeb is not in Athiopia, enery Infantknoweth. And if wee may beleeue Moles himselfe, then was not the Wife of

Moles purchased in that manner which Iosephus reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrie and Friends) neither had shee the name of Tharbis, but of Suppora, or Zippora: neither was shee a Negro, but a Madianitish. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest meanes: so it pleased him from a Sepherd to call Moles, and after him David, and by them to deliver his people first and last. For Mofes sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of Re- Exod.1. quel from the other shepherds, and drew them Water to water their sheepe: vpon which occasion (by God ordayned) he was entertayned by lethro, whose Daughter he marryed: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

CHAP. 8. S. 10. 1.3. of the History of the World.

From hence also came lethroto Mojes at Rephidim, not farre from Idumea, and finding the insupportable gouernement of such a multitude, he aduised him to distribute this waightie charge, and to make Gouernours and Iudges of enery Tribe and Familie. And if Iethro had beene an Ethiopian, it had beene a farre progresse for him to have passed through all Egypt with the Wife and Children of Moles, and to have found Moles in the border of Iduraes : the Egyptians hating Moles and all that fauoured him. But the passing of Moles through Arabia Petres (which ioyneth to Madian) proueth that Moses was well acquainted in those parts: in which the se-cond time he wandred fortie yeeres, and did by these late transiles of his, seeke to instruct the children of Ifrael in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought 20 them to the Land of plentie and rest. For he found them nourished yp with the milke of Idolatrie, and obstinate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Desarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Com-

Lastly, this opinion of Iosephus is condemned by Augustinus Chrisamensis, where also he reprehendeth Apollinaris, who anowed that Moses had marryed both Tharbu and Sephora: His owne wordes have this beginning: Mentitur etiam APOLLI- Sixt. Sentiff NARIS duas uxores habuisse Mosen, &c. Apollinar is also lyeth in affirming that Bibl. 20 Moses had two wines : and who doth not perceine thefe things fayned by them? for it is manifest that the wife of Moses was Zephor A, Daughter to the Priest or President of Madian : and that Madian cannot be taken for Ethiopia beyond Egypt; being the same

# t. III. Chush ill expounded for Athiopia, Ezech. 29. 10.

that ionneih to Arabia : so farre Chrisamensis.

Now as Chush is by the Septuagint converted Ethiopia, and the wife of Meses there ore called Athopiss: so in the conquest of Nabuchodonosor is Athopia written for Arabia. For by the wordes of Ezechiel it is manifest that Nabuchodonofor Ezech.19.10. was neuer in Athiopia. Behold (faith Ezechiel, speaking of the person of this great Assyrian) I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the Towre of Seuench, euen to the borders of the Black-moores : which last wordes should have beene thus converted: From the Towre of Seseneh to the borders of the Chustes or Arabians: betweene which two is situated all Egypt. For to fay, from the borders of Seueneh to the Athiopians, hath no sense at all. Seueneh it selfe being the border of Egypt, confronting and ioyning to Athiopia, or the Land of the black-Moores. So as if Nabuchodonofors conquest had beene but between so Seueneh and the border of Athiopia, it were as much to fay, and did expresse no other victorie then the conquest of all that Land and Countrie, lying between Middlefex and Buckingham, where both the Countries ioyne together; or all the North parts of England, betweene Barwick and Scotland: for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man fought to expresse by these two bounds, the Conquest of

England: Barwick being the North border of England, as Senench or Syene is the South bound of Agypt, seated in Thebaida which toucheth Athiopia. But by the wordes of Ezechiel it appeareth, that Nabuchodonofor neuer entred into any part of Athiopia, although the Septinagint, the Vulgar, the Geneua, and all other (in effect) have written Athiopia for Chush.

# Tet. IIII

# Another place of EZECHIEL, cap. 30. verf. 9. in like manner mistaken.

Nd as the former, so is this place of Ezechiel mistaken, by being in this fort A converted: In divilla egreduntur nuncij d facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Athiopia confidentiam: Which place is thus turned in English by the Geneuans: In that day shall there Messengers goe forth from me in ships to make she carelesse Moores afraid. Now the Latine for (Thips) hath the Greeke word Trieres for Triremes which are Gallyes of three bankes, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should have beene (as in the former) amended by vling the word Chulb, or Arabia for Æthiopia or the blacke Moores, every man may fee which meanely understandeth the Geographie of the World, knowing, that to passe out of Agypt into Athiopia there neede no Galleys nor fhips, no more then to paffe out of Worthampton into Leicestershire: Athio- 20 pia being the conterminate Region with Agypt, and not divided so much as by a River. Therefore in this place of Ezechiel it was meant, that from Agypt Nabuchodonofor should send Galleyes alongst the coast of the Red Sea, by which an Armie might betransported into Arabia the Happy and the Stony (sparing the long wearisome march ouer all Agypt, and the Defarts of Pharan) which Armie might thereby surprise them vnawares in their securitie and confidence. For when Nabuchodonofor was at Seueneh within a mile of Athopia, he needed neither Galley nor Ship to passe into it: being all one large and firme Land with Ægypt, and no otherwise parted from it, then one In-land shire is parted from another; and if he had a fancie to hauerowed vp the Riuer but for pleasure, he could not haue done it : for the fall of 20 Nilus (tumbling ouer high and steepie Mountaynes) called Catadupa Nile, were at

Lastly, as I have alreadie observed, the sonnes of every father seated themselves as neere together as possibly they could, Gomer and his sonnes in Asia the lesse; I avan and his sonnes in Greece, and the I lands adioyning; Shem in Persia and Eastward. So the Sonnes and Grand-children of Chuss from the River of Gehon (their Fathers first seat) inhabited ypon the same, or ypon some other contiguat vnto it, as Nimrod and Hamilah on the one side, and Saba, Sheba, and Sabsecha (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the Hebrewes had never any acquaintance or sellowship, any warre, treatie of peace, or other intelligence with the Ethiopian blacke 40 Moores, as is alreadie remembred in the Chapter of Paradis.

#### +. V.

# A place, Esay 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted, by taking Chush for Æthiopia.

A Nd as in these places before remembred, so in divers other is the word £thiopia put for Arabia or Chush, which puts the storie (where it is so understood)
quite out of square; one Kingdome thereby being taken for another. For what sense
hath this part of Scriptive E/ay 18. Vaterra Cymbalorum alarum quaeft trans slumina
£thiopia, or according to the Septuagine in these wordes: Vaterra nausum alarum quae
est trans sluvios £thiopia? Wo to the land shaddowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers
of £thiopia, sending Ambassadors by sea, even in vessels of reeds upon the waters. Vaterra

umbrofæöra; Woe to the Land of the shadie coast, saith Innius. The former Translators understand it in this sense. That the waters are shaddowed with the sailes, which are significatinely called the wings of the ships, the other, that the Coast of the Sea was shaddowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet Esay, is Egypt, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the Egyptians that fent this message to the Israelites which Esay repeateth, and by the former translation enery man may see the transposition of Kingdomes: for hereby Egypt is transported vnto the other fide of Æthiopia, and Æthiopia fet next vnto Iudaa, when it is the Land of Chulb and To Arabia indeed that lyeth betweene Indea and Egypt, and not Atbiopia, which is feated vnder the Equinoctial line. And of this Beroaldus asketh a materiall question, (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of ETHIOPIA: Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit; For it cannot be faid that he treateth of an unknowne Region. Now if Athiopia it selfe be under the Equinoctial line, with whom the lewes had never any acquaintance, why should any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations farre beyond it againe, and beyond the Rivers of Athiopia? except we shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or vsed an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discouered in 2000. yeeres after, inhabiting as farre South as the Cape of 20 good Hope, commonly knowne by the name of Bona esperanza.

## t. VI.

# That upon the like missaking, both Terrhara in the storie of Sena-CHERLB, and Zera in the storie of Asa are unadustedly made Ethiopians.

And by this translation is the storie of Senacherib vtterly mistaken in the cause of his retrait. For Senacherib was first repulsed at Pelusium, at the very entrance 30 of Egypt from Indea: when having certayne knowledge that Thirrhaca, (which all the Interpreters call King of Ashiopia) was on the way to fet on him, he began to 10feph. 1.10.6.56 with-draw himselse: and searing to leave his Armie in two parts, he sent threatning Messengers to Ezechia King of Juda, perswading him to submit himselfe : the Tenor whereof is set downe in the second of Kings in these wordes: Haue any of the gods of the Nations delinered his Landout of the hands of the King of Ashur? Where is the god of Hamah? c'ce. By which proud Ambassage, if he had obtayned entrance into Hierufilem, he then meant to have vnited that great Armie before Hiernfalem, commanded by Rablekeh, with the other which lay before Pelusium, a great Citie vpon the branch of Nilus next Arabia. For Senacherib had alreadie mastered the most part of all those Kings 2.19. 40 Cities in Iudea and Beniamin with a third Armie, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the fiege of Lebna. But vpon the rumor of that Arabian Armie led by their King Thirrhakeh (whom Iosephus calls Tharfices) Rabsakeh hasted from the siege Aniiq.Lio. of Hierufalem, and found Senacherib departed from Lachis & fet downe before Lebna, Kings 2.196 which was afterwards called Eleuthoropolis, as some haue supposed. But while he had ill successe at Pelusium and seared Thirrhakeh, God himselfe whom he least seared, strooke his Armie before Hierusalem by the Angell of his power, so as 185000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of Ezechias is hereafter more largely written. And that this Armie of Tirrakeh was from Arabia, Iosephus himselse makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth Booke the first Chapter of the lewes Antiqui-50 ties, that it was come to Senacheribs knowledge, that the Armie which was afoote (both to relecuethe Agyptians and the lewes) marched towards him by the way of the Defart : Now the Defart which lay indifferent betweene Hierufalem and Pelu- Lib.10, 149.1. fiam, was that of Pharan or Sur, which also toucheth on the three Arabiaes, to wir, the Stonie, of which it is a part: the Defart, and the Happy; and by no other way indeede could the Arabians come on to succour either Pelusium or Hierusalem. But.

that there is any Defart betweene Pelusium and the South part of Egypt, hath neuer

yet beene heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this Scripture of the second of Kings, Verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (Chush) is also translated Athropia; and in this sense have all the Interpreters, (but tunius) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse: He heard also

men far of THIRRHAKEH King of Athiopia, &c. whereas it should have beene

thus converted with Iv. NIVs: Andiens autem de THIRRHAKEH Rege Chushi; Hee

heard allow THIRRHAKEH King of the Chushites. For they were the Chusites and Arabians, whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and vpon whom the very to

smoke of Iuda flaming was blowne, being their neerest Neighbours : and so were not the Athiopian blacke-Moores under the Equinoctiall, whom neither warre nor peace (which discouereth all Regions) euer found out, saith Plinie. For this King

was no more King of Ethiopia then Zerah was, who inuaded Ma King of Iuda,

with an Armie of a Million and three thousand Charriots. Indeed, how such an Ar-

mie and those Charriots should passe through all Egypt, (the Kings of Egypt being mightie Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre

distant, judge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to runne

through them; neither was there ever any fuch strength of Black-Moores heard of

the word Chulb being first so converted for Athiopia, the rest of the Interpreters (not

looking into the seates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inualions)

followed one another in the former mistakings.

in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these Athiopians such trauai- 20 lers or Conquerors; and yet is this King Zerah also called King of Æthiopia. Bur

Plin. 1.5.c.9.

£ 100 2 6.14.

Q. XI. Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

That MIZRAIM the chiefe planter of Egypt, and the rest of the Sonnes of HAM, were feated in order, one by another.

He second sonne of Ham was Mizraim, who (according to the place of a fecond brother) was fent fomewhat farther off to inhabite. For Chufb first possess on the West side of Gehon chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred Arabia, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the South-east-side of Iu-

aes. Mizraim his brother (with Phut) past ouer into Africa. Mizraim held Egypt: and Phut (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into Mauritania. Canaan tooke the Sea-coast, and held the side of Palestina: and these foure brothers possest all that Tract of Land, from Gehon in Chaldan, as farre to the West as the Mediterrane 20 Sea: comprehending all Arabia Deferta, and Petraa, all Canaan which embraceth Galilea, Samaria, and Indea; with the two Egypts, whereof the nether is bounded by Memphis on the South, and by the Mediterrane Sea on the North: and Thebaida (called the upper Egypt) firetcheth it selfetoward the South as farre as Syene, the border of the Athiopians or black-Moores. All the rest of the coast of Africa Westward Phut peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Familie that dwelt betweene them. And in the same manner did all their sonnes againe, and all the fonnes of the rest of Noahs children, sort themselues.

of farther exposition of the place, EsAY 18. 1.

Oncerning these wordes in that eighteenth Chapter of EsAY, Nauium alarum; 30 Winged Ships, (so the Septuagint turne it) or Cymbalo alarum (according to the Latine) (ayles whiftling in the windes, or terra vimbrofa or a (after Iv NIVs) the Land of a shaddowed coast, or the Land shaddowing with wings, as our English Geneua hath it. The two first interpretations of the Septuagint and S. Hierome have one sense in effect. For the failes are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we vieto say ordinarily when our ships saile slowly, that shee wanteth wings: (that is) when her sailes are either worne or too narrow; and we also vie the same phrase of the winde whistling in the failes. And it may be that the Egyptians employed so many of those small ships, as their sailes were said to give a shaddow over the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, Pintus (vpon Esay) affirmeth, that the word (Sabal) doth signifie 40 both to shaddow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of Cymbaline sound : so as the meaning of this place (faith Pintus) is this : Woc to thee, O Egypt, which doeft promise to others safegard, under the shaddow of thy wings, which (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of E/ay: and this phrase is often elsewhere vsed, as in the fixteenth Psalme : Sub ombra alarum tuarum protege me ; Defend me under the shaddow of thy wings. The Boates of reede spoken of are of two kindes; either of basket-willow couered with hides (as anciently in Brittaine) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both fides with Canes. Of the one fort I have seene in Ireland, of the other in the Indies.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be knowne: and of the Egyptians Lunarie yeeres, which made their antiquities Ceeme the more fabulous.

His flourishing Kingdome possest by Mizraim, changed her ancient name, and became Egypt, at such time as Agyptus (otherwise Ramesses, as some thinke) the sonne of Belus, chased thence his elder brother Danaus, shifting him into that part of Greece now called Morea, by whom the Argines were made Danas, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeeres after the floud, in the time 40 of lofua, as S. Augustine coniectureth out of Eusebius. But in Homers Odysses it appeareth that the Egyptians were so called at the time of the Troian Warre. And beforethis, Egypt was knowne by divers other names, as Oceana, Aria, Ofriana, Ge. And Manethon (whom Iosephus citeth in his first booke against Appion) numbrethall the Kings of Egypt after Moses departure, who consumed 393. yeeres. By which other men coniecture, that the Egyptians tooke on them that name 330. yeeres after Iosua, and about 1000. yeeres after the floud. But where tosephus in the same booke taketh Israel to be those Hresos, which he also calleth Passores or Shepherds, which are said to have reigned in Egypt 511. yeeres: whom also he calleth his Ancesters, (meaning the Ancesters of the lewer) in this I am sure he was grossy deceived, or that 50 he vainely boasted : for the Israelites had no such Dominion as Manethon fayneth: nor abode in Egypt fo long a time by many yeeres.

Of the Egyptian Antiquities there are many fancies in Trogus, Herodotus, Plato, Diod. Siculus, Mela, and others. For they affirme (faith Pomp. Mela) that there had reigned in Egypt 330. Kings before Amasis, who was contemporarie with Cyrus;

**). XI.** 

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CHAP. 8. S. 11. +. 4. of the History of the World.

and that they had memorie and storie of 13000. yeeres; and that the Starres had fouretimes changed their course, and the Sunnetwice set in the East. These Riddles are also rife among the Athenians and Arcadians, who dare affirme, that they are more ancient then Jupiter and the Moone, whereof Ouid:

De Faft. l.1.

Ante Iovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur Arcades : & LVNA gens prior illa fuit.

The Arcadians the earth inhabited Ere yet the Moone did shine, or love was bred.

But for those 13000, yeeres it may well be true: seeing it is certayne that the Ægyptians reckontheir yeeres by Moneths, which makes after that account not aboue 1000. or 1100. yeeres, whether we take their Moneths or Lunarie yeeres to hane beene of the first kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 29. dayes and twelue houres; or after any other of those fine dinersities of their Lunarie yeeres.

t. III.

Of certayne vaine affertions of the Antiquitie of the Ægyptians.

GERARDUS MERCATOR in his Chronologie, reasoneth for the Egyptians Antiquitie in this manner: That the sixteenth Dynassie (where Eusebius begins to reckon the Agyptians times) had beginning with the generall floud and that therefore the first of the other fifteene reached the Creation, or some after it. To which coniecture of Mercator, Pererius maketh this answere. That therein Mercator was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the fixteenth Dynastie was at once with the generall floud: which Eusebius maketh 292. yeeres after, and in the time of Abraham. Secondly, Mercator maketh the beginning of the 30 shepherds Dynastia (being in number the 17.) in the time of their first King, Salis, to have beene in the yeere of the World 1846. which Eusebius findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. Dynastia was begunne but in the 292. yeere after the floud, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas Mercator maketh every Dynastia to endure 115. yeeres, Eusebius reckoneth many of them at lesse then 100. yeeres: for the 28. had but fixe yeeres; the 29. but 20. and the 30. but

Now Annius in his Supplement of Manethon affirmeth, That all these 15. Dynaflies lasted but 162. yeeres : and that the first of the 15. beganne but in the 131. yeere after the floud: so as where Mercator makes all the 15. to precede the floud, 40 and the i6. to have beene then in being at the time of the floud, Annies makes them all after it. But the contrarietie of fallhood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For Annius had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that Nimrod with the fonnes of Noah came into the Valley of Shinaar : so he forgets the time which was confumed in the building of Babel: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor farre-off plantation at all. And though lie hastily conveyed Gomer into Italie, and Tubal into Spaine, in the 10 yeere of Nimrods reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arrivall into Babylonia) yet herein heis more vnaduised. For he makes Agypt possest, and a gouernement established in the very first veere of the arrivall of Nimrod into Shinaar, before all partition, or 50 any expedition farre off or neere in question: for from thence (that is, from Babel) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

†. IIII.

t. IIII.

Mainst Pererivs: that it is not unlikely, but that Agypt was peopled within 200. yeeres after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.

VT whereas Pererius seeketh to ouerthrow this Antiquitie of the Agyptians Drouching their Lynasties, (which Eufebius doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) 10 I doe not find any great strength in this opinion of Pererius; (to wit) that it was eyther vnlikely or impossible that Agypt should be peopled within 100.0r 200. yeeres after Adam, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Floud, I doe verily beleene the contrarie: and that not only of Agypt, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: Pererius his words are thefe: Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, veletiam centum annos AD AMI proles adeo multiplicari potuit, vt ad Ægyptum víá, habitandum & complendum propagata fit, Oc. For how could the children of AD AM bee so multiplied in the fo ft two hundred, or in the first hundred yeeres of the world, and so propagated as to inhabite and fill Agypi? for allowing this (faith Pererim) wee must also confesse, that there were then both the 20 Assyrians, and other Nations.

Now feeing that the Scriptures are filent herein, and that it is no point of our fauing beleefe, it is lawfull for every man to bee guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gainfay any mans opinion out of any croffing or cauelling humour: for I thinke it the part of euery Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibilitie of vnion, then out of froward subtletie, and prejudicate resoluednesse,

to maintaine factions needlesse, and dangerous contentions. First therefore, to this opinion, that Agopt was not planted so some after Adam, no, not at all before the Floud, I say that there is no reason why wee should give a 30 leffe increase to the sonnes of Adam, then to the sonnes of Noth. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the floud double; & (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and abilitic, to beget many Children: and at that time they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinitie. And that there was a speedie increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some fort appeare by this, that Cain, who (being searefull that the death of abel would haue beene reuenged on him) withdrew himselse from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, and there, by the helpe of his owne issues built a Citie, (called Enoch) after the name of his first borne. Now if it beegathered that Mimrod came into the Valley of Shinaar with so many multitudes, as suf-40 ficed to build the Citie and Towre of Babel: and that to this increase there was giuen but 130. yeeres by Berofus, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly vuderstood, by the birth of Arphaxad, Selah, Heber, and Phalegh) but one hundred and one yeere: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancie of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, euen within 130. yeeres, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeeres after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. yeeres) aswell Assyria, Syria, and Agypt might be possest before the Floud, as they were within the same or lesses time after it. Neyther doth it agree with the circumstance or true Storie of the Babylonian and Assyrian Empire, that all those people, which were increased in the first 50 hundred or 130. yeeres after the Floud, came into Shinaar and Babylonia. For that euer 2004 himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authoritie to prooue it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selse denies it. Againe, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which Semiramis (but the third from Nimrod) found in India, confidered with her owne Armie of three Millions, (and shee left not 158

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all her Kingdomes emptie) doe well prooue, that if the World had fuch plentie of people in so few yeeres after the Floud, it might also bee as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account Winter gouerned Babylonia and Affyria but 202. yeeres after the Floud of Noah. And these Troupes of Semiramis were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from Media to the Mediterran Sea: when there had now past from the Floud to the time of this her inualion, somewhat lesse or more then 360. yeeres: for much more time the true Chronologie cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of Semiramis Armie, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but the one halfe be true of that which is faid, That her Armie confifted of 10 1200000. Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, it must needes bee, that long before Semiramis Raigne, the greatest part of Asia (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea Arabia it felse (much part whereof is barren) must long beforethis time of Semiramis haue beene plentifully peopled; when Ninus hauing a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore he eyther feared, or fought his affistance. And if Arabia were then so well replenished, I see no cause but Agypt might also be peopled. Now if we may believe Trogus Pompetus (Epitomiz dby Iu-(tine ) Levyt was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before Nimus was borne. Forthese be his owne wordes, speaking of NINVS. Fuere quidem tempori- 20 bus antiquioribus VEXORIS Rex Agypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient VEXORIS King of Egypt, and TANAIS King of the Scythians: of which the one inuaded Pontus, the other Agypt. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of Ninus witnesse, who subdued with no small force the Armenians, the Medes, and afterwards the Bactrians; yea, all that whole bodie of Alia on this fide India. For Diodorus out of Ctesias numbreththe Armie, wherewith Ninus inuaded Zoreaster, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horsemen: and the Stories generally shew, that though Zoroasters Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater then any that those parts of the World euer since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for forraine authoritie? for no man doubteth but that £gypt was possest by 30 Mizraim, the sonne of Ham; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in Abrahams time, the Scriptures tell vs. And sure to prepare and cultiue a desolate and ouergrowne ground, to beautiste it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it must bee inhabited in a lessetime then 200. yeeres after the Floud; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Floud. For if so many Millions of men were found within 200. yeeres after the generall Floud; fo as not only Babylon, and Assyria, Bactria, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Egypt, Palestina, yea the farre-off Lybia on the one side, and India on the other, and Scythia (inferiour to neyther) were all filled : into what fmall corners could then all those Nations be comprest, which 1656. yeeres brought 40 forth before the Floud? euen necessitie, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne World; especially, where Death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld liuing Nations of his owne bodie.

#### t. V.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of Pererivs.

 ${f F}$  Or what a strange increase did the long lives of the first Age make, when they 50 continued 800. or 900. yeeres. Surely, we have reason to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather then that they were not spred ouer the World. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50, yeeres, tenne for one are cut off in that passage, and yet wee find no want of

people; nay, weeknow the multitude fuch, as if by warres or peftilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industrie of man could not give them food. What strange heapes then of soules had the first Ages. who enioyed 800.or 900. yeeres, as aforefaid? These numbers, I say, cannot bee counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all thosewhich have beene borne in Brittaine since 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the Norman Conquest (saving such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now aliue; and if to thesethere were added as many as by Polygamie might have beene increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mightie ones of the first Age observed to no law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that those Louers of the world and of pleafure, when they knew the long and liberall time which Nature had given them. would not willingly or hastily present themselues to any danger which they could five from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men carelesse of life, and searclesse of death, then the little time which keepes them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases. which this envious olde Age of the World mingleth together, and foweth with the

feeds of Mankind? Now if that Berofus or Annius may be alleaged for sufficient Authours, whom Pererius himselie in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by losephus confirmed, that the Citie of Enoch was feated neere Lybanus in Syria: and it other parts of Syria were peopled in Cains time, I fee no caufe why Palastina (which is also a Province of Syria) and Egypt (which neighboureth it) could bee left desolate both all the life time of Cain, and all those times betweene his death and the Floud, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeeres. And sure though this Fragment of Berofus with Annius his Comment beevery ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in Berolus are not to bee reiested. Therefore Saint Hierome for such Authours giues a good rule. Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let ws choose what is good in them, and reiest the rest. And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, Berofus agreeth (in effect) with Mofes, touch-30 ing the generall Floud and in that first part Berofus affirmeth, that those mightie men and Giants which inhabited Enoch, commanded ouerall Nations, and subjected the vniuerfall World: and though that phrase (of all the World) bee often vsed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the Atts, That there were dwelling at Hierusalem lewes: men that feared God of enery Nation under Heanen: yet by wordes which follow in Berofus, it is plaine that his words and sense were the same : for hee addeth from the Sunnes rifing to the Sunnes fetting, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Againe, wee may safely coniecture, that Woah did not part and proportion the World among his sonnes at aduenture, or left them as Discouerers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had beene inhabited. 40 And it cannot be denyed that the earth was more passable and easie to trauaile ouer before the Floud, then after it. For Pererius himselfe confesseth, that Attics (by reafon of mudde and flime which the water left vpon the Earth) was vninhabited 200. yeeres after Ograes Floud, whereby wee may gather that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countries after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (asit were) incopsed for 100, or 130, yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and lesse cumbersome to walke ouer, in the first Age then after the generall ouerflowing.

†. VI.

of the words of Moses, Gen. Io. v. vitimo, whereupon Pererivs grounded his opinion.

Aftly, whereas Pererius drawes this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of Genesis, And out of these were the Nations divided after the Floud: Quo significatur talem divisionem non suisse ante diluvium, By which it appeareth (layth Pererius) that there was no such division before the Floud; which hee also seeketh to confirme out of the eleuenth of Genesis, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, quo significatur, &c. seemeth to me very weake: the Text it selferather teaching the contrarie : for out of these (fayth Moses) were the N ations divided in the earth after the Floud; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Floud out of these only. But whatsoever fense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way bee drawne to the times before the Floud, or to any Plantation or division in that Age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could bee divided after the Floud, but 2 eahs Sonnes, wherein doth that necessarie division controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleaged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion, it is true, that it was so for that present; but if Babel had neuer beene built, nor 20 any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and generall Plantation: as Berofus fayes well, that when Mankind were exceedingly multiplyed, Ad comparandas nouas sedes necessitas compellebat, They were drinen by necessitie to seeke new Habitations. For we find (as is before said) that within 300. yeeres after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies, fuch multitudes as the Valley about Babylon could not have fustained those numbers with their increase for any long time : all Asia the greater and the lesser; all scythia, Arabia, Palastina, and Agypt, with Greece, and the Islands thereof; Mauritania and Lybia being also at that time fully peopled. And if we believe Berofus, then not only those parts of the World, but (within 140. yeeres after the Floud) Spaine, Italie 30 and France were also planted: much more then may wee thinke, that within 1656. yeeres before the Floud, in the time of the chiefe strength of Mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the World was ouerslowne, there were people in all the World which offended.

### t. VII.

A conclusion, resoluting of that which is most likely, touching the Agyptian Antiquities: with somewhat of PHVT (another Sonne of HAM) which peopled Lybia.

T'Herefore, for the Antiquitie of the Agyptians, as I doe not agree with Mercator, nor judge with the Vulgar, which give too much credit to the Agyptians Antiquities: fo I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities fo fabulous, as either Pererius or other men conceine it. But I rather incline to this, That Agypt being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or lesse after Adam, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of Mizraim some Monuments in Pillers or Altars of stone or metall) of their former Kings or Gouernours: which the Egyptians hauing added to the list and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in succeeding time (out of the vanitie of glory or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the 50 truthmight be inferted. And that the memorie of Antiquitie was in such fort preferued, Berofus affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and so doth Epigenes. For they both write that the vse of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the Babylomians 3634. yeeres before Alexanders Conquest: and this report Annius findeth to

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agree and reach to the time of Enells, who was borne 1034 yeeres before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of christ his comming in judgement, as Saint Inde hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens indgements, and every man to his owne reason, I will conclude this Plantation of Agypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Mizraim, and that it tooke the name of Agypt from Agyptus the some of Belus, as a foresaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from Memphis or Nicopolis to the Mediterran Sea, was called the inferiour Agypt; furnamed also Delta: because the seuerall branches of Nilus breaking as funder from one bodie of the River, gaueit the forme to of the Greeke letter Delta, which is the forme of a Triangle. That branch, which ranne toward the North-east and imbraced the Sea, mext vnto the Defarts of Sur and Phasan, had on it the Citic of Pelusium, where Sen scherib was repulsed: The other branch, which yeelded it selfe to the Salt-water towards the North-west, is beautified by that famous Citie of Alexandria: The upper part of Egypt is bounded beweene Memphis and Syene neere Libiopia, and had the name of Thebaids, of that ancient Citie of Thebes, which (according to Homer) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called Civitas centum portarum; and by the Greekes Diospolis; in the Scriptures No-hamon, which fignifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. Iosephus cals Egypt Mersin of Muzrain : and Herodotus affirmes that it had Ios. Li. Anteg. 20 once the name of Thebais.

Phut the third sonne of Ham tooke the next portion of Land to his other Mizraim, and inhabited Lybia: whose people were anciently called Phutei; ( sayth Isfeplus I and Plinie mentioneth the River Fut in Mauritania: which River from the Lact. Mountaine Atlas (knowne to the Inhabitants by the name of Dyris) hee maketh to bee distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of Ezechiel, that Phut, Chush and Lud were contermini and Associates with the Egyptians.

d. XII.

Of the eleven Connes of CANAAN, the fourth fonne

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan : with the names of his eleuen sonnes.

Annan (the fourth some of Ham) possest all that Region called by the Romanes Palastina; in the Scriptures Galilea, Samaria, and Indea; in the latter times knowne by the name of the Holy Land and Iuric: the limits whereof are precifely set downe by Moses, Genesis the tenth, Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar untill Azzah, and us thou goest unto Sodome and Gomorha, and Admah, and Ze-

boim, euen unto Lasha. Now how soeuer these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be converted, Moses meaning was that Gerar was the South bound of Canaan and Ziden the North; Sodome and Gomorha the East, and the other Cities named stood on 50 the Frontiers thereof. For Gerar standeth in a right Line from Gaza in the way of Ægypt, the vttermost Territorie of Canaan Southward: and this was properly the Land of Canaan.

Now the sonnes of Canaan which possess this Countrie, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

t. Zidon.

Lib. 3.

- I. Zidon.
- 2. Heth or Chethus.
- 3. Iebusi or Iebusaus.
- A. Emorior Emoreus. or Amoreus.
- 5. Girgeshi or Girgeseus.
- 6. Hem or Chineus.
- 7. Arki or Harkeus.
- 8. Seni or Sinaus.
- o. Araadi or Aruadeus.
- 10. Zemarior Samareus, or Tzemareus.

11. Hamathi or Hamatheus, or Chamathaus.

Ia

Of which the most renowned were the Hethites, Gergesites, Amorites, Heuites, Iebusites, and Perizzites: which Perizzites were descended of Zemari or Samareus, or from some of his.

### †. II.

# Of the portions of ZIDON and HETH.

ZIDON the first borne of Canaan, built the famous Citie of Zidon in Phænicia, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of Assert for Assert, Zabulon, and Nephrali had a great part of the ancient Phanicia distributed among them; but the Assertes could neuer obtaine Zidon it selfe.

The second sonne of Canaan was Heth or Cethus: of whom came the Hethites, or Hittites, one of those seuen principall Nations (Commanders of Canaan) appointed by God to bee rooted out; namely, the Gergesites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, and Heuites, and the lebusites. The Hittites inhabited about Bersabe. and towards Hebron neere the Torrent Befor, and about Gerar, which Mofes maketh 30 the vttermost limit of Canaan, having the Desart of Pharan to the South: for about Berlabe (otherwise Puteus iuramenti) foure miles from Gaza dwelt Heth and his Posteritie, as farre to the Northeast as Hebron, and Mamre; and of Ephraim the Hittite did Abraham buy the field of Sarahs buriall. Of which Nation Rebecca bewailed her selfe to Isaac, saying, That shee was wearie of her life for the Daughters of HETH. The Giants Anakim were of these Hittites, a strong and fierce Nation, whose enter-4-Kings 67, 2.6 tainment by the Kings of Ifrael against them the Syrians greatly seared : as in the fourth of the Kings; Ifrael hath hired against vs the Kings of the Hittites.

Gen.10.v.19.

Gen. 27. U.46.

Gen.23.

#### t. III.

# Of the lebulites and Amorites.

TEnvsævs, the third sonne of Canaan, of whom came the Iebusites, and whose principall seat was Iebus, (afterward Hierusalem) were also a valiant and stubborne Nation, and held their Citie and the Countrie neere it, till fuch time as David by Gods affistance recouered both: yet were not the Iebusites extinguished, but were Tributaries to Salomon.

Amoreus was the fourth sonne of Canaan, of whom the Amorites tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the East of Iord in below the Sea of Galilee, having Ar- 50 non and the Mountaines of Galaad on the East, and Iordan on the West: of whom Og (King of Basan) and Sihon (ouerthrowne by Moses) were Princes.

The Amorites had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of Canaan: as behind Libanus in the edge of Calefyria, or Syria Libanica. They had also

# CHAP. 8. S. 12. +, 4.5. of the History of the World,

their being in the Mountaynes of Inda, and in Idumea neere the Metropolis thereof, Deut.1. called Duma. And hereof it came that all the Canaanites were sometime called Amorites : as in Genesis the fifteenth : For the wickednesse of the Amorites is not yet full. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, we finde in the Prophet Amos : Yet de- Amos 2. Groyed I the Amorite before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Okes.

### t. IIII.

# Of the Gergefites, Houites, and Harkites.

The fift sonne of Canaan was Gergejeus or Gergefion, (otherwise Girgasi) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of Tiberias, or the Sea of Galilee, where Ptolemie sets the Citie Gerasa, which losephus calls Gefera in the Territorie of Decapolis. Here it was that CHRIST disposses the possessed with Deuilis; and the Gergefites desired him to depart their Coasts: because their Swine filled with the euill spirits, drowned themselues in the Sea of Galakee. Gergeseus also built Berytus (sometime Geris) afterward Fælix Iulia, three miles from the River Adons in Phanicia: in which the Romanes held a Garrison; and to which Augustus gane many large

Hencus the fixth sonne; and Father of the Henites, inhabited under Libanus neere Emath. These Henites, howsoever the Caphthorim expelled a good part of them (as in Deuteronomie the second is remembred) yet many of them remayned all the warre of 10/44, and afterward to the time of Salomon. For God was not pleased vererly to roote out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the Ifraelites, and at other times ferued (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them : for as it is written, Indges the third : They remayned to prove I SRAEL by them, whether they would obey the Commandements of God.

The seuenth sonne was Araccus or Harki, who betweene the soote of Libanus 20 and the Mediterran Sea, (ouer again & Tripola) built the Citie of Archas, Arce, or Arca, afterwards Arachis.

### of SINI and ARVADI.

CINEVS the eighth sonne, Hierosolymitanus sets at Caparor sa, which Ptolemie findes D in Iudas, not farre from Iebus; to the South thereof, faith Iunius. But it is more probable, that Sineus founded Sin, which S. Hierome calls Sin, Ptolemie, Simyra: Me-40 la and Pline, Simyrus: Brochard, Sycon, (called Synochs) neere Arcs. Pererius thinkes that Sineus inhabited the Desarts of Sinai or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certaintie then the report of Brochard, who tooke view of all these places, affirming, that Sincus built Synochis, as Zidon built Zidon. There is also another Nation of Cini (written with the letter C. otherwise Kenai) who descended of Hobab the fonne of Raquel the Madianite, who affisted the I/raelites in their conduction through the Wildernesse of Pharan. But these Cinei were admitted among the Israelites, and had a portion of Land with the Nephtalims, belide their habitations with the Indg. 4. Amalekites: against these Cinei, Balaam prophecied, that they should be destroyed by 10sin 19.33.

The ninth sonne was Aradeus or Arnadeus, who in the He of Aradus built the Gulty. Viria. Citie Arados: opposite against which Iland on the Maine of Phanicia, they founded another Citie of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called Antaradus. To this Citie came S. Peter (faith Clement) and in this Ile preached the Gospell, and founded a Church in honor of our Lady: but we finde no such worke

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Cap.7. v.3.

Devoal in Chron.

CHAP. 8. S. 13. † . 1. of the Historie of the World.

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of his in the Alls of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom Ezechiel remembreth in his prophecies against the Tyrians. The Inhabitants of Zidon and Arnad were thy Mariners.

> †. VI. of ZEMARI.

OF Samareus, or Zemari, the tenth sonne, there are divers opinions. Some thinke that he first inhabited in Culespria at Edessa, and sounded Samaraim, so which in Iosua is placed in the Tribe of Beniamin. There is also Samaraijm (of the same Orthographic) vpon the Mountaynes of Ephraim (saith Beroaldus) mentioned in the second of Chronicles c. 13. v.4. which the Latine converteth amisse (saith he) by Semeron. The Hierosolymitan Paraphrast makes Samareus (of whom were the Perizzites) the parent of the Emissani, which Plime calls the Hemisseni, in Calesyria; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded Samaria, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the first of Kings (speaking of Omri) dispro-1. Kings 16. 28. ueth: And he bought the Mountayne Samaria or Shemeron of one SHEMER, for two talents of filuer, and built in the Mountayne : and called the name of the Citie which he built, after 20 the name of SHEMER, Lord of the Mountayne Samaria. But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of Israel. Of whomsoeuer the Samaritanes were descended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the Iewes stood vp, they alwayes called themselues terres: when it suffered or sanke, they then vtterly denyed to be of that Nation or Familie; for at such time as they were returned from their first captiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the Assyrians; and partly of the naturalls.

> t. VII. of HAMATHI.

The last of Canaans sonnes was Hamatheus, or (according to the Hebrew) Hamathi, of Hamath: (faith Beroaldus) of which (the aspiration taken away) the fame is pronounced Emath, whereof Hamatheus was parent. Iofephus and S. Hierome confound Emath with Antioch , not that Antioch which Randeth on the River Orontes, on the frontier of Comagena, betweene the Mountayne Cassus and the Prouince of Pieria, and Seleucis, of which S. Peter was Bilhop, and in which S. Luke and Ignatius were borne : but Antioch, surnamed Epiphania, as Beroaldus supposeth, 40 which standeth betweene Apamea and Emela in Casiotis. Yet, indeede, Emath cannot be taken for either: for both that Antioch vpon Orontes, and that which neighboureth Emesa, are farther off seared from Canaan, then euer any of those Nations straggled. And whereas S. Hierome setteth Emath, which he confoundeth with Epiphania, in the Tribe of Nephtali; it is manifest, that Epiphania, which standeth to the North of Emefa, hathall the Province of Laodicea, betweene it and any part of the Land divided. And if Libanon it selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not Epiphania belong vnto them: for both the Provinces Laodicea and Libanica, are between Epiphania and any part of the holy Land: and therefore Emath so taken could not be a part of Nephtali, as in the thirteenth of Iofua is directly proued. 50 For 10/us counting the lands that remayned vnpoffest, reckoneth all Mount Libanon towards the Sunne-rifing, from Baalgad vnder mount Hermon, vntill we come to Hamath. And this reason (among others) is vsed, that Emath was not in Nephtalim, or any way belonging to the children of Israel: because Danid accepted the presents of

Tohu King of Emath, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which he would not haue done, if that Territorie had euer belonged to the children of Israel, but would haue recouered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great waight. For if the promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in Deuteronomie, then might Emath be compre- cap. 11. 2.24. hended, though seared altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of Moles and Iolua: for Emath is indeede situate on the other side of the Mountayne of Hermon, which ioyneth to Libanus : and is otherwise called Iturea. But whereas Hamath is named in Iosua the 19.2.35. and written in the 10 Latine conversion Emath, therein (saith Beroaldus) was S. Hierome mistaken. Emath or Iturea is that ouer the Mountaynes, and the Citie in Nephtalim should be written Hamath: and so the Septuagint (vinderstanding the difference) write it Amnath and not Emath, the same which indeede belonged to the Nephtalims, seated on the South fide of Libanus, to the East of Affedim : which Citie S. Hierome writes Emath ; 10fephus, Hamath; others, Emathin, or Amatheos, and the people Amathein; of which (as I takeit) Rablakeh vaunteth in the second of KINGS: Where is the god of Hamath? cap. 18. 6-19.

d. XIII.

of the sonnes of CHUSH (excepting NIMROD) of whom hereafter.

Hauila. Sabta, The fonnes of Chush were, Raama, And the sonnes of Raama were, Nimrod.

That the most of the Sonnes of CHUSH were feated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabaans that robbed Ios: and of the Queene that came to SALOMON.

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EBA or Saba was the eldest sonne of Chush, the eldest sonne of Ham. to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew sheba, the sonne of his brother Raama, or Regma (or Ragma after Montanus) his name is written with a fingle (S) Samech, and Sheba the sonne of Regma with an (S) asperate, which is the Hebrew Schin. Seba the eldest sonne

of Chush, Regma his brother, and Sheba the sonne of Regma possest both the shores of Arabia Fælix. Saba tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as necrest his Father Chush, and the Land of the Chustes: Regma and Sheba the East coast of the same Arabia, which looketh into the Gulfe of Persia; of which PLINIE: Sabai Arabum populi propter thura clarissimi ad virag, maria porrect is gentibus habitant; The Sabaans people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas, (to wit) the Persian, and the Arabian, or Red Sea. This Countrie was afterwards called Arabia, à populi mixtione, saith Postellius. To this agreeth Ptolemie, who setteth the Citie of Saba towards the Arabian or Red Sea, and the Citie Rhegama towards 50 the Persian, with whom also we may leave Sabta: for so much Montanus gathereth out of Ptolemie, because he remembreth a Nation (called Stabai) neere the Persian Sea; and Massabathe which descended of them. But Montanus hath sent Regma, or (as he calls him Rahma) into Carmania, for which I fee no reason. Iosephus, who only attended his owne fancies, hath banished Saba or Seba to the border of Athiopia.

2.5am 8.9.

But Beroaldus thinkes it strange, that the Sabai, which stole away Iobs Cattle, should

runne through all Egypt, and all Arabia Petres, and finde out lob in Traconitis, betweene Palastina and Calesyria 1200. miles off. Now, as this coniecture was more then ridiculous, so doe I thinke, that neither the Sabai on the Red Sea, nor those to-

ward the Persian Sea, could by any meanes execute the stealth vpon 106, which soe-

ner Beroaldus shall take for neerest. But these were the Sabai of Arabia the Desart,

where Guilandinus Melchior affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Cittie Saba is feated: the same which Ptolomie calls Saue, now Semiscalae: and from this Saba

in Arabiathe Desart, came those Magi or Wisemen which worshipped Christ, saith Melchior, whose wordes are these: The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia ( as 10 Chryfostome, Hierome, and Ambrofe supposed ) nor out of Arabia the Happie, as many

wile men doe beleeue, but out of Sabain Arabia the Defart : which Citie when my felfe was

there was (as I indgedit) called Semiscasac. And to approue this opinion of Guilandinus,

it appeareth that these Shabai were neighbours to lob, and lay fit to invade and rob

him. For both the other Nations ( alwell those on the Persian Sea, as those on the

Red Sea) are so distoyned with large Desarts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to passe them, especially with any numbers of Cattle, both in respect of the moun-

taines, of the fands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts: Vbi nec homines, nec bestie videntur, nec aues, in o nec a bores, nec germen aliquod, sed non nisimontes saxosi,

or trees, nor any pasture or grasse, but onely sharpe, and high stonie, and craggie mountaines.

Beroaldus and Pererius conceiue, that the Queene of Saba which came to visite Salo-

mon, was of the Sabai on the East fide of Arabia Fælix; but the contrarie seemeth

more probable, and that shee was Queene of Saba towardes the Red Sea: for Salomon

at that time commanding all that part of Arabia Petraa, twixt Idumas and the Red

Sea, as farre downe as Midian or Madian, and Ezion Gaber: and this Queene of Saba

which inhabited the West part of Arabia Falix, being his neighbour, might without

any farre trauaile enter his Territories, free from all danger of furprise by any other

But to avoid tediousnesse, it is manifest that Seba or Saba, Sabta, Raama, or Regma, 30

altisimi, asperrimi; Where there are found neither men, nor beafts, no not so much as birds, 20

euen vnto Rhegma the Citie of Raama, or Rhegma, set neere the River of Lar towards the mouth of the Persian Sea, which stood in Ptolomies time.

#### t. II.

IOSEPHUS his opinion of DEDAN, one of the iffue of CHUSH to have beene feated in the West Ethiopia, disproved out of Ezech: and Hieremie.

A Nd whereas losephus (whom in this S. Hierome followeth, as not curious herein) fent Dedan the sonne of Raamah into West Ethiopia, it is strange that Exethiel should couple Sheba, Rasmah, and Dedantogether; Dedan in the 15. Verse, and sheba, and Raamah in the 22. Verses to be the Merchants of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in West Ethiopia, which is distant from Raamah and Sheba (the habitation of his father and brother) aboue 4000. miles. Besides which the merchandise that the Dedanites brought to Tyre doth not make them naked Black-mores. For they of Dedan (faith Ezechiel) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Charriots; and these Westerne Athiopians neuer saw cloth, till the Portugals seeking those Coaststraded with them: the merchandise of the Countrie being Hides, Elephants teeth, some 20 Gold and Amber, Ciuet Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or yron chiefly.

But in those dayes the West part of Africa within the body of the land was known onely by imagination : and, being under the burnt Zone was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the Negros of the West Ethiopia, which inhabite about Serra Liona, or Niger, could either passe by Sea or Land to Tyre in the bottome of the Mediterran Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancie. Now to put it out of dispute that Dedan also dwelt by the rest of the children of Chush, which seates they held by that name in the time of Hieremie the Prophet, let vs. heare Hieremie his owne words: Fly, yee Inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Esav upon him. 30 Hereby it appeareth that Dedan was a Neighbour to the Idumeans: and Idumea is a Province of Arabia Petrea: and Dedan which dwelt on the North part of Arabia Falix, joyned in that part to Petres, the feat of his Grand-father Chaft; which neighbourhood and fellowship of Dedan and the Idumeans, is also confirmed by Ezechiel: Ezech.capas. I will fretch out mine hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will versas.

make it desolate from Teman : and they of Dedan (ball fall by the sword.

#### d. XIIII.

of the issue of MIZRAIM: and of the place of HIEREMIE, Chap. 9. Verf. 7.

Free chush it followeth to speake of Mizraims sonnes, whose names (faith Saint Angustine) were plurall, to fignifie the Nations, which Theterminacame of them. Ludim, the eldelt sonne of Mizraim, was the father of the Hebrer, is Lybians in Africa: and the rest of his brothers dispersed themselues into all Regions adioyning. Among the sonnes of shem there is also signe of the

Lud; but he is differenced from Lud the sonne of Mizrain by the singular number: bet, as aim of the sonne of Shem being written Lud, the sonne of Mizraim, Ludim: and yet these the dual. Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference 50 both of Names and Nations. For that Ludim the sonne of Mizraim was the parent of the Lybians in Africa, and that he was scated not farre from Mizraim his father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremie, who ioneth them in this fort together : Come up ye cap. 46. verf. 9. Horses, and rage ye Charriots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moores, and the Lybians which beare the Bield: for those Nations affifted the Agyptians being of

with his Sonnes Sheba and Dedan, and Sabteca, were all the possessors of Arabia the Happie, and the Desart: onely Hauilah and Nimrod dwelt together on the East side Chall, who held Arabia Petraa. Now for Sabta, there is found of his name the Plin.1.12. c.14. Cittle of Sabbatha or Sabota in the same Arabia: of which both Plinie and Ptolomie; who withall nameth Sabstale, within the walls whereof there were fometimes found fixtie Temples. Ezechiel ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants. And that they were the Easterne Arabians their merchandise witnesserh, formerly repeated in the Chapter of Paradise. For 10/ephus his fancies, that Saba was the parent of the Athiopians about Meroc, and Sabta of the Æthiopians Alfabari, they bee not worthie any farther answere then 40 hath already beene giuen: especially seeing these Citties preserving the memorie of the names of Saba, and of Sabia in Arabia were yet remaining in Ptolomies time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coastes adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of Cush, with little alterations are preserved. In Arabia the Desart is found the Cittie Saba or Saue, (now Semiscasae) with the Cittie of Rhegana for Rhegma; and the Nation by Ptolomie himselfe called Raabeni of Raamah. In Arabia the Happie is found the Cittie of Rhegama, and Rabana; which also keepeth the found of Rhegma, the Cittie of Saptha or Saptah, not far from the East coast of Arabia: as also the Metropolis and chiefe Cittie in the body of the South part of Arabia, called without difference or alteration Sabatha; and to the West of Sabatha towards the 50 Red Seathe great Cittle of Saba; and the Nation adioyning, Sabai: & to the South thereof againe toward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of Sabe. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of Arabia,

Hamilab by the passage of Tigris was a neighbour, to whom he might passe by Boate

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one parent descended. And in Ezechiel, Phut and Lud are joyned together. Æthiopia (or Chush) saith Ezechiel c. 30. v.3. And PHVT and LVD, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league shall fall with them by the sword : which is as much to say, as the sonnes of Chush; (which were the Chustes) the sonnes of Mizraim, which were the Agyptians) and the Lybians (descended of his sonne Lud) with other the inhabitants of Agypt and Africa shall fall together. Hierofelymitanus findes also in Africa a Nation of the Lydians. And I beleeue it : because Hieremie ioyneth the Lybians and Lydians together in the place before remembred. But Lybia in Africa is by the Hebrewes called Ludim (faith Arias Montanus) though 2. Chron. 12.3. they seeme to be called Lubim or Lubei, a name somewhat neerer the 10 word Lybies, and by which it may feeme that the truer writing is, not Libyes, but Lybies. Neither is it here to be omitted, that Pintus (vpon the thirtieth of Ezechiel) vnderstandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of Lud, not to be meant of the Libyans at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant against the people of Lyd1, 2 Citie (faith he) betweene Egypt and Palestina, which opinion I could not mislike if the Citie of Lyda were so seated. But Lyda (which should be written Lydda with a double D, and is the same Citie which was afterward Diospolis, in which S. Peter cured Aness of the palfey) standeth neere the Torrent Gass, not farre from Joppe the Port of Hierusalem. Yet it is not impossible but that this Citie might have Lud for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the 20 Regions of the World, and farre afunder; as after the names of Alexander, Selenem, and Antiochiu, many Cities called Alexandria, Seleucia, and Antiochia, fo of diners others. S. Hierome maketh Lehabim to be the Father of Libya, who was the third fonne of Mizrain: and so doth Postellus; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of Mizraims sonnes have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, sauing Cassahim and Caphtorim, of whom came the Philistims, whom the Scrip-

These Cassabir inhabited Cossiotis, a Region lying in the entrance of Agypt from Palastina, in which the Lake Sirbonis, and the Mountayne Cassus are found : not fare

from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphtorim scated neere Cossum in that Tract of Azypt called Sethroiti, not farre from Pelusium. Strabo calls it Sethroitis; Stephanus and Plinie, Sethroites, of the Citie Sethron : which Ortelius takes to be the same which Ptolemie calls Hercules parua. Of the Castubim and Caphtorim came the Philistims, which are called by the Septuagins Allophyli (which is) Alienigena, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistims inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards Agypt, of whom Palastina tooke name. For the Hebrewes (faith Isidore) doe not vie the letter (P) but in stead of it (ph.) Their principall Cities were Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron: and the people of them called Gafai, Afcalonita, Azoty, Gethai, and Accaronita. Ilidore affirmes, that Ascalon was first called Philistim : and of that Citie the Countrie 40 adioyning. But where Isidore had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the Philistims was that Abimelech, who had a liking to Abrahams wife; with whom Abraham made a couenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeede at this time in Gerar; but it is written that he was also King of Bafil upon the the Philistims, in these wordes: Wherefore I SAAC went to ABIMELECH King of the Philistims unto Gerar. Now in regard that this or some ancienter abimelech gouerned the commonwealth greatly to his glorie, the rest of his successors called themselues by the same name. The Philistims commanded that Tract of land vpon the Mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of Pilgrims (otherwise Cafarea Palassina, or Stratons Towre) which was the South-border of Phanicia, to Gasa, or to the Ri- 50 uer of Azyps. The Anakims or strong Gyantswere of these Philissims: and Goliah was of Geth one of the five Cities above named. They had sometimes five Kings, faith Lyranus. They mastered the Ifraelites at seuerall times aboue 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries , till they were weakened by Sampson and Samuel , but

in the end this yoke was taken off by David, and laid on themselves. It is objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the sonnes of Mizraim, therefore did the ifractites dispossesses the sonnes of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, by forcing those places.

CHAP. 8. S. 15. † . I. of the Historie of the World.

To this faith Pererius, that although the Palastines or Philistims held it in the time of Iosua, yet at the time of the promise it was possest by the Canaanites; as in the second of Deuteronomie. The Heurtes dwelt in the Villages viito Gaza. And what maruaile, if (the Canaanites being the greater part) the denomination were from them ? For that the Philistims were of Caphtor, and so of Mizraim and not of Canaan, 10 besides Moses the Prophet Hieremie witnesseth : The Lord will destroy the Philistims, Hierem. 47.4. theremnant of the iffue of Caphtor : and in like manner in the ninth of Amos, the Philistims are said to bethe reliques of Caphtorim; Have not I brought up I SRAEL out Amosco, v. 7. of the Land of Agypt, and the Philistims from Caphtor, and ARAM from Kir ? 10 I reade this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, & Palastinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene, this conversion Beroaldus condemneth; where Caphtor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a Citie direally West from Agypt, betweene Ptolemais or Barce and Apollonia: but Kir in Aha vnder the Allyrians: luneus hath it Kir, and not Cyrene: and so hath the Geneua. But Pererius cals Caphtorin Cappadocia, according to the Vulgar translation, to which 20 heis bound : and yet it is not altogether improbable if he meane Cappadotia in Palestina, and not that Cappadocia by the Sea Pontus in the North of Asia the leffe. For Of which fee whether they inhabited Sethreites, or Cappadocia of Palestina, it is not certainely in the second knowne. And sure in this manner he may expound Cappadocia to be ambiguous, \$.3. 1.5. as well as he doth Cyrene: taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa, but for a place in Media. For it is written in the second of Kings, that Teglatphalasser King of the Af- cap. 16, 10,9. Syrians carryed away the Inhabitants of Damascus into Kir: and so Iosephus seemes to understand this Kir, for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene, Media Superior : for it was the manner and policie of the Affirians to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the Samarians or Ifraelites, and other Nations. And hereof

δ. X V. of the iffue of SEM.

30 it came that Kir was called Syro-Media: because the Syrians by the Assyrians were

of ELAM, ASSUR, ARPHANAD, and LyD.

It remayneth lastly to speake of the Sonnes of Sem, who were these:

- I. Alam or Elam.
- Albur,
- Arphaxad,
- Lud, and



therein captined.

He posteritie of Sem, Moses recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Storie of the Hebrewes: For of Sem was Abraham descended.

Of these fine sonnes the Scriptures remember the length of the life of Arphaxad only, and only the children of him and Aram, the rest

that Assur (who was supposed to found 2\(\text{iniueh}\) was also said to be the Father of the Affrians, whose issues, and the issues of Cham, instantly contended for the Em-

pire of the East: which sometimes the Assyrians, sometimes the Babylonians obtay-

ned, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which

also teacheth vs, that all the East parts of the World were peopled by Assur, Elam,

and Lud (fauing India) which I beleeve Noah himselfe first inhabited: and to whom

Ophir and Hauilah the sonnes of loctum afterward repayred. Hij filij S EM ab Euphrate

fluuio partem Asia vsq. ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt; These sonnes of SEM (faith

which name then began to be out of vse and lost, when the Persians became Masters

of Babylonia: the East Monarchie being established in them. Some prophane Wri-

ters distinguish Elam from Persia, and make the Elamites a people apart. Bur Susa

(which the Scriptures call Susan) in Elam was the Kings seare of Persia (witnesse

Of Elam came the Elamites, remembred Acts 2. vers. 9. and the Princes of Persia;

S. HIEROME) held all those Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.

t. II. Of ARAM, and his Sonnes.

RAM the fift and last Sonne of Shem was the parent of the Syrians: of which A Dama/cus was head. Their name was changed from Aram or Aramites by Sy- Efery 7.2.8. rus (fayth Eusebius out of Iosephus) which Syrus lived before Moses was borne; the Eusebenoe. same which others call the sonne of Apollo. Mesopotamia also being but a Province of Syria had the name of Aram N sharaym, which is as much to say, as Syria duorum to sluviorum, Syria compassed with two Rivers: (to wit) Tigris and Euphrates. The Scriptures call it Mesopotamia, Syria, and Padan Aram: and the Greekes Mesopotamia fimply.

Arise and get thee to Padan Aram (sayth Isaac to Iacob) to the house of BETHVEL Gen. 28.2. See thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife. Strabo also remembreth it by the ancient Gen. 25.10. Also name of Aram or Aramea, as these his owne words converted witnesse: Quos nos Sy- Deut. 23.4.

nience for vs to vnderstand the word (Aram) here, not for the Nation, but for the

name of some one of note; the rather, because in the Historie of Abraham and

Isaac (which was in time long before Kemuels Posteritie could bee famous) wee find

Mesopotamia called Aram; and that with an addition: sometimes with Naharaijm,

and sometimes of Padan, to distinguish it from another Aram, which (as it seemes)

then also was called Aram. For whereas Iunius thinkes in his note vpon Genel, 25.20.

that Padan Aram ought to bee restrained to some part of Mesopotamia, (to wit) to

that part which Ptolomie cals Ancobarity (so called from the River Chaboras, which

N charaim (which latter appellation qhestionlesse comprehends the whole Mesopo-

tamia) may seeme to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this

appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke

of Syria, which name agrees with this Region: because the two Rivers, (as it were)

yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name Padan appeare in the name of two Cities in Ptolomie, called Aphadana: (as Iunius hath well noted) the one vpon

30 dividing it runneth into Euphrates) the promiscuous vse of Padan Aram, and Aram

tor of the Syrians in generall; (and not only of those in Syria, Inter-amnis, which is 20 Mesopotamia) some reade, Genes. 22.21. Kemuel, the Father of the Syrians: where other out of the original read Kemuel, the sonne of Aram. Neither is it any inconve-

ros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramenos & Arameos vocant; Those which we call Syrians (sayth Paraliss). hee) themselves call Aramenians and Arameans. Against this opinion, that Aram the sonne of Sem was the Father and Denomina-

Prol. A. i.e. tab. 5. cording to Ptolemie) in Daniel, Vlai: and seated in the border of Sussanz. Afbur (as most Historians beleeve) the second sonne of Sem, was Father of the Assyrians, who disdayning the pride of Nimrod, parted from Babel, and built Ninue, 20 of equall beautie and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disproue that opinion. Euery mans hand hath beene in this Storie, and therefore I shall not neede herein to speake much: for the Affirians so often inuaded and spoyled the Israelites, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captines, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But how soeuer Herodotus and D Siculus extend this Empire, and honor this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the Assyrians of any such power, after such time as Sardanapalus lost the Empire. For Senacherib who was one of the powerfullest Princes among them, had yet the Mountayne Taurus for the vtmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and Syria bounded him toward the West, 20 notwithstanding those vaunts of Senacherib in Esay the 37. Haue the gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed? as Gozan, and HARAN, and RESEPH, and the Children of EDEN which were at Telaffar. Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the Citie Sepharuaim, Hens and Inah? All these were indeede but pettie Kings of Cities, and small Countries; as Haran in Mesopotamia : Resephin Palmyrena : Hamath or Emath in Ituraa, vnder Libanus : the Ile of Eden: Sepher, and others of this fort. Yea, Nabuchodonofor, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of Agypt had but Chaldea, Mesopotamia, and Syria, with Palestina and Phanicia parts thereof. But in this question of Assur, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to Nimred, whose plantation I have omitted among 40 the rest of the Chusties, because he established the first Empire: from whom the most memorable storie of the World taketh beginning.

Of Arphaxad came the Chaldeans, faith S. Hierome, and Iosephus, but it must be those Chaldeans about Vr: for the sonnes of Cham possest the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the Hebrewes : for Arphaxad begat Shela; and Shela, Heber; of

And that Lud, the fourth Sonne of Shem, gaue name to the Lydians in Asia the whom hereafter. lesse, is the common opinion, taken from Iosephus and S. Hierome; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends. 50

-Vz or Hus. The Sonnes of Aram were, Sether, and

Chaboras, the other vpon Euphrates.

Vz or Husinhabited about Damaseus, and built that Citie, saith Iosephus and Saint Hierome. But Toffatus mistaking this opinion, both in them and in Lyra, who also Hieron in Irad. followeth Iofephus, affirmeth that Abrahams Steward Eliezer was the Founder there- Hebraic, of; though it were likely that Hus the eldest sonne of Aram dwelt neere vnto his father, who inhabited the bodie of Syria. For Hus was a Region of the same, adioyning to Arabia the Defart, and to Batanea or Traconitis: whereof the Prophet Hieremie: 50 Reioyce and be glad O Daughter of Edom that dwellest in the Land of Hus. Hus therefore Hierem Lames, is seated beyond Iordan, in the East Region of Traconitis, adioyning to Basan, having cap A. ver. 11. Batanea Gaulonitis, and the Mountaine Seir to the East, Edrai to the South, Damascus North, and Iordan West: having in it many Cities and people, as may also bee gathered out of HIEREMY: And all forts of people: and all the Kings of the Land of Hus. c.25.0.20.

t. II.

DANIEL:) And I saw (saith he) in a wision, and when I saw it, I was in the Palace of Susan, which is in the Province of Elam. This Citie is embraced by the River Euleus (ac-

10f.Ant. l.1.c.7.

Vosf. II.

In this Region dwelt 10b, descended of Hus, the sonne of Nabor, the brother of Abraham (fayth Saint Hierome) and married Dina the Daughter of Iacob, fayth Philo.

Hul the second sonne of Aram, Saint Hierome makes the Father of the Armenians ! and Gether the third some, parent to the Arcananians or Carians: which opinion, (because I find not where to set him) I doe not disprooue, though I see no reason why Gether should leaue the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in Mathelesse. Innius gives Hul (whom hee writes Chul) the Desart of Palmyrena, as farre as Euphrates, where Ptolomie setteth the Citie of Cholle.

Gether (fayth lofephus) founded the Bactrians : but lofephus gaue all Noaks children feathers, to carrie them farre away in all hafte. For mine owne opinion I alwayes 10 keepe the rule of Neighbour-hood, and thinke with Innius: (to wit) That Gether feated himselse neere his brothers, in the bodie of Syria, and in the Province of Casfiotis, and Seleucis, where Ptolomie placeth Gindarus, and the Nation by Plinie called

Iunius also giuethto Mes or Mesch the North part of Syria, betweene Cilicia and Mesopotamia, neere the Mountaine Masius. The certaintie of those Plantations can no otherwise be knowne then by this probabilitie, that Aram the father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his sonnes in the same Land about him : for hee wanted no scope of Territorie for himselse and them; neyther then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeeres after: and therefore there is 20 no reason to cast them in the Desart parts of the World, so farre asunder. And as necessitie and policie held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, (et them afunder. For although these sonnes of Aram, and the sonnes of the rest of Noshs children, kept them elues within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein euery one also sought a Prouince apart, and to themselues; giuing to the Cities therein built their owne names, thereby to leave their memorie to their Postericie: the vse of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this fort did the pride of the Spaniards in America cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and disdayning the greatnesse of other, as they are 30 thereby to this day subject to inuation, expulsion, and destruction : so as ( Nona Hifrania and Peru excepted, because those Countries are vnaccessable to Strangers) an

easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mes the fourth sonne is made the parent of the Maconians : of whom something hath beene spoken alreadie. Arphaxad the third sonne of Shem, begat Shelah, and Heber. Heber hadtwo fonnes, Phaleg and IoHan: and in Phalegs time was the Earth divided.

t. III.

Of the division of the Earth in the time of PHALEG, one of the sonnes of HEBER, of the iffue of SEM.

THE many people which at the division (at Phaleghs birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at eyther. The Hebrewes (fayth Pererius out of Sedar Holam, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of Phaleg: and Phaleg was borne in the yeere after the Floud 101. and liued in all 239. yeeres, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeeres after the Floud, ere the children of Neah seuered themselues. But 50 to this opinion of the Hebrewes, and the doubt they make how in so few yeeres as 101. (the time of Phalegs birth) so many people could bee increased, Pererius gives this answere, that if 70 persons of the Family of Iacob increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeeres, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much

more is it likely, that so soone after the Floud the children of Noah might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the bleffing of God. Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth? What strength this answere hath, let others judge: for the children of Israel were 70. and had 215, yeeres time : and the sonnes of Noah were but three, and had but 101. yeeres of time, to the birth of Phalegh.

Others conceive that Phalegh tooke that name after the division, in memorie thereof: as Iosephus and Saint Augustine, who reason in this manner. If the division Iosephil. I. Ant. were at Phaleghs death (which happened in the yeere, which is commonly held to be Aug. de civit. the 48. of Abraham, but was by more likely computation 12. yeeres before his birth) Deilio. G.11. then was the division 38. yeeres after Ninus, who governed 52. yeeres: in the 43. yeere of whose raigne Abraham was borne. But when Ninus began to rule the Assyrians, 80 Perer in Gendi. veeres before this division (as this division is placed by the Hebrewes, Hierome and 15.6.10. Chry (ostome) then was the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers have not beene found at any time fince. For Ninus affociating to himselfe Ariaus King of Arabia, a people who at that time (sayth DIOD. SICVLVS) plurimum opibus atá, armis prastabant, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Cities in Armenia; received Barzanis into grace; then invaded Media, and crucified Pharnus the King thereof, with his Wife and seuen Children; vanquished all those Regions betweene Nilus and Tanais, the Agyptians, Phanicians, the 20 Kingdomes of Syria, and all the Nations of Persia, to the Hyrcanian Sea. For the numbers which followed Ninus (alreadie remembred out of Ctesias ) against Zeroafter and others: and Zoroaster on the other side, who made resistance with source hundred thousand, prooue it sufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the death of Phaleg, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be Masters of all; and greater Armies were there nener gathered then by Ninus and Semiramis: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the division had beene made at the birth of Phaleg, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant 20 that the earth could bee filled every where at the instant, but by times and degrees: And furely what soeuer mens opinions have beene herein, yet it is certaine, that the division of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at Babel: and that the enterprize of Babel was left off instantly upon the confufion of Languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neyther at the birth nor death of Phaleg: for Phaleg was borne in the yeere 101. after the Floud, which was the yeere that Nimrod came into Shinaar, or 10. yeeres after hee arrived,

fayth Berefus.

Now if it bee objected that Phaleg (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth diuision) must have lived without a name, except the name had beene given him at the 40 time of this confusion and partition: to this objection it may be answered, That the change of names vpon diners accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for Iaceb was called Ifrael after he had wreftled with the Angell; Abraham was first Abram; and Edom Efau; and that Phaleg being a principall man in this division had his first name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the Hebrewes, Saint Hierome and Chrysostome account Heber a great Prophet, if that by giving his sonne the name of Phaleg, hee foretold the divifion which followed: to this I say, I doe not find that Heber deserued any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his sonne : for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessitie; and this Prophesie (if any such had beene) might ,50 also have reference to the division, which afterwards fell among the Hebrewes them-

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the Towre and Citie of Babel, by which time many people (by reason and by demonstratiue proose) might bee increased : and that vpon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (wherevpon Phaleg tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monftrous.

### t. IIII.

Of the somes of Ioctan, the other some of HEBER.

[ I. Elmodad. 10 2. Saleph, or Selep, or Sheleph. 3. Asamath, or Chatzar. 4. Iare, or Iarabh, or Ierath. 5. Hadoram. 6. Vzal, or Vxal. 7. Dicklach, or Dicla. The fonnes of *loct an* were < 8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal. o. Abimael.

10. Sheba, or Seba. 11. Ophir, or Opir. 12. Hauila, or Chauila, and 13. Iobab.

LL those sonnes of Ioctan (according to Saint Hierome) dwelled in the East Aparts of the World, or India, even from the River Cophe or Choas, which is one of the branches or heads of Indus.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of Moses being generall. And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephar a Mount in the East. Of all these thirteene Sonnes, there were only three memorable, (to wit) Sheba, Ophir, and Hauilah. Concerning whose 20 names, to avoide confusion it is to bee observed, that among the Sonnes of Chush, two of them had also the names of Seba and Hauilab. Abraham had also a third Saba or Sheba, his grand-child by his wife Ketura. But Seba the sonne of Chulh, and Sheba the sonne of Rhegma his Nephew, wee haue left in Arabia Fælix: and Hauilah the fonne of Chush vpon Tigris. Saba the grand-childe of Abraham was (as some haue thought (the Father of the Sabaans in Persia: of which Nations Dionysius de Orbis situ, maketh mention. Primum Sabai; post hos (unt Passagarde; prope vero hos (unt Tasci, The first are Sabaans: after these be Passagarda; and neere these the Tasci. And whereas it is written: But unto the Sonnes of the Concubines which ABRAHAM had, ABRAHAM gane gifts, and fent them away from Is AAC his sonne (while hee yet lined) Eastwardto 40 the East-Countrey: hereupon it is supposed, that this Saba the sonne of Abrabam wandered into Persia: for Persia was accounted the furthermost East-Countrey in respect of Indea; which also Onid setteth under the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of Abrahams formes feated themselves on the borders of Indea, I rather choose to leave Saba the sonne of Abraham in Arabia the Desart, where Ptolomie setteth a Citie of that

Metam.lib.I.

But Saba the sonne of Iostan, the sonne of Heber, (as I conceive) inhabited India it selse. For Dionysius Afer in his Periegesis, (or description of the World) which hee valua ou Balik; wrote in Greeke Verse, among the Regions of India findeth a Nation called the Sa-THE NOI AND SEE. Dai. Taxilus hos inter medios babitat g, Sabeus: In the middest of these dwell the Sabai, and 50 the Taxili, favth this Dionyfius.

†. V.

Of OPHIR one of IOCTANS sonnes, and of Peru, and of that voyage of SALOMON.

PHIR also was an Inhabitant of the East India, and (as S. Hierome vnderstands it) in one of the Ilands plentifull of gold, which are now knowne by the name of Molucca. Iosephus vnderstands Ophir to be one of those great head-lands in India. which by a generall name are called Cherfones, or Peninsule: of which there are two 10 very notorious; Callecut, and Malacea. Pererius takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint Hierome doth, but he sets it at the head-land of Malacca. But Ophir is found among the Moluccas farther East.

Arias Montanus out of the second of Chronicles, the third Chapter and fixt Verse. gathers that Ophir was Peru in America, looking into the West Ocean, commonly cilled Mare del Sur, or the South Sea; by others Mare pacificum. The wordes in the fecond of the Chronicles are these: And be overlayed the house with precious stones for a care a conbeautie; and the gold was gold of Paruaim. IVNIVs takes this gold to be the gold of Hauilah, remembred by Moses in the description of Paradise: And the gold of that Gen 2.11.6 12 Land is good: finding a Towne in Characene a Province of Sustana called Barbatia; Plin. lib. 6. c.28. 20 fo called (as hethinkes) by corruption for Parnaim: from whence those Kings subiected by Dauid brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which Da-

uid preserved for the enriching of the Temple.

But this fancie of Peru hath deceived many men, before Montanus, and Plesis, who alfo tooke Ophir for Peru. And that this question may be a subject of no farther difoute; it is very true, that there is no Region in the World of that name: fure I am that at least America hath none, no not any Citie, Village, or Mountayne so called. But when Francis Pilarro first discouered those Lands to the South of Panama, arriuing in that Region which Atabaliba commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) some of the Spaniards veterly ignorant of that lan-30 guage, demanding by fignes (as they could) the name of the Countrie, and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the Indians answered Peru, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The Spaniards thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly understood them, set it downe in the Diurnall of their enterprise, and so in the first description made, and fent ouer to Charles the Emperor, all that West part of America to the South of Panama had the name of Peru, which hath continued ever fince as divers Spaniards in the Indies affured me; which also Acosta the Iesuite in his naturall and morall Historie of the Indies confirmeth. And whereas Montanus also findeth, that a part of the Indies (called Incat.in) tooke that name of loctan, who as he sup-40 poseth nauigated from the vtmost East of India to America: it is most true, that Iucatan is nothing else in the language of that Countrie, but [What is that] or [What say you?] For when the Spaniards asked the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the Saluages answered Iucatan (which is) What aske you, or what say you? The like hapned touching Paria, a mountaynous Countrie on the South fide of Trinidado and Margarita: for when the Spaniards inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discouered, pointed to the Hills afarre off, one of the people answered, Paria, which is as much to say; as high Hills or Mountaynes. For at Paria begins that maruailous ledge of Mountaynes, which from thence are continued to the Strait of Magellan: from eight degrees of North lati-50 tude to 52. of South; and so hath that Countrie over fince retayned the name of

The same hapned among the English, which I sent under Sir Richard Greeneuile to inhabite Virginia. For when some of my people asked the name of that Countrie, one of the Saluages answered, Wing and acon, which is as much to say, as, You weare

†. V.

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good clothes, or gay clothes. The same hapned to the Spaniard in asking the name of the Iland Trinidado: for a Spaniard demanding the name of that selfe place which the Seaincompassed, they answered, Caeri, which signifieth an Iland. And in this manner haue many places newly discouered beene intituled, of which Peru is one. And therefore we must leaue Ophir among the Moluccas, whereabout such an Iland

is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in Arabia it selfe (towards Persia) in Hauilab, now Susana, and all alongst that East Indian shore; yet the greatest plentie is taken vp at the Philippines, certayne Ilands planted by the Spaniards, from the West India. And by the length of the passage which Salomons ships made from the Red 10 Sea, (which was three yeeres in going and comming) it seemeth they went to the vttermost East, as the Molucess or Philippines. Indeede these that now goe from Pertugal, or from hence, finish that nauigation in two yeere, and sometimes lesse: and Salomons ships went not aboue a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they euermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vie of the Compasse was knowne, it was impossible to nauigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore Salomons ships could not finde Peru in America. Neither was it needfull for the Spaniards themselues (had it not beene for the plentie of gold in the East India Ilands, farre about the mines of any one place of America) to faile every yeere from the West part of America thi- 20 ther, and there to hauestrongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Hands: wherein they have built a Citie called Manilia. Salomon therefore needed not to haue gone farther off then Ophir in the East, to haue sped worse: neither could he nauigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to have

Tostatus also gathereth a fantasticall opinion out of Rabanus, who makes Ophir to be a Countrie, whose Mountaynes of gold are kept by Griffins: which Mountaynes Solinus affirmeth to be in Scythia Asiatica, in these wordes : Mam cum auro & gemmu affluant, Griphes tenent universa, alites ferocissima, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c. For whereas thefe Countries abound in gold, and rich stone, the Griffins defend the one and the 30 other : a kinde of Fowle the siercest of all other ; with which Griffins a Nation of people called Arimaspi make warre. These Arimaspi are said to have been men with one eye only, like vnto the Cyclopes of Sicilia: of which Cyclopes , Herodosus and Ariftens make men-Flaceus, lib.6. tion: and so doth Lucan in his third Booke: and Valerius Flaceus: and D. Sieulus in the Diod.Sicul.1.16. ftorie of Alexander Macedon. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleeue none of them. And for these Arimashi, I take it that this name signifying One-eyed, was first given them by reason that they yied to weare a vizzard of desence, with one fight in the middle to serue both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But Solinus borroweth these things out of Plinie, who speakes of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called Gifolitren, or the Cauc of the Northeast winde. For 49 the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the Griffins receive this Morall. That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not depriued of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and vnderstanding) they would content themselues with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subject themselues to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all forts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be fayned in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wild Beafts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might be auowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in America, many high and 50 impassable Mountaynes which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited only with Tygres, Lyons, and other rauenous and cruell beafts: into which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to finde the same warre, which the Arimaspi make against the Griffins: not that the one or other had any sense of

gold, or feeke to defend that metall, but being disquieted, or made assaide of themfelues or their yong-ones, they grow inraged and aduenturous. In like fort it may be said that the Alegarios, (which the Agyptians call the Crocadyles) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore Indians are eaten vp by them, when they dive for the pearle. And though the elegartos know not the pearle, yet they finde sauour in the flesh and bloud of the Indians, whom they deuoure.

Of HAVILAH the sonne of IOCTAN, who also passed into the East Indies: and of MESHA and SEPHER named in the bordering of the Families of IOCTAN: with a Conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the World.

OF Havilah the some of 10Han, there is nothing else to be said, but that the general opinion is that he also inhalication that it is a limit of the said. nerall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent, from which Ophir past into the Ilands adioyning. And whereas Ganges is said to water Hauilah, it is meant by Hauilah in the East India, which tooke name of Hauilah the 20 sonne of loctan: but Hauilab, which Pifon compasseth, was so called of Hauilab, the fonne of Chulb, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture : SAVL smote the 1. Sam. 15.71 Amalekites from Hauilah, as thou commest to Shur, which is before Agopt. But that Saul euer made Warrein the East India, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteene sonnes of lottan, these three, Saba, Hauilah, and Ophir; though at the first seated by their brethren about the hill Massus or Melh, GEN. 10.20 (to wit) betweene Cilicia and Melopotamia; yet at length either themselues or their issues removed into East India, leaving the other Families of Icotan, to fill the Countries of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to have beene from Mes vnto Sephar. And although S. Hierome take Mest to be a Region of the East 30 India, and Sephar a Mountaine of the same (which Mountaine, Montanus would have to be the Andes in America) those fancies are farre beyond my vnderstanding. For the word (Esft) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to Indea, is neuer farther extended then into Persia. But Mesch is that part of the Mountaynes of Masius in the North of Mesopotamia, out of which the River Chabor as springeth which runneth by Charran: and in the same Region we also finde for Sephar ( remembred by Moses) Sipphara by Psolemie, standing to the East of the Mountaynes Masins; from whence lottan having many sonnes, some of them might passe into India, hearing of the beautie and riches thereof. But this was in processe of time.

The other falhion of planting I vnderstand not, being grounded but vpon mens 40 imaginations, contrarieto reason and possibilitie. And that this Mountayne in the East was no farther off then in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vsed : as in Numbers 23. BA- Vers. 7. LAC the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountayne of the East; which was from the East part of Mejopotamia For Balac brought Balaam out of Me-Sopotamia, (witnesse this place of DEVTERONOMIE:) Because they byred BALAAM Capazz versal the some of BEOR, of Pethor in Aram Naharaijm, to curse thee: for Aram Naharaijm

was Syria fluuiorum, which is Mesopotamia, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the World after the floud doth best agree (as to me it seemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of 50 Reason and probable coniecture; the Guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to goe after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither have I any end herein, private, or publike, other then the discoverie of truth. For as the partialitie of man to himselfe hath disguised all things : so the factious and hireling Historians

of all Ages (especially of these latter times) have by their many Volumes of vntrue reports left Honor without a Monument, and Vertue without Memorie: and (in stead thereof) have erected Statues and Trophies to those, whom the darkest forgetfulnesse ought to have buryed, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and diffoluing Nature of Time, hath worne out or changed the Names and memorie of the Worlds first planters after the floud (I meane the greatest number and most part of them ) yet all the foot-steps of Antiquitie (as appeares by that which hath beene spoken) are not quite worne out nor ouer-growne: for Babylon hath to this day the found of Babel; Phanicia hath Zidon, to which Citie the eldest Sonne of Canaan gaue name; fo hath Cilicia Tharsis; and the Armenians, Medes, 10 Hiberians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, the Syrians, Idumaans, Libyans, Moores, and other Nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulnesse some signes of their first Founders and true Parents.

# CHAP. IX.

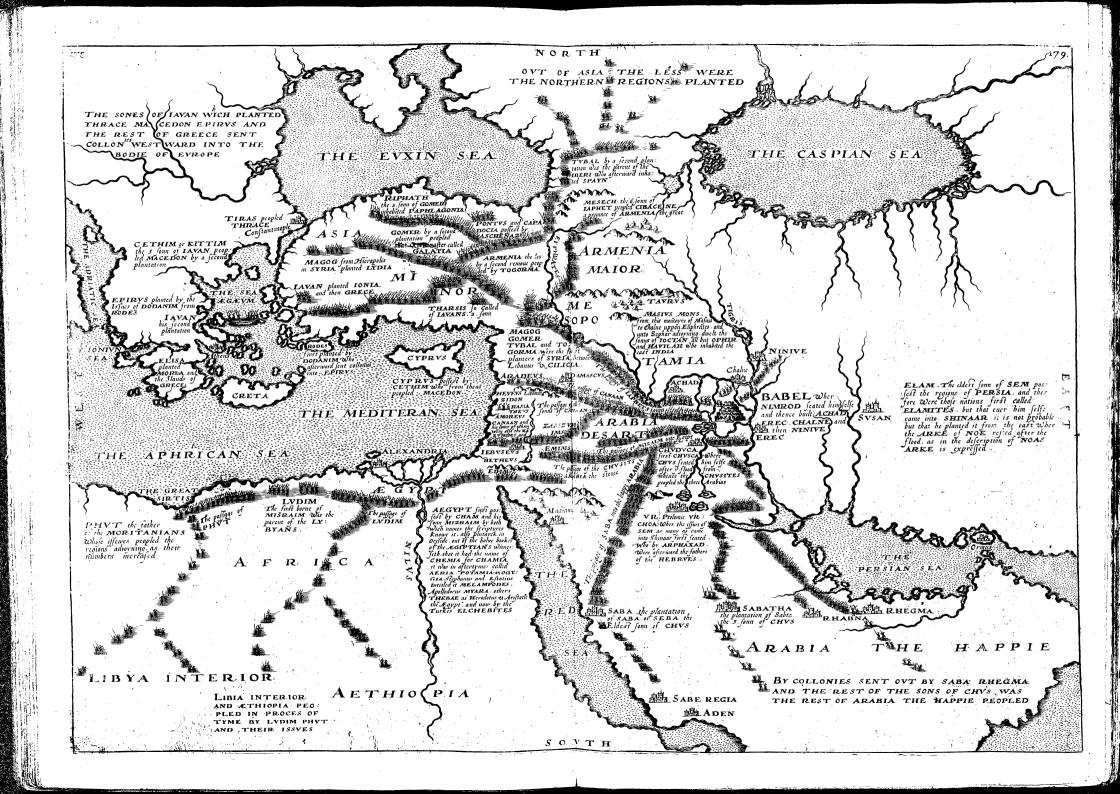
# Of the beginning and establishing of Gouernement.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of Families to Regall, and from Regall absolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.



T followeth now to entreate how the World beganne to receive Rule and Gouernement, which (while it had scarcitie of People) vnder-went no other Dominion then Paternitie and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word(Elder) was alwayes vsed both for the Magistrate, & for those of Age and Gravitie: the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in the eleventh of Numbers God commanded Moles to gather together 40 70. of the Elders of the people, and Gouernors ouer

them : the Hebrew bearing the same sense, which the Latine word Senes or Seniores doth. So it is written in Svs ANNA, Then the Affembly believed them as those that were the Elders and Judges of the People. And so in the words of those false Judges and witneffes to DANIEL, Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the office of an Elder. De-MOSTHENES vseth the same word for the Magistrate among the Gracians. Cisero in Cato giueth two other reasons for this appellation : Apud Lacedamonios qui amplissmum Magistratum gerunt, vt (unt, sie etiam appellantur Senes; Among the Lacedamonians the chiefe Magistrates, as they are, fo are they called Eldermen : and againe , Ratio & prudentia nist essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Maiores nostri appellassent Sena- 50 tum: If reason and admisement were not in old men, our Ancesters had never called the highest Councell by the name of a Senate. But though these reasons may well be given, vet we doubt not but in this name of (Elders) for Gouernours or Counsailers of State, there is a figne that the first Gouernors were the Fathers of Families; and vnder



them the eldest Sonnes. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard take the word (Signor) and out of it (Seignourie) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to Loysean) puissance in proprietie, or proper power. The kinds of this Seignourie, Seneca makes two: the one, Potestas aut imperium; Power or command: the other, Proprietas aut dominium, Proprietie or Mastership: the correlatiue of the one is the subject, of the other the slaue. Ad Cafarem (saith he) potestia omnium pertinet, ad fingulos proprietas; Cefar hath power ouer all; and enery man proprietie in his owne: and againe, Cafar omnia imperio possidet, singula dominio; Casar holdeth all in his tower. and every man possesseth his owne. But as men and vice beganne abundantly to increase: 10 fo obedience, (the fruit of naturall reuerence, which but from excellent feede feldome ripeneth) being exceedingly ouershadowed with pride, and illexamples vtrerly withered and fell away. And the foft weapons of paternall perswalions (after mankinde beganne to neglect and forget the originall and first giver of life) became in all ouer-weake, either to relist the first inclination of enill, or after when it became habituall) to constraine it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and steered by their owne fancies, and tost to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisedome was seuered from power, and strength from charitie: Necessitie (which bindeth euery nature but the immortall) made both the Necessitases sir-Wife and Foolish understand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would be-20 come farre more miserable then that of beasts, and that a generall floud of confusion & immutabilis would a second time overflow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order tellas. and dominion preuent it. For the Mightie, who trufted in their owne friengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mightiethen themselues: the feeble fell vnderthe forcible; and the equall from equall received equall harmes. In 60 much that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a libertie vpon the first acquaintance) proued vpon a better tryall, no lesse perilous then an vnindurable bondage.

i hefe Arguments by Necessitie propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subject themselues 30to a Master, and to Magistracie in some degree. Vnder which Gouernment, as the change (which brought with it leffe euill, then the former mischiefes) was generally pleating: fo time (making all men wisethat observeit) found some imperfection and corrosiue in this cure. And therefore the same Necessitie which invented, and the same Reason which approved soueraigne power, bethought it selfe of certaine equal rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also discerne her owne limits. For before the invention of Lawes, private affections in supreme Rulers made their owne fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance both good and euill.

For as wisedome in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; so the will of Kings 40 fore went the inventions of Lawes. Populus nullu legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant; The people were not gouerned by any other lawes then the willes of Princes: He ereof it followed, that when Kings left to bee good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not, fancied by their Kings, northose mens vices deformethem that were. Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt, Love fees one while too much, another while starke nothing. Hence it came to passe, that after a few yeeres (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that gouernment which had this mixture of equalitie (holding in an. euen ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in 50 fauour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancie of this Regall authoritie, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues only so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (faith Fabius Pictor) Principes, quia infli erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habits De aures fainte Dy & dieti; Princes, because they were inst and religious, were rightly accounted and called part. 1.

CHAP.9. \$.2.

of the Historie of the World.

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D.D. 1. D. 2 T.

70b.19. U.21.

out a Ruler and Conducter: God himselse by his eternall providence having ordavned Kings; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the verv Bees haue their Prince; the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order impofed) watch for their owne fafetie. The most High beareth rule ouer the Kingdomes of Prouceb.8.2.15. Men; and appointeth ouer it whom soeuer he pleaseth. By me (faith Wisedome, spokenby the Sonne of God) Kings reigne; By me Princes rule, and it is God (faith DANIEL) that fetteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings: and that this power is given from God, 10 CHRIST himselfe witnesseth, speaking to PILATE: Thou couldest have no power at all

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to

Reason and Necessitie; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the

mindes of men, whereby they faw that they could not line and be preserved with-

against me, except it were given thee from aboue.

It was therefore by a threefold Iustice that the world hath beene gouerned from the beginning, (to wit) by a Justice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of families gouerned their Children, and Nephewes, and Families, in which gouernment the Obedience was called naturall Pietie: Againe, by a Iustice divine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God: and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience: And lastly, by a Justice civill, begotten by both the former: and the Obedience to this we call Dutie. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded: and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is most evident: for Adam 20 being Lord ouer his owne Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we reade, Cain and Abel brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of mankinde.

δ. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Gouernement with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane jocietie.



Hat other Policie was exercifed, or State founded after fuch time as 30 mankinde was greatly multiplyed before the floud, it cannot be certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable coniecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first age: it being possible that many Princes of the Egyptians (remembred among their antiquities) were

before the generall floud; and very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyrannie in Gouernement, or from some rougher forme of Rule, then the Paternall.

Berofus ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Gyants of Libanus, who mastred (saith he) all Nations from the Sunne-rising to the Sunne-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such time as the rule of Eldership fayled, 40 three seuerall sorts of Gouernement were in seuerall times established among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approued, was the Gouernement of one, ruling by just Lawes, called Monarchie: to which Tyrannie is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or observation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith Aristotle) is the Keeper of Right and Equitie: and of this condition ought enery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: Iudges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall indge the people with righteous indgement.

Deut.16.v.18.

Berof, lib 1.

The second Gouernement is of divers principall Persons established by order, andruling by Lawes, called Aristocracie, or Optimatum potestas; to which Oligarchia (or the particular faction and vsurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed: as the Decemviri, or Triumviri, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Gouernment of the people) called Democratia, to which is opposed Ochlocratia, or the turbulent vniust ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the State, contrarie to their owne Lawes and Ordinances. These three kinds of Gouernment are briefly exprest by Tholosanus; Vnius, paucorum, or multorum, Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policie since the second increase of Mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all, every Father, or eldest of the Family, gaue Lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplyed into many Housholds (man by nature louing socie-10 rie) iovned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latines call Vicus; of the Greeke ones, which fignifieth a House, or of the word (Via) because it hath divers wayes and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called Pagus, (being a societie of divers Villages) so called of the Greeke m'y, which signifieth a Fountaine : because many people (having their habitations not farre afunder) dranke of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as somethinke) Shires answereth not vnfitly.

But as men and impietie beganne to gather strength, and as emulation and pride hetweene the Races of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend 20 themselves from outrage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they beganne to loyne and set together divers of their Villages, invironing them first with bankes and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compassed were then called Oppida; eyther ab opponendo se hostibus, Because wals were opposed against Enemies, or ab epibus, because thither they gathered their riches for safetie and defence; as also they were called Vrbes, ab orbe; because when they were to build a Citie, they made a Circle with a Plough (fayth Varro) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although Vrbs and Cinitas bee often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that Vrbs fignified no other then the very wals and buildings, and Civitas was taken for the Citizens, inha-30 biting therein: so called of Ciuis; and that, ab eo quod multitudo coinit, of comming together. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the Citie may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest goe vnder the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same generall name of Subjects are also knownes For enery Citizen is also a subject, but not enery Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if hee bee to bee termed one of the Citizens) is no subject; but of this wee need not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken à Magistro, from a Master, and the word (Master) from the Aduerbe Magis (as also Magisteria, Precepts of Art) or else from the Greeke word (Megistos:) and 40 so the Greekes call them Megistanes, whom the Latines call Magnates, or Magi-

The office and dutie of every Magistrate Aristotle hath written in few wordes. Ethic 50 A Magistrate or Prince (sayth hee) is the keeper of right and equitie; but the same is bestraught by Saint Paul, who expresseth both the cause efficient, and finall, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou doe enill, feare: for Rom.13.4. he beareth not the fword for nought. For hee is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth ewill. He also teacheth in the same place; That every soule ought to bee Subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained; and that who soever resisteth 50 that power, refifteth God, the giver and fountaine thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: For yee must 7bid, v. 5: be subject (saith he) not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments upon those that have refisted Authoritie, by God ordained and established. Neyther ought any subject therefore

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Gen 20.0.17.

therefore to relift the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or crueltie: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand : and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The Prophets and Christ himselfe subiected themselues to the power of Magistracie. Christ commanded that all due to Cafar should be given vnto him: and he payed Tribute for him-Hieremag.v.g. felfeand Peter. Hieremie commanded the Ifraelites (euen those that were Captiues vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of Babylon. So Abraham prayed for Abimelech; and Iacob bleffed the King of Agypt: And it is acceptable in the fight of our Sautour (fayth PAVL) that yee make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authoritie: and if for fuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for to Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint Chrysostome in his Homily to the people preferre Monarchicall Gouernment, as hee rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) then that they should be wanting: Prastat Regentyrannum habere, quam nullum; Better atyrannous King, then no King: to which also Tacitus Subscribeth: Prastat (fayth Tacitus in the first of his Historie) Jub malo Principe effe quam nullo; It is better to have a bad Prince then none at all. And bee they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no libertie more safe, then to serue them: Neg enim libertas tutior ulla est (fayth CLAVDIAN) quam Domino servire bono : No libertie (fayth hee) more safe for ws then to be seruants to the vertuous. And certainly how soeuer it may be disputed, yet is it safer to live vnder one Tyrant, then vn-20 der 100000. Tyrants: vnder a wise man that is cruell, then vnder the foolish and barbarous crueltie of the multitude. For as Agestlaus answered a Citizen of Sparts that defired an alteration of the Gouernment, That kind of rule which a man would disdaine in his owne house, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers crected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Housholds iouned themselues together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: fo when these Cities and Citizens ioyned together, and established Lawes by consent, associating themselues under one Gouernour and Gouernment, they so ioyned were called a Commonwealth: the fame being sometimes gouerned by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes 30 by the people themselues.

## ð. III.

# Of the good Government of the first Kings.

Ow this first Age after the Floud, and after such time as the people were increased, and the Families became strong and dispersed into senerall parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Couctous fulfe being as then but greene, and newly 40 growne vp, the seeds and effects wherof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then fought for no larger Territorie then themselves could compasse and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, then sufficient to desend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacie of fare, or curiositie of dyet, then to maintaine life: nor for any other apparell then to couer them from the cold, the

And fureif wee vnderstand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient fimplicitie of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truely be cast upon thoseelder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may bee attributed more 50 to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may bee doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times haue brought forth of both forts. And as the infancie of Empirie, (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woo mento obedience) might bee

called the Golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times bee truely called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affest men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberalitie ouerflow her bankes and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policie and example. But Age and Time doe not only harden and shrinke the openest and most louisl hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselues. And although there bee no Kings under the Sunne whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by 10 their owne respects, doe no sooner find their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times iniurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Raigne of every King, so doth it in the life of every man, if his dayes be many: for our yonger yeeres are our Golden Age; which being eaten vp by time, we praise those scasons which our youth accompanied : and (indeed) the grieuous alterations in our selues, and the paines and diseases which never part from vs but at the grave, make the times seeme so differing and displeasing: especially the qualitie of mans nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former. and condemneth the present state how iust soeuer: Fit humane malignitatis vitio, vt Tacis. in Dial.de Semper veterain lande, presentiain fastidio sint; It comes to passe (sayth TACITVS) by the Orat. 20 vice of our malignitie, that we alwayes extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious: For it is one of the errours of wayward Age : Quod fint landatores temporis acti; That they are prayfers of fore-paffed times, forgetting this aduice of SALOMON: Say not then, Eccles, Why is it that the former dayes were better then these? for thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing : to which purpose SENECA; Maiores nostri questi sunt, & nos querimur, posteri querentur, euersos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi : Our Ancesters have complained, wee doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse dothraigne, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all euill. These are the viuall discourses of Age and missortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of ARNOBIVS? Nouares quandog, vetus fict, & vetus tem-30 poribus quibus capit noua fuit or repentina: What soener is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they tooke beginning were also new and sodaine. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of prefent times have made Golden, this wee may fet downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crownes: so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gauethe obedience of Subjects to Princes: fo (relatively) hee gaue the care and inflice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not only to the Kings themselves. but euen to the meanest of his Creatures: Nunquam particulari bono seruit omne bo-

R 2

num; The infinite goodnesse of God doth not attend any one only: for hee that made the

which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a generall loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For Potest as humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum: All

40 small and great, careth for all alike : and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs,

humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.

d. 1111.

CHAP.10. S.I.

## d. IIII.

Of the beginning of Nobilitie: and of the vaine vaunt thereof without vertue.



No with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authoritie beganne also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; vnto whom they gaue place, trust, and power. From which imployments and Offices forung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which to

Verus nobilis no haue continued from Age to Age to these dayes. But this Nobilitie, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succession of Bloud, but to Succession of Vertue, as hereafter may bee prooued. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were aduanced, to bee knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeuour of well-doing at all, or any contenrion for them to excell, you whom glorie or worldly Nobilitie necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobilitie denomination in the beginning, That fuch as excelled others in vertue, were so called: Hinc dictus N obilis, quasi virtute pra alus notabilis. But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posteritie, Saint Hierome judged of the Succession in this manner : Wibil 4-20 lind video in N obilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I fee no other thing to bee affected in N obilitie. then that Noblemen are by a kind of necessitie bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancesters. For if Nobilitie be Virtus & antique divitie; Vertue and ancient riches, then to exceed in all those things which are extra hominem, as riches, power, glorie, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobilitie, then the word (animal) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to L. Viues) bee a witnesse of vertue and well-doing: and Nobilitie (after Plutarch) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Vertue is extinguished, but like vnto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of Christ, our 20 Ladie, and other Saints: men, in whom there remaine but the dregges and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found prayle-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountaines, if in all the rest of their course they runne foule, filthie, and defiled? Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando Cicata venenosa, Gex terra sterili pretiosum aurum; Out of fruitfull ground ariseth sometimes poysoning Henbane: and out of barren soile precious Gold. For as all things consist of matter and forme, so doth Charron (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which gives life and perfect being ) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the Commonweale. For he is truly and entire-40 ly Noble, who maketh a fingular profession of publike Vertue, seruing his Prince and Countrie, and being descended of Parents and Ancesters that have done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the same Authour calleth personall, (the same which our selues acquire by our Vertue and well deseruings) cannot bee ballanced with that which is both naturall by Descent, and also personall; yet if Vertue bee wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (fayth this Charron) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light yoon fuch a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which hee calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Siluer or fauour: and these bee indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of 50 their fancies wish they knew well how to wipe off againe. But surely, if wee had as much sense of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we have of vanitie in deriving our felues of such and such Parents, wee should rather know such Nobilitie (without Vertue) to bee shame and dishonour, then Noblenesse, and glorie to vaunt thereof.

What calamitie is wanting (layth BBRNARD) to him that is borne in sinne, of a Potsbare Bernards, and bodie and barren minde? for (according to the same Father:) Dele fucum fugacis hone- consider ad Enris haises, @ male coronata nitorem glorea, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting ho- gen. Pap. nour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glorie, that then thou maielt consider thy felfe

makedly: for then camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with the Offer ractor glissening with Iewels, or garnished with Silkes, or adorned with Peathers, or sinssed with Golde If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certaine morning cloudes, which doe or will soone passe ouer, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poore, and wretched, and miferable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping because hee is borne.

of the History of the World.

and repining because he is borne to labour, and not to honour. For as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and dust:

which if thou doest not beleene ( faith Saint CHRYSOSTOME ) looke into the Sepulchres Corysostomitas de incomposita and Monuments of thy Ancesters, and they shall easily personade thee by their owne example, Deinatura. that thou art dust and dirt: fo that if man seeme more Noble and beautifull then dust, this cons. proceedeth not from the diversitie of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade Of vertuous life; not in the fleshly Line: For bloud is brute, but Gentrie is Dinine.

Phaer.

And how foeuer the custome of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth voon vnworthy Issues : yet Salomon (as wife as any King) reprehendeth the same in his Fellow-Princes: There is an enill (sayth hee) that I have seene under the Sun, Eccleston as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Folly is fet in great excellencie.

# CHAP. X.

Of NIMROD, BELVS, and NINVS: and of memorable things about those times.

### ð. Í.

That NIME OD was the first after the Floud that raignedlike Soueraigne Lord: and that his beginning feemeth to have beene of just authoritie.



H E first of all that raigned as Soueraigne Lord after the Floud was Nimred, the Sonne of Culb, distinguished by Moses from the rest (according to Saint Augustine) in one of these two respects: eyther for his eminencie, and because hee was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or else in that hee was begotten by Chush, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time then some of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howfoeuer, feeing Moles in expresse wordes calleth Nimrod the Sonne of Chush, other mens coniectures to the contrarie

ought to have no respect. This Empirie of Nimrod, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall: the same beginning in Babel, (which is) confusion.

CHAP.10. S.2.

of the Historie of the World.

But it seemeth to mee that Melanchton conceived not amisse hereof: the same expofition being also made by the Authour of that worke called Onomasticum Theologicum, who affirmes that Nimrod was therefore called Amarus Dominator, A bitter or seuere Gouernour, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible then Paternall authoritie. And therefore is he in this respect also called a mightie Hunter; because he tooke and destroyed both Beasts and Theenes. But Saint Augustine understands it otherwise, and converts the word (ante) by (contra) affirming therein, that Nimrod was a mightie Hunter against God : Sic ergo intelligendus est Gig as ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be understood, a Hunter against the Lord. But howfocuer this word (a mightie Hunter) bee vnderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that as 10 Wimred had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into Shimaar: fo, this charge was rather given him, then by him vsurped. For it is no where found, that Noah himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne bodie came with this troupeinto Babylonia: no mention at all being made of Noah (the yeeres of his life excepted) in the succeeding Storie of the Hebrewes: nor that Sem was in this disobedient Troupe, or among the builders of Babel.

The same is also confirmed by divers ancient Historians, that Wimrod, Suphne, and Ioctan were the Captaines and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though Sem came not himselse so farre West as Shinaar (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Sonnes Nephew Heber, the name and Nation of the He-20 brewes (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of Chalden about the Citie of Vr; from whence Abraham was by

God called into Charran, and thence into Canaan.

And because those of the Race of Sem which came into Chaldes, were no partners in the vnbeleeuing worke of the Towre: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retaine the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to Noah; and Noah to Sem and his Islues: In familia HEBER remanfit bac lingua; In the Family of HEBER this Language remained (faith Saint Augustine out of Epiphanius; ) and this Language Abraham vsed: yea it was anciently and before the Floud the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith Calestinus) lingua 30 humana: the humane tongue.

We know that Geropius Becanus following Theodoret, Rabbi Mofes, Aryptiu, Vergara, and others, is of another opinion; but how socuer we determine of this point, we may with good probablitie resolue, that none of the godly seed of Sem were the chiefe Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that fome one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that Nimrod 13ther had it by iust authoritie, then by violence of vsurpation.

Q. II.

That NIMROD, BELVS, and NINVS were three distinct persons.

De Cinit.Dei.

BENZO, and out of him Nauclerus with others make many Nimeds. Eusebius confounds him with Belus; and so doth Saint Hierome vpon Ofe: and these wordes of S. Augustine seeme to make him of the same of his Father Belvs, who first governed in Babilan fixtic five yeers. But it could not bee vnknowne to Saint Jugustine, that Nimvod was the Etablisher of that Empire: Moses being plaine and direct therain. For the beginning of NIMEODS 50 Kingdome (faith he) was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinar Wherefore Nimrod was the first King of Babel. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that Ninus was the third, and not one with Nimrod, as Mercator (led by Clement) Suppor fed : for in Names time the World was maruailoufly replenished. And if S. Augustine

had undoubtedly taken Belus for Nimred, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather then have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those wordes of S. Avgvstine (qui primes illicregnanerat; who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by Belus : those wordes doe not disprove that Nimrod was the Founder of the Babylonian Empire. For although Inlius Cafar overthrew the libertie of the Romane Commonwealth, making himselfe a perpetuall Dictator, yet Augustus was the first established Emperor: and the first that reigned absolutely by soueraignefauthoritie ouer the Romanes, as an Emperor. The like may be faid of Nimrod, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternitie, 10 Jaying the foundation of foueraigne Rule, as Cafar did; and yet Belia was the first,

who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercifed fuch a power. Percriss is of opinion, that Belus and Ninsrod were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeeres after the floud (as they account) that Belis reigned: but such agreement of times proues it not. For so Edward the Third, and his grand-child Richard the Second, were Kings both in one yeere : the onedyed; the other in the fame yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that Numrod and Belus were one) is farremore probable then that of Mercator, who makes Winus and Nimrod to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of Nimrods Kingdome was Babel, and the Townesadioyning:

20 but the first and most famous worke of Ninus was the Citico ! Niniu ...

Now whereas D. Siculus affirmeth, that Ninus overcame and suppress the Babylonians, the fame rather proueth the contrarie, then that Nimis and Nimrod were one person. For Ninus established the seate of his Empire at Ainine in Affiria, whence the Babylonians might (perchance) in disdayne thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recouered againe by strong hand; which was easie: Babylon being not walled till Semiramis time.

> -Dicitur altam Coctilibus muris cinxiffe S EMIRAMIS Vrbems.

SEMIRAMIS with walls of bricke the Citie did inclose.

Further, where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call Nimrod mightie: fo Instine hath the same of Ninus, which is one of Mercators arguments; It may be answered, that fuch an addition might have been given to many other Kings aswell. For if we may beleeve Instine; then were Vexoris King of Agypt, and Tanais of Soythia mightie Kings before Ninus was borne. And if we may compare the wordes of Mofes (touching Nimrod) with the vndertakings of Nims, there will be found great difference betweene them. For whereas Mercator conceineth, that it was too early 40 for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages, to have inuaded and mattered those Cities so farre removed from Babel, namely, Erec, Accad, and Chaine: which worke he therefore ascribeth to 2Vinus, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have Nimrod to have beene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of Nimred and Ninus to belong to one person, to wit, to Winus: to these things to make some answere. First, I doe not finde that supposition true, That euer Nimrod inuaded any of these Cities; but that hee founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the floud, that conducted the children of Noah into those parts : and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

50 Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand farre away from Babylon, I finde no reason to bring me to that beliefe. The Citie of Accad which the Septuagint calls Archard, and Epiphanius, Arphal, Innius takes to be Nifibis in Mesopotamia for the Region thereabour the Cosmographers (saith he) call Accabene for Accadene, Others understand Wisibis and Niniue to be one Citie : fo

doe Strabe and Stephanus confound it with Charran; but all mistaken. For Nishia Accad, and Charran are diftinct places. Though I cannot denie Accedene to bea Region of Melopetamia, the same which Arias Montanus out of S. Hierome cals Achad: and so doe the Hebrewes also call Nisibia, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the Citie of Erec, which the Septuagint call Orech; S. Augustine, Oreg; and Pagninus, Erec; this place Junius vnderstands for Aracca in Susiana: but there is also a Citie in Comagena called Arace: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the affiftance of other circumstances.

Lib.23.

Concerning the third Citie (called Chalneh) some take it for Calinisis: of which Am. Marcellinus. S. Hierome takes it for Seleucia; Hieroselymitanus for Ctesiphon: others 10 doe thinke it to be the Agrani vpon Euphrates, destroyed and razed by the Persians. But let Moles be the Moderator and Iudge of this dispute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Cities are not seated in so divers and distant Regions; for these be his wordes: And the beginning of his Kingdome (speaking of NIMROD) was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar : fo as in this Valley of Shinaar, or Babylonia, or Chaldea (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with Viter biensis, that these foure made but one Babylon, then that they were Cities farre remoued, and in seuerall Provinces, did not the Prophet Amos precisely distinguish Chalne from Babylon. Goe you (saith Amos) to Chalne, and from thence goe you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistims. The Geneua translation fa- 20 nouring the former opinion, to set these Cities out of Shinaar, hath a marginall note expressing that Shinaar was here named: not that all these Cities were therein seated. butto distinguish Babylon of Chaldea, from Babylon in Agypt; but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of Nimrods Empire there was no such Babylon, nor any Citie at all to be found in Agypt : Babylon of Agypt being all one with the great Citie of Cairo, which was built long after, not farre from the place where stood Memphis the ancient Citie, but not so ancient as Babylon vpon Euphrates. Now that Chalne is situate in the Valley of Shinaar, it hath beene formerly proued in the Chapter of Paradife. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrarie, from the remote situation of these three Cities from Babylon, we may 30 continue in our opinion, That Nimrod, Belus, and Nimus, were distinct and succesfine Kings.

#### d. III.

That NIMROD, not Assur, built Ninine: and that it is probable out of EsAY 23. 13. that Assva built Vr of the Chaldees.



Ow as of Nimrod: so are the opinions of Writers different touching Affur, and touching the beginning of that great state of Babylon and 40 Assiria: a controuersie wearisomely disputed without any direct proofe, conclusion, or certaintie. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are filent, the voyce of Reason hath the best hearing) the

interpretation of *Innius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessarie consequence doth not distoyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the vnderstanding thereof. For in this fort he converteth the Hebrew Text : Erat enim principium regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris ; è terra hac procesit in Assyriam vbi adificauit Niniuen; (which is) For the beginning of this Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneb, in the land of Shinaar : and he went forth of this land into Assyria, and built Niniue. So as Junius takes Assur in this place, not for any 50 person, but for the Region of Assyria: the land being so called in Moses time, and before it. For certainely, the other construction, (where the word (Assur) is taken for Assur the sonne of Sem) doth not answer the order which Moses observeth through all the Bookes of Genesis, but is quite contrarie vnto it. For in the beginning of the

tenth Chapter he setteth downe the sonnes of Noah, in these wordes : Now these are the Generations of the Sonnes of No AH : SEM, HAM, and IAPHETH. Onto whom Connes were borne after the floud : then it followeth immediately : The Connes of I A-PHETH were Gomer, &c. fo asstapheth is last named among Noahs sonnes, be he eldest or yongest: because he was first to be spoken of : with whom (hauing last named him) he proceedes and fets downe his iffue, and then the iffue of his fonnes: first, theissue of Gomer, Japheths eldest sonne; and then speakes of Janan and his sonnes: for of the rest of that Familie hee is silent. Anon after hee numbreth the fonnes of Ham, of which Culb was the eldest: and then the sonnes of Culb and Miz-10 raim; and afterward of Canaan; leaving Shem for the last, because he would not disiovne the Storie of the Hebrewes. But after he beginneth with Sem, he continueth from thence by Arphaxad, Shela, and Heber, vnto Abraham, and so to Iacob, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the sonnes of shem in the middle of the generations of Ham, had beene against order; neither would Moses have past over so slightly the erection of the Asyrian Empire, in one of the sonnes of Shem, if he had had any fuch meaning: it being the storic of Shems sonnes which he most attended. For he nameth Nimrod apart, after the rest of the sonnes of Cush. because he founded the Babylonian and Assyrian Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter he returnes to speake of the building of Babel in particular, having formerly named 20 it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which Nimrod founded in Shinaar. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleuenth he maketh no report of Shem, till such time as he had finished so much of Nemrod as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the issue of Shem, which he continueth to Abraham and Ifrael. And of Iunius opinion touching Assur, was Caluin: to which I conceine that P.Comestor, in historia Scholastica, gaue an entrance, who after he had deliuered this place in some other sense, he vseth these wordes: Vel intelligendum non est de AssvR filio S EM, &c. sed Assva (id est) Regnum Assyriorum inde egressum est, quod tempore SARVG proaus ABRAHAMI factumell, (which is) Or elfe it is not to be understood of Assyr the Conne of SEM, &c. but Assyr (that is, the Kingdome of the Affyrians) 30 came from thence (videlicet, from Babylon) or was made out of it : which happened in the time of SARVG the great grand-father of ABRAHAM. After which he reconcileth the differences in this fort: If you take the ancient Belus (meaning Nimrod) to be the first Erecter of the Assirian Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, Quantum ad initium; Respecting the beginning; but others conceive that it had beginning from Ninus, which is also true, Quantum adregni ampliationem; Regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may adde the opinion of Epiphanius, confirmed by Cedrenus, who takes Affur to be the sonne of Nimrod : and so doth Methodius , and Viterbiensis, S. Hierome, and Cyrillus, and now lastly Torniellus: who saith he tooke Torniell. Annal. vpon him that name of Affur after he had beaten the Affyrians, as Scipio did of A- facr in Gen. 10. 40 fricanus, after his conquest in Africa: and that Assur was a common name to the Kings of Affyria, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as Pfalme 81. E/ay 10. Ofe 5. &c. but

to helpe the matter, he makes Wimrod of the race of Shem, and the sonne of Irari.

But Rabanus Maurus, who was Arch-Bishop of Mentz in the yeere of Christ 854. an

ancient and learned Writer, vnderstands this place with Commestor, or Commestor

with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of Iunius: to which wordes of

Moses he giueth this sense: De hacterra Assyriorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine NINI, BELI silij, Ninum condiderunt, whem magnam, &c. Out of this land grew the

Empire of the Affrians, who built Ninus the great Citic, so named of NINVS the sonne

then which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diversitie in

the translation and vnderstanding; insomuch as Michael de Palatio vpon Elay

(though in all elsevery diligent) paffeth it over. But Caluin scemeth hereby to in-

ferre, that because Assur founded the state of the Chaldenns, therefore also Assur ra-

50 the Chaldaans, this was no people, Assva founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderneffe;

of BELVS. On the contrarie Caluin obiecteth this place of EsAY : Behold the land of 23, 13.

IÇO

ther then Nimrod established the Assyrian Empire, and built Niniue : contrarie to the former translation of Junius, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the Vulgar (called Hieromes translation) it may be gathered that Affur both founded and ruined this Estate or Citie of the Chaldeans, by Esay remembred : vnto which Citie, People. or State, he plainely telleth the Tyrians that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of Chaldea. and that Estate, an example vnto those Phanicians, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which Citie of Chaldea being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the Affyrians vtterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of Tyre, 10 (inuincible, as themselves thought) should also soone after be over-turned by the fame Affyrians : as (indeede) it was by Nabuchodonofor. And these be the wordes after HIEROME: Ecce terra Chaldworum, talis populus non fuit, Assva fundauit eam, in captinitatem traduxerunt robustos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam. (which is) Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, such a people there were not (or, this was no people, after the Geneua) Assur (or the Affyrians) founded it, they carried away their frong men captine, they under mined their houles, and ruined their Citie. The Septuagint expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these wordes: Et in terra Chaldaorum, er has desolate est ab Astrius, quoniam murus eius corruit, making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus vnderstood: If thou goe over to Chit-20 tim (which is Macedon or Greece) yet thou shalt have no rest (speaking to the Tyrians) neither in the Land of the Chaldeans, for this is made defolate by the Affyrians, because their malls fell together to the ground. PAGNINVS and VATABLVS convertit thus : Ecc terra Chaldim, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Assva sundauit eam nauibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriuerunt ades eius, posuit eam in ruinam: which may be thus Englished: Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for Assur built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and rumated it. IVNIVS in the place of thips fets the word (pro Barbaris) that is, for the Barbarians: and the Geneua, by the Barbarians. But this is vindoubted that the Prophet Efay (as may be gathered by all the fense of the Chap- 10 ter) did therein affure the Tyrians of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terror) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those Places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatnesse of the Tyrians was maintayned; as by the Cilicians from Tharsis; from the Macedonians, and other Gracians under the name of Cittim; also by the £gyptians, the Chaldeans, and the rest. For Tyre was then the Mart Towne of the World most renowned. And (as it appeares in our discourse of Paradise) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie Fr or Vrchoz in Chaldes, where the body or chiefe fireame of Euphrates (even that fireame which runneth through Babylon and Otris, which now falleth into Tigris) had his passage into the Persian Gulfo: though now 40 it be stopped vp. For (as we have heretofore noted) the Arabians (that descended from Sheba and Raamah) dwelling on the East bankes of the Persian Gulfe, trading with the Tyrians (as those of Eden, Charran, and Chalne did) transported their merchandise by the mouth of Tigris, that is, from Teredon, and of Euphrates, that is, from Vr or Vrehoa: and then by Babylon, and thence by River and over Land they conveyedit into Syria, and so to Tyre: as they doe this day to Aleppo. So then Vr of the Chaldees was a Port Towne, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the Tyrians: for it flood by the great Lakes of Chaldea, through which that part of Euphrates ranne, which passage is now stopt vp. Eins cur/um vetuflas aboleuit (faith Niger.) And PLINIE Locus vbi Euphratis oftium fuit, flumen fallum; 50 Time hath worne away the channell of Euphrates : and the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of falt water. These things being thus, certainely ( not without good probabilitie) we may expound the Citie of the Chaldees, whose calamities Esay here noteth for terror of the Tyrians, to be the Citie anciently called Pr; and (by Hecataus)

Camerina; by Ptolemie, Vrchoa: and by the Greekes, Chaldaopolis, The Citie of Chaldaa: which the formes of Shem, untill Abrahams time, inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that Assur both founded it and ruined it : it may be vnderstood, that Assur the Founder was the sonne of Shem; and Assur the destroyers were the Affyrians, by whom those that inhabited Vr of Chalden, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-seeing commanded Abraham thence to Charran, and so into Canaan. And if the Hebrew word by Vatablus and Pagninus converted (by ships) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approued; because it was a Port Towne : and the River so farre vp as this Citie of We was in ancient time nauigable, as both by Plinie and Niger appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no leffe manifest, that the most barbarous Arabians of the Desart were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For Chalden is now called Arachaldar, which signifieth desart Lands, because it ionneth to that part of Arabia so called : and Cicero (calling those Arabians by the name of Ituraans) addeth, that they are of all other people the most saluage; calling them, Homines omnium maxime barbaros.

So as this place of Efer, which breedeth some doubt in Calain, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of In-20 nius, northeinterpretation of Comestor and Rabanus. Forthough other men haue not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that Afar is in this place diverfly taken (as for the some of Sem, when he is spoken of as a Builder of Vr; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the Asyrian Nation) yet certainely the enidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this Founding of the Citie of the Chaldees by Affur (into which the most of the posteritie of Sem that came into Shinaar, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the Chusites and Nimrodians, retyred themselves) hath nothing in it to prove that the same Asiar built Ninine or that the fame Affar was all one with Wintes; except wee will make Affar, who wasthe sonne of Shem, both an Idolater, and the sonne of Belus. For (out of doubt) 20 Ninus was the first notorious Sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set vp a Statue to be honored as god. Now if Affar must be of that Race, and not of the Familie of sem, as he must be if he founded Ninine, then all those which seeke to give him the honor thereof, doe him by a thou and parts more injurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed Assur whom they make the Founder of Niniue (and so the sonne of Belus) were any other, and not the same with Ninus; then what became of him? Certainely he was very vnworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of fuch an Empire and fuch a Citie, if no man have vouchfafed to leave to pofleritie his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire againe or quitted it to Ni-40 nus: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authors, that Nimrod founded Babel, Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to Moles, and that these workes being sinished within the Valley of Shinaar, helooked farther abroad, and set in hand the worke of Ninus, lying neere vnto the same streame that Babel and Chalne did: which worke his grand-child Ninus afterward amplified and finished, as Semiramis (this Ninus his wife) did Babylon. Hence it came to passe, that as Semiramis was counted the Foundresse of the Citie which shee only finished : so also Ninus of Ninine: Quam 50 quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare; She might repaire or renew Babylon, faith S. Augu-

Itine. For so did Nabuchodonofor vaunt himselfe to be the Founder of Babylon also, because he built vp againe some part of the wall, ouer-borne by the surie of the Riuer: which worke of his flood till Alexanders time, whereupon he vaunted thus: Is Dan. 4. 27. not this great Babel which I have built? **3. IIII.** 

Of the acts of NIMROD and BELVS, as farre as now they

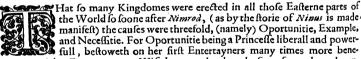


W Vt to returne to the Storie, it is plaine in Moses, that Wimred ( whom Philo interpreteth transfugium; and Iulius Africanus furnamed Saturnel was the establisher of the Babylonian Monarchie, of whom there is no other thing written, then that his Empire in the beginning confifted of those foure Cities before remembred, Babel, Erec, Accad, and 10

Chalne: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into Affyria; and in Affyria built foure more Cities (to wit) Niniue, Rehoboth, Celah, and Refen. And feeing that he spent much time in building Babel it selfe and those adioyning, and that his trauailes were many ere he came into Shinaar: that worke of Babel (fuch as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of Niniue, and the other Cities of Assyria which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie then any thing performed by his Successors in many yeeres after: to whose vndertakings time had given so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an aduancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith Glycas) all these Nations 20 were called Meropes, à sermonis linguarum terrag, divisione; By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

Belus, or Bel, or Iupiter Belus, succeeded Nimrod, after he had reigned 114. yeeres; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of Babylon, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes and over-flowne Marishes which adioyned vntoit. For any of his Warres or Conquests there is no report, other then of his begun enterprise against Sabatius King of Armenia, and those parts of Scythia which Berofus calls Scythia Saga, whose sonne and successor Barzanes became subject and Tributarie to Ninus, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father 30 Belus begunne.

That we are not to maruaile how fo many Kingdomes could be erected about these times: and of VEXORIS of Egypt, and TANAIS of Scythia.



the World so some after Nimrod, (as by the storie of Nimus is made 40 manifest) the causes were threefold, (namely) Oportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Oportunitie being a Princesse liberall and power-full, bestoweth on her sirst Entertayners many times more benefits, then either Fortune can, or Wisedome ought; by whose presence alone the vnderstanding mindes of men receive all those helps and supplyes, which they either want or with for: so as every Leader of a troupe (after the division of tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they possest, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankinde straggled abroade like beasts in a Defart; but that by a-50 greement they disposed themselves, and vnder-tooke to inhabite all the knowne parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from Babylon and Shinaar, which had Kings, and were peopled in Ninus time, would not have beene possest in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they

CHAP. 10. S.6. of the History of the World.

were; neyther did those that were sent, and trauailed farre off (order being the true parent of prosperous successe) undertake so difficultienterprizes without a Conduther or Commander. Secondly, the Example of Nimrod with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resoluted all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magifirate, theither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the haruest of their owne Trauailes: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatnesse, eyther possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne Ministers o and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the vidertakings and Conquests of Winus (the sonne of Belus ) made it apparent: for hee found every where Kings and Monarches, what way foeuer his Ambition led him in the Warres.

But Nimrod (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to vs knowne, when he first tooke on him Soueraignetie and sole commandement of all those the children of Noah, which came from the East into Babylonia: though in his life time others also rayled themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. Belus (his sonne and Successour) found Sabatius King of Armenia and Scythia, infficiently powerfull to relist his attempts: which Sabatius I take to bee the same, which Iustine cals Tanais; 20 and should coniecture, that Mizraim had beene his Vexoria, were it not that I vehemently suspect some errour, (as Iustine placeth him) in the time of that Vexoris, who See more of by many circumstances seemes to me rightly accounted by the Iudicious and Lear-this, I.a. of this and Reinsecting all one with the great Saladies, that lived contains Accounting the first Parties. ned Reineccius all one with the great Sefostris, that lived certaine Ages after Winus. 1,5,6 This Belus, the second King of Babylon, raigned 65. yeeres, according to the common

at It

VI.

Of the name of BELVS, and other names affine unto it.



Hence this second King and Successour of Nimred had the name of Bel, or Belus, question hath beene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by Ninus, then assumed by Belas him-

Cyrillus against Iulian cals the Father of Ninus Arbelus, affirming that hee was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a God: which were it so, then might the name of Belus beethence deriued. But Bel, as many Learned Writers have observed, signifieth the Sunne in the Chaldean Tongue, and therefore did Ninus and Semiramis give that name to their Father, that hee might bee honoured as 40 the Sunne, which the Babylonians worshipped as a God. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the Chaldean Princes, and Babylonian Satrapa: so was it vsed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the Carthaginians and other Nations, as fome Historians have concerned.

To this Bel, or Belus, pertaine (as in affinitie) those voyces of Baal, Baalins, Belphegor, Beelphagor, Belsebub, and Beelsephon. Those that are learned in the Hebrew and Chaldean convert the word Baal by the Latine, Princeps militia, Chiefe in the Warre; though Daniel was so called (sayth Svidas) Ob honorem explications arcanarum rerum; In bonour of his expounding secrets. Saint Hierome makes Bel, Beel, and Baal, to have the Hier. in Ofic. 1. fame fignification: and fayth, that the Idoll of Babylon was so called, which Ninus in 50 memory of his father fet vp to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offendors. Hence (Sayth Lyranus) came Idolatrie, and the first vse of Images into the World. Isidor Lyrin Sapien. (layth Lyranus) came Idolatrie, and the nrit vie or images into the vvolid. If salome, it doth interprete Bel by Vetus, old or ancient; adding, that as among the Affricans it is Islahse at. taken for Saturne and the Sunne: so in the Punicke or Carthaginian Language it signifi-

eth God. Glycus makes itan Affyrian name properly ; and Iosephus a Tyrian. Hecal-Gaffirmeththat the Idoll which the Moabites worshipped (by them erected on the Mountaine Abegor, or Pear, and called Baal) is the fame which the Latines call Pria-Hieron.in Ofe.c. pus, the God of Gardens; which was also the opinion of Saint Hierome. But that the word Bel, or Beel, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word Beelzebub, the Idoll of Acceson. For Bel, or Beel foundeth (God) and Sebub (Flies or Hornets, ) by which name (notwithstanding) the Iemes expresserbe Prince of Denilso But the Prophet Ofe teacheth vs the proper fignification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; And at that day (farth the Lord) thou shalt call mee Is HI , and shalt call mee no more BAALIM: for I will take away the name of BAALIM out of their mouthes. For al- 10 though the name of Bad, or Babal, be infly to bee vied towards God; yetin respect that the same was given to Idols, God both hated it and forbadit. And the ving of the word Belamong the Chaldeans for the Sunne, was not because it properly fignifieth the Sunne, but because the Sunne there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was, tanquam Selis particula. As for the wordes compounded (before remembred (as Belpheger, and Belsephon; Belsephon is expounded out of FACIVS; Dominus Specula vel castodie, The Lord of the Watch-towre, or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written Belpeor, or Baalpeor : and Peor (they say) is as much as Denudauit ; and therefore the word loyned expresseth a naked Image. Somethere are that call this Belus, the some of Se-20 turne: for it was vied among the Ancients to name the Father Saturne, the Sonne Austor de equi. Iupiter, and the Grand-child Hercules. SATVENI dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regum qui vibes condiderunt senisimi; primogeniti corum Ioves & Ivnones; Her-CVLES vero nepotes corum fortifimt; The ancientest of Noble Families, and Kings which founded Cities, are called SATVRNES; their first-borne IVPITERS and IVNOES; their valient Nephewes Hercules. Butthis Belus (fayth L. Viues) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne Ninus, who caused his Father to bee worshipped as a God by the name of Iupiter Babylonius, whom the Egyptians (transported by the Dreames of their Antiquitie) make one of theirs. For Neptune (fay they) vpon Libya the Daughter of Epaphus begat this Iupiter Belus , who was Father to Agyptus. They 30 adde, that this Belus carrying a Colonie to the River of Euphrates there built a Citie, in which he ordained Priests after the Agyptian manner. But were there any Belia the sonne of Epaphus and Isis, or of Neptune and Libya, or (with Eusebrus ) of Telegonus, who after the death of Apis married Iss, (Ceerops then raigning in Athens) the same was not this Babylonian Belus of whom wee speake, but rather some other Belus, of

Diod.l.z.

Of the worshipping of Images begunne from Belvs in Babel.



whom the Egyptians so much vaunted.

S for the Babylonian Belus, hee was the most ancient Belus, and the Inuentour of Aftronomie, if Plinie fay true: from whence the Agyptians might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Authour affirmeth that it remained in his time,

Of the Sepulchre of Belus, Strabo writeth thus. Ouer the River (fayth hee) there are Gardens, where they say the ruines of BELVS bis Tombe, which XERXES brake up, are yetremaining. It was a square Pyramis made of Bricke, a furlong high, and on 50 LA continuian. every side it had a furlong in breadth. It appeares by Cyril against Julian, that hee obtained divine worthip yet living: for to hee writes of him (calling him ARBELVS.) ARBELVS, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitais nomen accepisse : perseuer arunt igitur Assyry , & sinitime illis gentes sacrificantes ei.

CHAP.10. S.7. of the History of the World. ARBELVS, aman very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all menthat was ever honoured by their subjects with title of Deitie; (or with the name of God.) The Ally-

rians therefore and the bordering N ations have perseuered, sacrificing to him. Even Arius also, whom Suidas cals Thuras, who succeeded next after Ningas, was made an Idoll-

god among them, if we credit Suidas.

After Ninus (that is, after Ninyas) Thuras raigned (faith Suidas) whom they called after the name of the Planet Mars; a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to Cauca (us of the Stocke of Japheth flue him. The Assyrians worthipped him for their God, and called him Baal (that is) Mars; thus farre Suidas. Neither is it vnlikely but that many among Idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or soone after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and Statue were first erected without divine worship, only in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as Glycas rightly conceineth; and so afterward the Denill crept into those woodden and brazen carcasses, when Posteritie had lost the memorie of their first invention. Hereof Isidore speaketh in this manner: Quos autem Pagani Deos afferunt homines fuerunt, & pro uniufcuiufá, vita meritis vel magnificentia, coirapud fuos post mortem caperunt: sed ( Damonibus persuadentibus ) quos illi pro sua memoria benerauerunt, minores Deos existimarunt: ad istavero magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta; They were men (fayth he) whom the Pagans affirmed to be Gods: and energy 20 one for his merits or magnificence beganne after his death to bee honoured of his owne. But at length (the Deuil's perswading) they accounted them lesser Gods, whose memories, they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honours of the dead) much more Superstitious.

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heather Nations, it is not Isidore alone that witnesseth; but Gregorie: Gentilitas (fayth hee) Greg. Neocestar. inuentrix & caput est imaginum; Gentilisme is the inuentresse and ground of Images; and Ambrose: Gentes lignum adorant, tanguam imaginem Det: The Gentiles adore wood as it Ambros in Plat. were the Image of God. Eufebius also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping 108. of Images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint Augustine August 11. 20 against Adimantus. Et verentur (fayth Lactantius) nereligio vana sit, sinibil Latiliba.c.26 videant quod adorent; They feare their Religion would bee vaine, should they not fee that

which they worthip.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shift this fearefull custome very strangely. For feeing the very workemanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wife Christian fatisfie it felfe with the distinction of Doulia and Hyperdoulia, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should straine their wits to defend the vie of those things, which the Scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expresly in many places forbidden, and cursed the Practifers thereof. 40 Yetthis doctrine of the Deuill was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandement of God himselfe, Thou shalt not make any graven Image, nor all the threatnings of Moses and the Prophets after him could remooue, weed it, or by feare, or by any persuasions lead the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer infraction then these? Take therefore good heed to your selves ( for yee saw no image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horebout of the midst of the fire ) that yee corrupt not your selves; and make you a graven Image, or representation of any Figure, whether it bee the likenesse of Male or

And besides the expresse Commandement, Thou shalt make thee no grauen Image, 50 and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the Booke of wisedome, That the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neyther shall they continue for

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the wor-

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4.cap.31.

shipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that Mojes spake of Images of the liuing God, and not of Bad and the rest of that nature, for you faw no Image (sayth Mo-SES) that day that the Lord fake unto you in Horeb. Surely it was excellently favd of BASIL; Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas cum mente tua: Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too. Now. if the great Bafil thought it a prefumption valawfull to represent a patterne of the infinite God to our owne thoughts and mindes, how farre doe those men presume that put him under the greazie Penfill of a Painter, or the rustie Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer.

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in Babel: 10 fo did the Deuill transport and speed this invention into all the Regions adioyning,

and into Agypt and Greece.

The Romanes for a while resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, resuling to set them in their Temples for 170. yeeres, observing therein the Law of Numa: who thought it impietie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But Tarquinius Priscus afterwards prevailing, and following the vanitie of the Gracians (a Nation of all others under the Sunne most deluded by Satan) setup the Images De ciuit Dei, li, of their Gods; which (as Saint Augustine witnesseth) that Learned Varro both bewailed, and vtterly condemned : and which Seneca thus derideth; Simulachradeorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant, & cum hac suspiciant, fabros 20 qui illa fecere contemmunt; The Images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray unto with bended knees; those they adore, and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the Handi-craftsmen that made them : which also Sedulius the Poet in this sort scoffethat:

> Heumiseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro Religiofa fibi fculpunt simulachra, suumg, Factorem fugiunt, & que fecere verentur. Quis furor est? que tanta animos dementia ludit? Vt volucrem, turpemg, bouem, toruumg, Draconem, Semi-hominemý, canem supplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities, And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart. Who their owne Maker (God on high) despise, And feare the worke of their owne hands and art. What furie? what great madnesse doth beguile Mens minds? that man should vgly shapes adore, Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuice was barbarous, and first, and many yeeres practifed by Heathen Nations onely, till the lewes were corrupted in Agypt, yet it is not Seneca alone that laugheth to scorne the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but Iustin Martyr remembreth how the Sibyls inneighed against Images: and Hospinian, how Sophoeles taught, that it was pernicious to the soules of men to erect and adore those Babels. Strabe and Herodotus witnesse, that the Persians did not erect or set up any Statue of their Gods. Lycurgus never taught it the Lacedamonians, but thought it impietie to represent immortall natures by mortall Figures. Eusebius also witnesseth in his sixt Booke de praparatione Euangelica, that it was forbidden by a Law in Serica, 50 or among the Brachmans in India, that Images should be worshipped. The same doe Tacitus and Crinitus report of the ancient Germans. Many other Authours might bee remembred that witnesse the disdaine which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatrie: of which Hospinian hath written at large in his Tract, de origin

imacinum. Andit was truly said, Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt, Allillexamples have forung from good beginnings. The Heathen at first made these Statue and Images, but in memorie of fuch remarkable men, as had descrued best of their Countries and Common-wealths: Effigies hominum (fayth PLINIE) non (olchant exprimi, nisaliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium: Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembred. And though of the more ancient Papists, some have borrowed of the Gentiles (as appeareth in Lactantius) that defence for Images: That Simulachra are pro climentis literarum, ot per es discerent homines Deum inuisibilem cognoscere: Images (say they, and so before them to the Heathen Said) are in flead of Letters, whereby men might learne to know the inuifible God: in which viderstanding (perhaps they no otherwise esteemed them then Pi-Aures indeed; yet as that of Baal or Bel fet up in memorie of Belue the Babylanian, became afterwards the most reucrenced Idoll of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himselfe) were missed and cast away: so those very stockes and stones, and painted Canuales (called the pictures of christ, our Ladie, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. On these slockes wee call (layth the Booke of Wisedome) when we passe through the raging waves, on these slockes more rotten then the Ship that carieth ws.

CHAP.10.S.7. of the History of the World.

This Heathen invention of Images became so fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diffinguish them into degrees and orders; as Dy Confentes, seu maiorum gentium; selecti, Patrity, in seniores, dy medii: Counselling Gods, or Gods of the mightiest Nobilitie, scleet Gods, Patrian, Gods of marke, and common Gods (which the Romanes called Medioxumi) dij infimi, and terrestriall Heroes, and multitudes of other Gods: of which Saint Jugustine hath made largemention in his Booke de Ciuitate Dei. But (faith Lactantius) among all those Lib.14, milerable foules and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did Epimenides Cretensis (by what good Angell mooned I know not) erect in the Athenian Fields, Altars to the vnknowne God, which stood with the same title and dedi-20 cation even to the times of Saint Paul: who made them first know to whom those Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discerne the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth enery man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherin the Deuil had so many yeeres led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these Gods was so great in generall, or that euerie Nation had some one which tooke particular and singular care of them; as Iupiter in Creete, Ilis in Agypt, in Athens Minerua, in Samos Juno, in Paplios Venus, and fo of all other parts; but every Citie, and almost every Family had a God a-part. For as it is written in the second of Kings: the men of Babel, made Succoth Benoth, and the Capaty, 20,18-21 men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Aums made 40 Nibhaz and Tarrak, and the Sephernaims burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech. All which how plainly hath the Prophet Elay derided? Men cut clowne Trees, rinde them, burne a part of them, make readie their meate, and warme themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketha God; an Idoll, and prayeth unto it : but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their hearts from understanding. It is therefore safest for a Christian to beleeue the Commandements of God so direct against Idolatrie, to beleeue the Prophets, and to believe Saint Paul: who speaketh thus plainely and feelingly, cap. 44.

Jee what I fay.

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d. VIII.

My beloued, flye from Idolatrie, I speake as unto them which have under standing, indge

Q. VIII.

Of the Warres of NINVS: and lastly of his warre against

NTO this Belw succeeded Ninw, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that injuriously invaded to the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that injuriously invaded to the exercise of the commanded the com ces; and the first that without shame or feare committed adulterie in publique. But as of Belus there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) fo of this Winus (whole Storie is gathered out of Pro. 10

phane Authours) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may bee disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of Berofus set out and commented vpon by Annius, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as Chytraus noteth) to the vinderstanding of Diodorus Siculus, Dion, Halycarnassaus, and others: yet Lodouicus Viues, B. Rhenanus, and others after them have layed open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proouing directly that it cannot bee the fame Berofus which lived in Alexanders time, cited by Athenaus and lofephus: and whose Statue the Athenians erected, sayth Plinie. Yet it is from him chiefely, that many haue gathered the succession of the Babylonian and Assyrian Princes, euen from Wimrod to the eighteenth King Afcatades, and to the times of Iofua. For of Metafibe- 20 nes an Historian, of the Race of the Persian Priests, there are found but certaine Papers, or some few lines of the Chaldean and Assyrian Monarchies : but hee afterwards in the collection of the Persian Kings is not without his errours.

Ctesias of Cnidus (a Citie adioyning to Halicarnassu) who lived together with Cyrus the yonger, and with Artaxerxes Mnemon, gathered his Historie out of the Perfiam Records, and reacheth as farre vpwards as Ninus and Semiramis: and though in the Storie of Cyrus the yonger, Xenophon approoueth him in some things, and Athenaus, Pansanias and Tertullian cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whom he lived, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of Ninus, and especially of Semiramis; as what soeuer his re- 30 ports were, times haue confumed his workes, fauing some very few excerptions late-

ly published. And therefore in things vncertaine, seeing a long discourse cannot bee pleasing to men of judgement, I will passe ouer the Acts of this third Assyrian, in as few words as I can expresse them. Saint Angustine affirmes that Ninus mastered all Asia, India excepted. Others say that he wanne it all, saue India, Bactria, and Arabia. For he made Aricus of Arabia the Companion of his Conquests, with whom hee entred into a straight league of amitie, because he commanded many people and was his Kinsman, and a Chuste, and the neerest Prince confronting Babylonia. His first enterprize was vpon Syria, which he might easily subdue, both because he inuaded it on the sodaine, 40 and because it lay next him: and also because the Arabians and their King Aricus (which bordered Syria) affisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The King of Armenia, Barzanes, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre against Zoroaster : for from Armenia hee bent himselse that way toward the East; but that euer he commanded the lesser Asia, I doe not beleeue, for none of his Successours had any possession therein.

His third Warre was against Pharnus, King of the Medes, whom it is fayd that hee ouerthrew, and cruelly murthered with his feuen children, though others affirme that they all dyed in one battaile against him. Whether hee invaded Zoroaster beforethe building or amplifying of Niniue, or after, it is uncertaine. It is faid that 50 he made two expeditions into Bactria: and that finding little or ill successe in the first, he returned, and set the worke of Niniue forward: and then a second time entred Bactria with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horse, and 10000. sixe hundred Cha-

of the History of the World. CHAP.11. S.I.

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riots: being encountred by Zoroaster with 400000. But Ninus preuayling, and Aug.de Cinic. Zoroafter flaine, he entred farther into the Countrie, and belieged the chiefe Citie Dei. thereof, called Bactra or Bactrion (faith Stephanus:) which by a passage found, and steph.devrb. an assault given by Semiramis (the wife of Menon) he entred and possest. Voon this occasion Winus both admiring her judgement and valour, together with her person and externall beautie, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yeelding to the passion of loue in Ninus , and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong perswasions of shame and dishonor, cast himselfe head-long into the water and dved.

## CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, supposed to have beene the chiefe Author of Magick arts: and of the divers kindes of Magicke.

That ZOROASTER was not CHAM, nor the first Inventer of Astrologie, or of Magicke : and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.



OROASTER King of the Bactrians, Vincentius Supposeth to be Cham, the sonne of Noah : A fancie of little probabilitie. For Cham was the Paternall Ancester of Ninus, the Father of Chus, the Grand-father of Nimrod, whose sonne was Belus, the Father of Ninus. It may be that Vincentius had heard of that booke which was called Scriptura Cham, deuised by some wicked Knaue, and so intituled: of which Sixtus Senensis hath made the due mention.

It is reported by Cassianus, that Serenus Abbas gaue cassian. in Ocia.

the invention of Magicke to Cham, the sonne of Noah: Col. cap.22.

so did Comestor in his Scholasticall Historie: which Arte (saith he) with the seven liberall Sciences he writ in fourteene Pillers: seuen of which were made of brasse, to resist the defacing by the waters of the Floud; and seuen of brick against the iniurie of fire. There was also another deuised discourse, which went vnder the title of Prophetia Cham. Casianus out of Serenus hath somewhat like vnto this of Comester. These be Cassianus wordes: CHAM (filius NOAH) qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super hijs memorialem librum in Arcam prossusinferre, in quaerat cum patreiusto, &c. CHAM (the sonne of NOAH) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any 50 booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein he was to remayne with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be grauen in metall and hard stone.

S. Augustine noteth that Zoroaster was said to have laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attayned vnto: being taken for the Inuenter of naturall Maguek and other Arts; for the

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Corrupter, saith Plinie and lustine. But I doe not thinke that Zoroaster invented the doctrine of the Horoscopes or Natimities ; or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and mineralls, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of Chaldea is also made the Inuenter. I rather thinke that these knowledges were farre more ancient, and left by Noah to his sonnes. For Ibraham who had not any acquaintance with Zoroaster, (as Iosephus reporteth) was no lesse learned herein then any other in that age, if he exceeded not all menthen liuing: differing from the wisedome of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giver of life and vertue to nature and all naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed; and yniuer all power) admired to the instruments, and attributed proper strength to the things themselues, (from which the effects were fensible) which belonged to that wisedome, which being one, and remagning in it selfe, can doe all things and reneweth all.

Now whether this Zoroaster (ouer-throwne by Ninus) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For Zoroaster the Magician, Ctessas calls Oxyartes, whom Plinie findes of a later time. And if Zoroaster were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then Zoroalter, flaine by Ninus, was not the Magician: which is also the opinion of Scaliger.

Scalig.in Eufeb. lofep. lib. 1. Antiq. c.4.

11'ifed. c.7.

Againe, lofephus and Cedrenus affirme, that Seth firft found out the Planets, or wandring Starres, and other Motions of the Heanens: for if this arte had been in- 20 uented by Zoroaster, he could not have attayned to any such excellencie therein, in his owne life time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular judgement, he might adde somewhat to this kinde of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to posteritie.

But of this Zoroaster there is much dispute : and no lesse iangling about the word and arte of Magick. Arnobius remembreth foure, to whom the name of Zoroafter, or Zoroastres was given : which by Hermodorus and Dinon seemeth to be but a rognomen, or name of arte, and was as much to fay, as aftrorum cultor. The first, Arnobius calleth the Bactrian, which may be the same that Ninus ouerthrew: the second, a Chaldesn, and the Astronomer of Ninus: the third was Zoroaster Pamphylius, who liued in the time of Cyrus, and his familiar: the fourth, Zoroaster Armenius, the Ne-30 phew of Hostianes, which followed Xerxes into Greece: betweene whom and Cyrus there past threescore and eighteene yeeres. Suidas remembreth a fift, called Persone. dus sapiens : and Plate speaketh of Zoroaster the sonne of Oromas des ; which Picus Mirandula confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe Zoroaster was, it is doubted. Plinie and Laertius make hima Persian. Gemisshius or Pletho, Ficinus and Steuchius, make hima Chaldean. But by those bookes of one Zoroaster, found by Picus Mirandula, it appeareth plainely, that the Author of them was a Chaldean by Nation, though the word (Chaldean) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of Nations. Porphyrius makes the Chaldai and Magi diners; Picus the same. 40 But that this Zoroaster was a Chaldean both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Bookes, which (faith Piens) were written in the Chaldean tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the Magi and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those bookes of Zoroaster, which in an Epistle of Mirandula to Ficinus, he saith, to be intituled, Patris EZRE ZOROASTRIS, & MELCHIOR magorum oracula.

è. II.

Of the name of Magia : and that it was anciently farre divers from Conjuring, and Witcheraft.

Ow for Magicke it felfe; which Arte (faith MIRANDVLA) pauci intelli- Picamir fol.81. gunt; multi reprehendunt; Few understand, and many reprehend. Et sicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant; As Dogs barke at those they know not: so they condemne and hate the things they understand not: I thinke it bis hos horamiffe (leaning Ninus for awhile) to speake somewhat thereof.

10: It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (Magus) because of Simon Magus: who being indeede, not Magus, but Goes, (that is) familiar with cuill foirits, viurped thattitle. For Magicke, Conjuring, and Witcherie, are farre differing Arts, whereof Plinie being ignorant (coffeth thereat. For Nero (laith Plinie) who Plin 1.30 hif. had the most excellent Magicians of the East sent him by Tyridates King of Arme- Nat. nia, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the arte after long fludie and labour

altogether ridiculous. Magus is a Persian word primitively, whereby is exprest such a one as is altoge- Porphyr. of Ather conversant in things divine. And (as Plato affirmeth) the arte of Magicke is the Plato in Alex

arte of worthipping God, To which effect Apollonius in his Epiftles expounding the 20 word (udges) faith, that the Persians called their gods udges: whence he addeth that Mague is either & xt ovor seds or seggraving sear (that is) that Mague is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the service of God: in which latter sense it is taken, Matth. 2. v.I. And this is the first and highest kinde: which Piccolominie calleth divine Magicke: and these did the Latines newly Piccol, d. Defin. intitle Sapientes or Wisemen: For the feare & worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. Proneth. 1.7. These Wisemen the Greekes call Philosophers : the Indians, Brachmans : which name they 10bn HIIZ. fomewhat neerely retayne to this day, calling their Priests Bramines; among the Lington. exptians they were termed Priests; with the Hebrewes they were called Cabalistes, Prophets. Scribes, and Pharifees: amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by 30 the name of Chaldeans: and among the Persians, Magicians: of whom Arnobius (spea-

king of Hostanes, one of the ancient Magicians) vieth these wordes: Et verum Deum In offanio Mimerita maiestate profequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, fed veri, eius venerationi nouit af- mun Faminiscum sistere, Idem damonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos; Sosthenes (for so M.Fælix calleth him, not HosTANES) eftribeth the due maieflie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hash delivered that there are Devills earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankinde.

HIS MAIESTIE also in his first Booke of Damonologie c. 2. acknowledgeth, that in the Persian tongue the word (Magus) imports as much as a contemplator of di-40 uine & heavenly sciences; but vniustly so called, because the Chaldeans were ignorant of the true divinitie. And it is also right which HIS MALESTLE auoweth, that vnder the name of Magick al other vulawfull arts are comprehended, and yet doth His MAJESTIE distinguish it from Necromancie, Witcher aft, and the rest : of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the Magicke which HIS MAIESTIE Damonolog, 1.2. condemneth, is of that kinde whereof the Deuil is a partie. Daniel in his second chap- cap. 1. ter nameth foure kindes of those Wisemen: Arioli, Magi, Malesici, and Chaldai. Arioli the old Latine translation calleth Sophistes: Vatablus and Pagninus, Genethliacos, or Physues, or Philosophers, or (according to the note of Vatablus) Naturalists: Nempe sunt Magiapud Barbares, quod Philosophi apud Gracos (scilicet) dininarum humanarumg, verum 50 Scientiam profitentes: For the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the Gracians (that is) men that professe the knowledge of things both dinine and

humane. The Greeke and the English call them Inchanters; Junius, Magicians; Castalion, Coniecturers: in the Syrian they are all foure by one name called Sapientes Babylonis; The Wisemen of Babel.

The second sort Vatablus, Pagnin, Iunius, and our English, call Astrologers; Hierome and the Septuagint, Magisians.

The third kinde are Malefici, or Venefici; in Hierome, Pagnin, and the Septuagint. Witches, or Poyloners . in Iunius, Prastigiatores, or Sorcerers, as in English.

That Witches are also rightly so called Venefici, or Poyloners; and that indeede there is a kinde of Malefici, which without any arte of Magicke or Mecromancie vse the helpe of the Deuill to doe mischiese, H is MAIESTIE confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Booke: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Deuill prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwise (asit were Suoramentali- 10 ter) to effect those things, which the Deuill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call Chaldeans: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the Starres by them observed, and vinderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of Magicke, having chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfait the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kinde of Magicke was that part of Astrologie, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kindes of agriculture and hulbandrie: which was a know 20 ledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower Elements.

Philo Indans goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of Magicke or Aftrologie, together with the motions of the Starres and other heavenly bodies, Abraham found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in Chaldaa : Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognouit Creatorem, (faith Io. DAMASCEN.) Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature. Iosephus reporteth of Abraham, that he instructed the Agyptians in Arithmeticke and Astronomie, who before ABRAHAMS comming unto them knew none of thefe friences.

And so doth Archangelus de Burgo, in defence of Murandula against Garsias: ALEX-ANDER & EVPOLEMON dicant, quod ABRAHAM fanctitate & sapientia omniam 30 prastantisimus Chaldaos primum, deinde Phanices, demum Agyptios sacerdotes Astrolegiam & diuina docuerit; ALEXANDER (faith he, meaning ALEXANDER POLYHI-STOR) and EVPOLEMON affirme, that ABRAHAM the holyest and wifest of men, did first teach the Chaldeans, then the Phanicians, lastly, the Ægyptian Priests, Astrologic

See vpon his

De vit, fanet.

The third kinde of Magicke contayneth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brabblings of the Ariltotelians, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of natures hidden bosome to humane vse, Virtutes in centro centri latentes; Vertues hidden in the center of the center, according to the Chymifi. Of this fort were Albertus, Arnoldus de villanoua, Raymond, Bacon, and many others: 40 and before these, in elder times, and who better understood the power of nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that fuffer, were Zeroaster before spoken of: Apollonius Tyanaus remembred by S. Hierome to Paulinus; in some mens opinion Numa Pompilius among the Romanes: among the Indians, The/pian: among the Egyptians, Hermes: among the Babylonians, Budda: the Thracians had Zamolxu: the Hyperborians (as is supposed) Abbaru : and the Italians, Petrus Aponensis. The Magicke which these men profest is thus defined : Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, vt inde opera prodeant non fine corum admiratione qui causamignorant; Magicke is the connexion of natural agents \* Totoin mun- and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such 50 effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes. In all these three kindes do lucet Trias, cuius Monas est princeps, cuntia which other men divide into foure, it seemeth that Zoroaster was exceedingly learnamque perfecit ned especially in the sirst and highest. For in his Oracles he confesset God to be tradidit feeude. the Creator of the Vniuersall: he beleeueth of the \* Trinitie, which he could not in-

nestigate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of Paradise: anproueth the immortalitie of the foule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Loue.difcourfing of the Abstinence and Charitie of the Magi: which Oracles of his, Pfelliss, Pfell & Ficin. Ficinus, Patritius, and others have gathered and translated.

Of this Zoroaster, Eufebius in the Theologie of the Phanicians, vling Zoroasters owne wordes : Hac ad verbum scribit (faith Evsebivs) Deus primus incorruptibi- De prep. Euane. lium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibijpsi simillimus, benorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissmus, pater iuris, sine doctrina iustitiam perdo-Eus natura perfectus, sapiens, sacrenature vnicus inventor, &c. Thus writeth ZOROA-STER word for word. God the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts. most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wifest, the father of right, having learn'd suffice without teaching, perfect wife by nature, the onely inventer thereof.

Sixtus Senensis speaking of the wisedome of the Chaldeans, doth distinguish those Lib. 2. fol. 45, wise men into fine orders, (to wit) Chascedim, or Chaldeans: Asaphim, or Magicians: Chartumim; (which he translates Arioli, or Sophists) Mecasphim, or Malefici, or Venefici ; Witches, or Poyloners; and Gazarim Augures, or Aruspices, or Dininers.

Chalcodim were those which had the name of Chaldeans, which were Astronomers: Hij colorum motus diligentissime spectarunt; These did most diligently contemplate the mo-

to tions of the heavens: whom Philo in the life of Abraham describeth.

Alaphim were in the old Latine translation called Philosophers: of the Septuagint and of Hierome, Magicians: Qui de omnium tam diumarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philosophati funt; Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane: of whom Origen makes Balaam (the sonne of Beer) to be the first : but Lacrtius ascri- Lacrting beth the invention of this arte to Zoroastres the Persian.

Chartumim, or Inchanters, the Disciples (faith Saint Augustine, Plinie, and Iustine) of another Zoroaftres: who corrupted the admirable wifedome of the Magi, which

he received from his Ancesters.

Mecasphim, or Venefics, or Witches, are those of which we have spoken alreadie out 20 of H 18 MAIESTIES booke of Damonologia.

Gazarim, or Arufpices (after S. Hierome) which divine from the entrailes of beafts flaine for facrifices: or by Gazarim others understand Augures, who divine by the

flying, finging, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceive the difference betweene those wise men which the Kings of Babylon entertayned; and that the name and profession of the Magi among the ancient Persians was most honest. For as Peucer truely obserueth, Praerant religioni Persica, ut in populo Dei Leuita, studysą, vera Philosophia dediti erant: Peucer de Dininec quifquam Rex Perfarum poterat effe, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamg, natimode mag. percepifet; The Magi (faith he) were the chiefe Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the 40 Leuites among Gods people, and they were given to the studies of true Philosophie : neyther could any be King of the Persians, who had not first beene exercised in the mysterics and knowledge of the Magi. SIXTVS SENENSIS in defence of Origen against Polychronius and Theophilus, hath two kindes of Magicke, his owne wordes are these: Et ne quem Bibl. 6. fol. 42.4; moucant pramissa Polychronis & Theophili testimonia, sciendum est duplicem effe Magiam; alteram vbig, ab ORIGINE damnatam, que per fudera cum damonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab ORIGINE laudatam, qua ad practicen naturalis philosophia pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentium ac patientium; That the testimonies of THEO-PHILVS and POLYCHRONIVS (faith he) may not mooue any man, it is to be under-50 Stood that Magicke is of two forts, the one enerywhere condemned by ORIGEN; which worketh (whether truely or feemingly) by covenants made with Devills; the other commended by ORIGEN; which appertayneth to the practick part of naturall Philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally. This partition Hierome doth embrace in the first of his

Commentaries vpon Daniel: where considering of the difference which Daniel makes betweene these foure kindes of wise Men formerly remembred, he vseth this distin-Rion : Quos nos hariolos ; ceteri emaises (id est) incantatores interpretati funt , videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; malestei, qui sanguine viuntur & victimis, & sape contingunt corpora mortuorum : porro in Chaldeis Genethliacos fignificari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Confuetudo autem communis Ma. gos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint Philosophi Chaldaorum : & ad artis huius (cientiam Reges quoq, & Principes ein dem gentis omnia faciant : vade & in natiuitate Domini Saluatoris ipsi primum ortum eius intellexerunt, & venientes in fanct am Bethlehem adorauerunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente; They whom we call 10 Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seeme to me such as performe things by wordes: Maricians, fuch as handle every thing philosophically , Witches, that we bloud and facrifices. and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the Chaldaans I take them to be signified by the name of Coniccturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their owne Nation: for they are the Philosophers of the Chaldaans: yea Kings and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this arte: whence at the nativitie of the Lord our Sautour they first of all understood his birth , and comming unto holy Bethlehem did worship the Child: the starre from about shewing him unto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference betweene the doctrine of a Mazician, and 20 the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirme, that Magus hodie dictur, qui ex fædere facto vittur diaboli opera adrem quamcung,; That he is called a Magician now adayes, who having entred league with the Devill, vfeth his helpe to any matter : yet (as our Saujour faid of Dinorce) it was not so from the beginning. For the Arte of Magicke is of the wisedome of Nature; other Artes which vnder-goe that title, were inuented by the fallhood, subtletie, and enuie of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other doctrine, then the vie of certayne ceremonies, Per malam fidem, By an euil faith: in the former no other ill, then the inuestigation of those vertues and hidden properties. which God hath given to his Creatures, and how fitly to apply things that worketo things that fuffer. And though by the lewes, those excellent Magicians, Philosophers, 30 and Dinines, which came to worship our Saujour Christ, were termed Mechaschephim, or Mecasphim; yet had they no other reason, then common custome therein. Consuctudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit; Common custome (saith S.H I ER OME) Hieron in Da-Pet, Mart, Loci. Under standeth Witches under the name of Magicians: And antiquitie (faith Peter Martyr) by the word (Magi) under stood good and wife men. Quid igitur expansions Maginomen formidolose, nomen Euangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem Mar. Ficin part. Sonat & Sacerdotem? Othou fearefull one (faith FICINVS) why doubtest thou to wee the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Golpell, which doth not fignifie a witch or Consurer, but a wise man and a Priest? For what brought this slander to that studie and profesfion but only idleignorance: the parent of causelesse admiration? Causa fuit mursti-40 centia quorundam operum, quare vera opera naturalia sant : veruntamen quia procuratione damonum natur as ipfas vel consungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera demonum credebantur ab ignorantibus bac. De operibus buius-Gul. Parifico. de modi est Magianaturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant; The maruelousnesse

of some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath beene the cause of this slander : but because Lege, cap.14. these workes have beene done by procurement of Deuils, toyning the natures together or mingling them, or how soeuer fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the

Fal. 30.

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call very improperly Necromancie. Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: For by understanding (faith he) the vt- 50 termost activitie of naturali agents we are assisted to know the Divinitie of Christ : for otherwife (to vie his owne wordes) ignoratis terminis potentia & virtuits rerum naturalium stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, qua fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not understood, we must needes doubt whether those

workes of the Deuils by the ignorant. Among these workes is natural Magicke, which men

verie workes which Christ did may not bee done by natural meanes: after which he goeth on in this fort: Ideo non harctice, non superstitiose dixi, sed verisime & Catholice per talem Magiam adiunari nos in cognoscenda diunitate Christi: Therefore I (aid not heretically, not Superstitiously, but most truly and Catholikely, that by Such Magicke wee are furthered in knowing the Divinitie of Christ. And seeing the lewes and others the enemies of Christian Religion, doe impudently and impiously object, that those Miracles which Christ wrought were not aboue Nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: Mirandula a man for his yeeres fuller of knowledge then any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason auow, that the vttermost of 10 Natures workes being knowne, the workes which Christ did, and which (as himselfe witneffeth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselues, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature therein but as a Pencill, and by a power infinitely supreme and divine; and thereby those that were faithlesse, were eyther converted or put to filence.

d. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Mugicke is not to bee condemned: though the Deuill here as in other kinds hath fought to obtrude euill things, under the name and colour of good things.



Reing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a Magician (according to the Persian word) is no other then, Dimnorum cultor of interpres: A studious observer and expounder of divine things : and the Art it selfe (I meane the Art of naturall Magicke) no other, Quam naturalis

Philosophia absoluta consummatio; Then the absolute perfection of naturall Philosophie: Certainely then it proceedeth from common ignorance, and no way forteth with wife and learned men promitene and without difference and distinction. to confound lawfull and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to vse 30 Saint Pauls words) with those beggerly rudiments, which the Deuill hath shuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth gracelesse men. For if we condemne naturall Magicke, or the wifedome of Nature, because the Deuill (who knoweth more then any man) doth also teach Witches and Poysoners the harmefull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, and Excrements: then may wee by the fame rule condemne the Physician, and the Art of healing. For the Deuill also in the Oracles of Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius, and the like, taught men in Dreames what Herbes and Drugges were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of sudgement is ignorant, that the Deuill from the beginning hath fought to thrust himselfe into the same imployment among the Ministers and Seruants of God, changing him-🖰 selse for that purpose into an Angell of Light. Hee hath led men to Idolatrie as a doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; hee hath corrupted the Art of Astrologie, by giving a divine power to the Starres, teaching men to esteeme them as Gods, and not as instruments. And (as Bunting obser- Bunting chron, ueth) it is true, that indicial! Astrologic is corrupted with many superstitions: but theabuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience shewerh) have and exercise their operation vpon the inferiour. For the Sunne, and the Starre of Marse doe drie; the Moone doth moisten, and governe the Tides of the Sea. Againe, the Planets, as they have severall and proper names, so have they severall and proper vertues: the Starres doe also 50 differ in beautie and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: He counteth the number of the Starres, and calleth them by their names. But into the good Pfal. 147. and profitable knowledge of the celeftiall influences, the Deuill ceafeth not to shuffle

in his Superstitions; and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues of Nature hath he

Ca.8.2017.

fastened his doctrine of Characters, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught mento beleeue in the strength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby eyther to equall his owne with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminish the glorie of Gods creating Word, by whom are all

things. Moreouer, hee was neuer ignorant, that both the wife and the simple observe when the Sea-birds for sake the shores and five into the Land, that commonly some great storme followeth; that the high slying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowes and bathing of Duckes foreshew raine: for they feele the Ayre moistened in their Quils. And it is written in Hieremie the 10 Prophet, Euen the Storkein the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow. Hereupon, this enemie of Mankind working upon these as voon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowles, and thereby to judge of good or ill successe in the Warre: and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the same, as if God had written the secrets of vnsearchable prouidence in the liners and bowels of birds and beasts. Againe, because it pleased God sometimes by Dreames, not only to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as Abimelech to restore Sarato ABRAHAM; because he admonished Ioseph, and by Dreame informed Incob, Laban, Pharao, Salomon, Paul, Ananias, the Magi of the East, and others. For as it is remem- 20 bred in IoB: In Dreames and Visions of the night when sleepe falleth upon men, Go. Then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprize : therefore, I say, doth the Deuill also practise his Dininations by Dreames, or (after Parisensis)

10b.33.17.

G. Parifien. de

leg. 24. sap.

Codex de malefic. O Mathemat.leg.& st ac-

distinitatis imitationes, bis mocke-distinitie. This in the end grew fo common, as ARI-STIDES compiled an Ephemerides of his owne Dreames: Mithridates of those of his Coneubines. Yea the Romanes finding the inconvenience hereof, because all Dreames (without distinction of causes) were drawneto Dinination, forbad the same by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (aut narrandis somny's occultam aliquam artem disimandi) it may appeare. Likewise by the Law of God in Deuteronomie cap. 13. seducing Dreamers were ordered to be flaine. Yet it is to be contemned, not that Marcus An. 30 tonius was told a remedie in his Dreame for two grieuous diseases that oppress him; Aug de cura pro nor that of Alexander Macedon for the cure of Ptolomies poyfoned wound; nor that mortuin agenda. which Saint Augustine reporteth of a Millanoile; whose some (the Father dead) being demanded a debt alreadie payed, was told by his Father in a Dreame where the Acquittancelay to discharge it: nor that of Astyages of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for as much as the cause is not in our selues, this place denieth dispute.

d. IIII.

That DANIELS misliking NABVCHODONOSORS condemning of the Magicians doth not instific all their practices.

VT it may be objected, that if fuch Divination as the Heathens commonly vied were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them verie many and ftrange Reguelations: how came it to passe that Daniel both condemned the hastir sentence of Transition of the passe that Daniel both cians of Chaldea, and in a fort forbad it ? especially considering that

fuch kind of people God himselfe commanded to be slaine. To this divers answeres 50 may be giuen. First, it seemeth that Daniel had respect to those Chaldeans, because they acknowledged that the Dreame of the King, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art eyther Naturallor Diabolicall: For there is none other (layd the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the King, except the Gods,

of the History of the World. CHAP.II. S.5.

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whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they consessed the power of the Euer-liuing

Secondly, it may be coniectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any enill or vulawfull Artes, but were meerely Magicians and Naturalists: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, Daniel perswaded the contrarie, and called it a hastic judgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by Daniels instruction: for himselfe had beene taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters; of 10 which some were termed Sooth fayers, others Astrologians, others Chaldeans, others Magior Wifemen: and therefore of diftin to professions.

Thirdly, Daniel misliked and forbad the execution of that judgement, because it was vniust. For how soeuer those men might descrue punishment for the practice of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Deuill himselfe could not know. So then in Daniels dislike, and hindering of the execution of fentence of death pronounced against the Magicians. there is no absolute instifying of their practice and profession.

The abuse of things which may bee found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right vie of them.



40

Otwithstanding this mixture euery where of good with euill, of falsehood with truth of corruption with cleannesse and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in enery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice; there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrifice to the

30 God of all power, because the Deuill in the Image of Baal, Astaroth, Chemoth, Iupiter, Avollo, and the like was so adored.

Neyther did the abuse of Astrologie terrifie Abraham (if we may beleeve the most ancient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of hea- Euseb ex Artauenly bodies; neyther can it dehort wife and learned men in these dayes from attri- p.m. & Polphile. buting those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heauen, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other vtmost vertues, sometimes taught by the Deuill, and applyed by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable ends, can neuer terrifie the honest 40 and learned Phylician or Magician from the vling of them to the helpe and comfort of Mankind: neyther can the illusions, whereby the Deuill betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreames; so farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make vse of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as signes of good or enill suc- Deut. 18,20). cesse) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowes against Raine, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, wee Thall not only condemne all honest Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceive in all professions) 50 but wee shall in a short time burie in forgetfulnesse all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and couer it ouer with a most scornefull and beggerly ignorance : and (as Plinie teacheth) wee should shew our selues ingratos erga eos, quilabore curag lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce : Vnthankefull we should shew our selucs towards those, who with paines and care have discovered unto us light in this light. Indeed

Cufan.Comp. Theoleg.c.1.

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that areignorant; but the Mathematickes also and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned judge of it in this fort: In speculo Mathematico verum illud, qued in omni scibili quaritur, relucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinanitate : In the Glaffe of the Mathematickes that Truth doth fhine, which is lought in enery kind of knowledge; not in an obscure image, but in a neere and manifest representation.

Q. VI.

Of the divers kindes of unlawfull Magicke.



Specie T is true that there are many Artes, if wee may so call them, which are couered with the name of Magicke: and esteemed abusinely to beeas branches of that Tree, on whose root they neuer grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromancie or Goetia: and of this againe there are divers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graves of the dead to

whom the Deuill himselfe giues answere in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortall soules of men doe not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and vnderstanding to the living death being nothing else but a separation of the bodie and soule: and therefore the soule is not to be found in

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring or of rayling vp Deuils, of whom they hope to learne what they lift. These men are so distract, as they beleeve that by terrible words they make the Denill to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keepe out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtlesse, they forget that the Deuill is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrarie to God and goodnesse, no, not by the searefull Word of the Almightie: and that he feared not to offer to fit in Gods feat, that hee made no scruple to tempt our Sauiour Christ, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an vinworthy wretch will yet resolue himselfe, that hee 20 can drawthe Deuill out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phrase: whereas in verie truth, the obedience which Deuils seeme to vse, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and soules of those which rayle them vp; as His Maiestie in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught: That the Deuils obedience is only, fecundum quid, (cilices ex pacto; respective, that is, upon bargaine.

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Deuils, which inhabite Jamblicas imagination; but fure I am the restare apt enough to come vicalled: and alwayes attending the cogitations of their feruants and vasfals, doe no way

need any fuch inforcement.

Origmay be that these Conjurers deale altogether with Cardans mortall Deuils, 40 following the opinion of Rabbi Auernathan and of Porphyrius, who taught that these kind of Deuils lived not aboue a thousand yeares: which Plutarch in his Treatise de Oraculorum defectu confirmeth, making example of the great God Pan. For were it true that the Deuils were in awe of wicked men, or could bee compelled by them, then would they alwaies feare those wordes and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of Simon Magus when hee had lifted him up in the Ayre, cast him hadlong out of his clawes, when he was sure hee should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. Peters Prayers (of which Eufeb. hist. Eccl. S. Peter no where vaunteth) yet the same pranck at other times vpon his own accord the Deuill played with Theodorus: who transported (as Simon Magus was supposed so to have beene) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had Budas, a principall pillar of the Manich an Herefie, as Socrates in his Ecclefiasticall Historie witnesserh: and for a manifest proofe hereof wee see it euery day, that the Deuill leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallowes, for whom at other times hee ma-

potestatum valde diuisum,indiscretum @ inconfideratum & quod neq, verum à fallo neg, possibile difeernit ab impoffibili. L.Viues in cap. 11.lib.10. Aug.de Ciuit.

Sunt in mundo

genus quoddam

Cufan.exerc.l 2.

Lib. 1 6.21.

keth himselfe a Pegasus, to conneigh them in haste to places farre distant, or at least makes them fo thinke: For to those that received not the truth ( fayth Saint PAYL) God Corint. 5.5. Shall send them strong illusions. Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Maiestie in the second Booke and the fourth Chapter of the Demonologie, hath confirmed by vnanswerable reasons, that they are meerely illufine. Another fort there are who take on them to include Spirits in Glasses and Cristals: of whom Cvs Anvs: Fatui funt incantores, qui in unque & vitro volunt spiritum Exercitat. 1.2. includere : quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore : They are foolish Inchanters which will shut up their spirits within their nailes or in Glasse: for a Spirit cannot beinclosed by a body.

There is also another Art besides the afore mentioned, which they call Theurgia, or white Magicke; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Innocation they draw out of Heauen, and Communicate withall. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due vnto their Creatour: fo feeing they are most free Spirits; there is no man fo abfurd to thinke (except the Deuill have corrupted his viderstanding) that they can bee constrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professiours thereof couer themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the miniflerie of Infants, by falling and abilinence in generall; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or inforcement, 20 are men of euill faith and in the power of Satan. For good Spirits or Angels cannot

be constrained; and the rest are Deuils which willingly obey. Other forts there are of wicked Dininations: as by fire, called Pyromantia: by wa-

ter, called Hydromantia: by the ayre, called Mataotechnia, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is Fascination or Witchcraft: the Practifers whereof are no leffe enuious and cruell, reuengefull and bloudie, then the Deuill himselfe. And these accursed creatures having sold their soules to the Deuil, worke two wayes; either by the Deuillimmediately, or by the art of poyloning. The difference betweene Necromanciers and Witches, His Maieflie hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a fort) command; the other obey the Deuill.

There is another kind of pettie Witcherie (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beafts and Birds, of which Pythagor as was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the Olympian fields. But if the same exceeded the bissor. Art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then Mahomets Doue, which he had vsed to feed with Wheate out of his eare: which Doue, when it was hungrie, lighted on Mahomets shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his breake-fast: Mahomet perswading the rude and simple Arabians, that it was the Holy Ghost that gaue him aduice. And certainely if Bankes had lived in elder times hee would have shamed all the Inchanters of the World: for wholoeuer was most famous among them, could neuer master or instruct any Beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the Marsians a people of Italie practifed : Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu: Inchanting Marsia makes the Snakes to burst.) That it hath beene vsed it appeares, P/al. 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may bee in this kind; and even by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be laied in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other Magicke or Inchantment, then to draw out a Mouse with a

piece of tosted Cheese.

0. VII.

d. VII.

Of diverswayes by which the Deuill (cemeth to worke his wonders.



VT to the end that we may not dote with the Manichees, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not give to the Deuil any other dominion then he hath (not to speake of his abilitie, when hee is the Minister of Gods vengeance, as when Ægypt, according to Dauid, was destroyed by euill Angels) he otherwise worketh but three wayes. The first is by 10 mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The second by the exquisite know-

ledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot worke what they would, G. Partsiens giveth three causes: the first, a naturall impotencie: the second, their owne reason disswading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great mercie of the Sint. parifide v- Creatour, Tenens eas ligat as (fayth the fame Authour) velut immanisimas belluas. Saint ninerfor. 3.2.70. Augustine was of opinion that the Frogges which Pharaes Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Deuill (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appeare to be such. For as Vairus observeth, those Frogges of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of Moses were, which might argue that they were 20 not creatures indeed. Hereof fayth Saint Augustine: Nec fane Damones natural creant, sed que à Deocresta sunt commutant, ve videantur esse quod non sunt : The Deuils create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to beethat which they be not : of which in the 83. Question he giveth the reason. Demon auibuldem

the beame of the mind is wont to open the light of reason. And as Tertullian in his Booke de anima rightly conceineth, if the Deuill can posfesse himselfe of the eyes of our mindes, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazell those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, 30 the Deuill entreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily be-Maxima vii el tray the other faculties of the foule: for the fantalie is most apt to bee abused by

nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentia, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis so-

let, (that is) The Deuillfils with certaine cloudes all passages of the understanding, by which

vaine apprehentions.

phantasia ad er-

De leg.c.24 fol.

Agums on the contrarie held that those Frogges were not imaginarie, but such indeed as they seemed : not made Magica artis ludibrio, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to THOMAS) Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For Moses could not bee deceiued by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint Augustine in another caselike vnto this, (to wit) of the turning of Diomedes his Companions into Birds, per actina cum passinis, inclineth rather to this o- 40 pinion: though I am not perswaded that Saint Augustine beleeued that of Diomedes. And this opinion of Thomas, G. Parisiensis a man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of naturall Mazicke hee vseth these words: De huinsmodi autem operibus est Subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, alierumg, animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutorijs, qua ipsa semina natura confortant & acuunt, ita vt opus generationis tantum accelerent, vt eis qui koc nesciunt non opus natura videatur (qua tardius talia efficere consucuit) sed potentia Damonum, &c.to which he addeth : Qui autem in hijs docti (unt talia non mirantur, fed folum Creatorem in hijs glorificant: In such workes (fayth he) the sodaine generation of Frogges, and Lice, and Wormes, and Some other creatures is : in all which Nature alone worketh; but by meanes 50 strengthning the Seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wife that they so hasten the worke of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to bee the worke of Nature, which V sually worketh more lessurely, but they thinke it is done by the power of Deuils. But they who are learned in thefe Arts maruaile not at fuch working, but glorifie the Creatour. Now by

CHAP.II. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

these two wayes the Deuills doe most frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the vttermost of nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or vnsearchable power, but of God only.

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the ayre, as well as moue it or compresse it; who knowes not that these things are also naturall? Or may it be objected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion? it is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he fore-told the death of Saul, at such time as he was in his 10 owne possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancie of the world to this day, and observed the successe of every counsaile: he that by reason of his swift motions can informe himselfe of all places, and preparations : he that is of counsaile with al those that studie and practise subversion and destruction: Ephes. 2.2. & 6. hethatis Prince of the ayre, and can thence better judge, then those that inhabite 12.

the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes ghesse babes rerum vrightly of things to come (where God pleafeth not to give impediment) it were fum: que res very strange. For we see that wise and learned men doe oftentimes by comparing multum habet like causes conceine rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the uis negatio, Aug. Deuill doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, he euermore answereth by de Anima, 6.26. 20 Riddles, as

CR @ SVS Halym penetrans magnam subuertit opum vim.

If Crasus ouer Halys goe. Great Kingdomes he shall ouerthrow.

Which answere may be taken either way: either for the ouerthrow of his owne Kingdome, or of his Enemies. And thus farre we grant the Deuill may proceed in predictions, which (otherwise) belong to God only; as it is in EsAy: Shew the 20 things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that yee are Gods: shew us at all times and certaynely what is to come. Solius enim divina intelligentia ac sapientia est occulta no se Guil. Parisenso Greuelare; It is only proper to Gods understanding and wifedome, to know and reneale delegit. c. 24. hidden things.

#### VIII.

That none was ever ray/ed from the dead by the power of the Deuill: and that it was not the true SAMVEL which appeared to



O conclude, it may be objected that the Deuill hath rayled from the dead: and that others by his power haue done the like, as in the example giuen of Samuel rayled by the Witch of Endor: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Deuils acts exceed all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. In-

Sine Martyr was sometimes of the opinion, that it was Samuel indeede: and so was collog. sum Try-Ambrofe, Lyra, and Burgensis; from which authorities those men borrow strength phone invely. ad Oribo.ques.52. which so beleeue. But Martyr changed his opinion: and so did S. Augustine, who Ambr. in Luc. 1. at first seemed to be indifferent : For in his questions upon the Old and New Testa- 1.6.1. Lyra in 50 ment, he accounteth it detestable to thinke that it was Samuel which appeared: and Simpl. l.a. q.3. thele be his wordes elsewhere to the same effect : In requie sunt anima piorum à cor- Decinit. Dei, Pore separata, impiorum autem pænæs luunt, donec istarum ad vitam aternam, illarum verd 1.13. c.8. ad aternam mortem qua secunda dicitur corpora reninifcant; The soules of the godly separated from their bodies are at reft, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bo-

Aug.de verb. A-Iuft Start ad Orthodox, 9.75. Hilar.Pfal.z.in Tert. de Anima.

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dies of the inst rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and second death. And (besides S. Augustine) Instine Martyr, Hilarius, Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrvfostome, and others, beleeued firmely, and taught it: that the foules of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all : Credere debemus (faith CYRIL) quum à corporibus [anctorum anime abierint, tanquam in manus charisimi batrie bonitati divine commendari . We must beleeve when the foules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodnesse, as into the hands of a most deare Father. If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Deuill cannot stretch so high : if in Hell, Ab inferno nulla est redemptio; From hell there is no redemption. For there are but two habitations after death : Vnum (faith AVGVSTINE) in igne a- 10 terno; alterum in regno aterno; The one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall Kingdome. And though it be written in Iure Pontificio, that many there are who beleeue that the dead have againe appeared to the living; yet the Glosse vpon the same Text 26.9.5. Episcopi. findes it ridiculous: Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmata (saith the Glosse) They beleeue, and they beleeue amisse, because they be but Phantasmes, or Apparitions. For whereas any such voice hath beene heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one: Hac oratio à fraude atq, deceptione diabolica est; That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Deuill, faith Chryfostome. Likewise of the same, faith TERTULLIAN : Absit vt animam cuiullibet fancti, nedum Prophete, à damonio credamus extractam; God forbidthat we hould thinke that the Soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should be drawne up 20

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition Samuel; so doe they the woodden images Cherubins: and false brazen gods are called gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrarie opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of Ecclesiasticus (2 booke not numbred among the Canonicall Scriptures, as S. Augustine himselfe in his Treatise, if it be his, De cura pro mortuis agenda, confesseth) yet Siracides following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all : For though the Deuill would willingly perswade, that the soules (yea cuen of iust men) werein his power, yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods inst and mercifull nature, and so contrarie to all divine reason, as Saint Augustine (or 30 who soener wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion lo to thinke. For if God had so absolutely for saken Saul, that he refused to anfwere him either by dreames, by Vrim, or by his Prophets: it were fortish to conceiue, that he would permit the Deuil, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead 1. Kings 17.22. in Sauls respect: it being also contrarie to his owne divine Law to aske counsaile of the dead; as in Deuteronomic 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Deuill, and not the soule of a dead body, that gaue answere and aduice.

But because Helias and Helizeus had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Deuils which S. Augustine calleth ludificatores animantium sibi subiectorum; Mockers of their owne vaffals, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, 40 and framing founds to their eares like the voyces of men, doe also perswade their gracelesse and accursed attendants, that themselves both possesse, and have power ouer the soules of men. Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium, faith L. VIVES; The Deuill bequileth the fense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine. These then are the bounds of the Deuils power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when he is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntarie vallall: Potest ad malum inuitare, non potest trahere, saith S. Avgvstine, he can allure, but he cannot inforce to euill. Such as thinke otherwife, may goe into the number remembred by

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atq. omnia cœcis

In tenebris metuunt : sic nos in luce timemus.

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of NINVs, and of his wife SEMIRAMIS: and of other of ber acts.

Of the magnificent building of Niniue by NINVS: and of Babylon by SEMIRAMIS.



Vt to come backe to Ninus the amplifier and finisher of Niniue: whether he performed it before or after the ouerthrow of Zorositer, it is vncertayne. As for the Citie it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it Inflin.1.12. had in compasse 440. stadia, or furlongs; the walls Diod.l.2. whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had such Sabelilien z a bredth as three Charriots might passe on the Rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500. Towres which gaue exceeding beautie to the rest, and

a strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times. But this Citie (built in the Plaines of Asserting, and on the bankes of Tigris, and in the Region of Eden) was founded long before Ninus time; and (as ancient Historians report, and more lately Nauclerus) had the name of Campfor, at such time as

Ninus amplified the same, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name. For these workes of Babylon and Niniue begun by Nimrod in Chalden, and in Allyria, Ninus and Semiramis made perfect. Ninus finished Niniue, Semiramis Babylon: Heod. Li. wherein thee fought to exceede her husband by farre. Indeed in the first Age when Iustin.l.i. Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be Died, 1.2. 43. inuaded: labouring to build Townes and Villages for the vse of themselves and their people, without either Walls or Towres; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Bryars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it the more habitable and fertile. But Semiramis living in that Age, when Ambition was instrong youth : and purposing to follow the conquest which her husband had vnder-taken, gaue that beautie and strength to Babylon which it had.

2. Kings 4.34. Nullus enim magus aut demon mortuum verè unquam excitauit, Wier de fascin.

è. I I.

Nam

Of the end of NINVS: and beginning of SEMIRAMIS reigne.



His shee did after the death of her husband Ninu : who after he had mastred Bactria, and subiected vnto his Empire all those Regions betweene it and the Mediterran Sea and Hellespont ( Asia the lesse excepted) and finished the worke of Ninine, heleft the World in the yeere thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeeres. Plutarch reporteth that

Semiramis desired her husband Ninus, that he would grant vnto her the absolute 10 foueraigne power for one day. Diod. Siculus out of Athenaus, and others, speakes of fiue dayes. In which time (moued either with desire of rule, or licentious libertie, or with the memorie of her husband Menon, who perished for her) shee caused Ninus her husband to be slaine. But this seemeth rather a scandall cast on her by the Greekes, then that it had any truth.

Howsoeuer Ninus came to his end, Semiramis tooke on her after his death the fole rule of the Affirian Empire: of which, Ninus was faid to be the first Monarch. because he changed his seat from Babylonia in Chaldaa to Winiue in Assyria. Instinceports, that Semiramis (the better to invest herselfe, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented herselfe to the people 20 in the person of her sonne Ninias or Zameis, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be fayned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of Semiramis, and subscribed that letter which shee sent to the King of India (her last challenge and vndertaken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne Ninias had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that Semiramis (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very vnlikely that she could have held the Empire from him 42. yeeres after by any such subtiltie: (for so long sheereigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true 20 that Ninias or Zameis (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous gouernement and under-takings.

d. III.

Of SEMIRAMIS parentage and education, and Metamorpholis of her Mother.



Ome Writers (of which Plutarch is one) make this famous woman to haue beene of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Coun-40 trey, a Syrian. Berofus calls her after the name of her Citie wherein thee was borne, Semiramis Ascalonitis; of Ascalon, the ancient Citie and Metropolis of the Philistims. Others report her to be the daughter of

Derceta, a Curtizan of Ascalon, exceeding beautifull. Others say that this Derceta or Dercetis, the Mother of Semiramis, was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated, feated on the banke of a Lake adioyning to Ascalon; and afterward falling in loue with a goodly yong man, the was by him made with child, which (for feare of extreme punishment) she conuayed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake : in which ( while the child was left to the mercy of wild 50 beasts) the same was fed by certayne birds, which vsed to feede voon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of Lupathe Harlot that fostered Romulus. For some one or other adioyning to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might

CHAP.12. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

thereby hope the better to couer her dishonor and breach of vow; notwithstanding which she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adioyning, and (as the Poets have fayned) changed by Venus into a Fish, all but her face, which still held the same beautie and humane shape. It is thought that from this Derceta the invention of that Idoll of the Philistims (called Dagon) was taken: for it is true, that Daren had a mans face, and a fishes body: into whose Temple when the Arke of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remayned only the Trunke of Dagon, the head being broken off: For so S. Hierome hath converted that place. Vatables, Pagninus, and Iunius, write it by Dagon onely, 10 which signifieth a fish, and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being fundred from the body.

Formy selfe I rather thinke, that this Dagon of the Philistims was an Idoll reprefenting Triton, one of those imaginarie Sea-gods under Neptune. For this Citie being maritimate (as all those of the Philistims were, and so were the best of Phanicia) vied all their denotions to Neptune, and the rest of the pettie gods which atten-

à. IIII.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after discomfiture : with a note of the improbabilitie of her vices.



Vt for her Pedigree, I leave it to the Affyrian Heralds: and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying Grecians. For delicacie and ease doe more often accompanie licentiousnesse in men and women, then labour and hazzard doc. And if the one halfe

be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princesse more worthy of same then Semiramis was, both for the workes she did at Babylon and elsewhere, and for the warres she made with glorious successe: 30 all but her last enterprise of India; from whence both Strabo and Arianus report that the neuer returned; and that of all her most powerfull Armie there survived but only twentie persons: the rest being either drowned in the River of Indus, dead of the famine, or flaine by the sword of Staurobates. But as the multitude which went out are more then reason hath numbred: so were those that returned lesse then could haueescaped of such an Armie, as consisted of four millions & vpwards. For these suid, f. 845. numbers which she leuied by her Lieutenant Derceteus (saith Suidas) did consist of lie. s. Foot-men three millions; of Horse-men one million; of Charriots armed with hookes on each fide one hundred thousand; of those which fought vpon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all vses 40 three hundred thousand; of Galleyes with brazen heads three thousand, by which shee might transport ouer Indus at once three hundred thousand Souldiers: which Gallies were furnished with Syrians, Phanicians, Cilicians, and men of Cyprus. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every man and beast but fed vpon grasse) are taken from the authority of Ctessas whom Diederus followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many friuolous reports: so Diodorus himselse hath nothing of certaynetie, but from Xerxes expedition into Greece and afterwards: whose Armie (though the same was farre inferior to that of Semiramis) yet had it weight enough to overlode the beliefe of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that Xerxes transported into Greece an Arso mie of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to passe the Hellespont) three thoufand Gallies, as Herodolus out of the seuerall Provinces whence those Galleyes were

taken hath collected the number. But of what multitude soeuer the Armie of Semiramis consisted: the same being broken and ouerthrown by Staurobates upon the banks of Indus, canticum cantauit ex-

tremum:

Bellen.l.2.

tremum: shee sang her last song; and (as Antiquitie hath sayned) was changed by the gods into a Doue (the bird of Venus) whence it came that the Babylonians gaue a Done in their enfignes.

Of the Temple of BELVS built by SEMIRAMIS: and of the Pyramides of Egypt.



Mong all her other memorable and more then magnificent workes (besides the wall of the Citie of Babylon) was the Tomal and the Citie of Babylon was the C Red in the middle of this Citie, inuironed with a wall carryed fouresquare of great heighth and beautie, hauing on each square certayne brazen gates curiously engrauen. In the Core of the square she raised

a Towre of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and vpon it againe (taking a Basis of a lesse circuit) she set a second Towre; and so eight in all, one aboue another: vpon the top whereof the Chaldeans Priests made the observation of the

starres, because this Towre ouer-topped the ordinarie cloudes. By beholding the ruines of this Towre haue many Trauailers beene deceiued; 20 who suppose that they have seene a part of Nimrods Towre, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of Bel: (except this of Bel were founded on that of Nim-

rod.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense cuery yeere (saith Herodotus.) This Temple did Nabuchodonosor adornewith the spoiles of Hierasalem, and of the Temple of Salomon: all which vessels and ornaments Cyrus redeliuered. This temple Xerxes euened with the foile; which Alexander is said to have repaired by the perswassons of the Chaldeans. I denie not that it might haue been in his desire so to doe; but he ensoyed but a few yeeres after Babylon taken, Proclin Times, and therefore could not performe any such worke. The Egyptians (faith Proclin) inhabiting a low and leuell ground, and given to the fame superfition of the startes 30 that the Chaldaans were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and vse, the Pyramides by Memphis, which were conspicus undig, nauigantibus, saith Plinie. Of these Pyramides, Bellomus a carefull observer of rarities (who being in Agypt mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report : Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa Sommite, tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine pouroit l'enuoyer hors de sabase qu'elle ne

fe tombast sur les degrez; The best archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramides, and shooting an arrow from thenceinto the ayre as farre as he can with great difficultie shall be able so to force the same,

but that it will fall upon Some of the degrees

Finis Libri primi.



# FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM The birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Tempie of Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

## Снар. 1.

Of the time of the birth of ABRAHAM: and of the vse of this question, for the ordering of the Sto-rie of the Assyrian Empire.

Of some of the successours of SEMIRAMIS: with a briefe transition to the question. about the time of the birth of ABRAHAM.



CHAP.I. S.I.

FTER the death of Semiramis, Ninias or Zameis succeeded her in the Empire, on whom Berofus Annianus bestowes the conquest of Ba-Etria, and the ouerthrow of Zoroafter; contrary to Diedorus, Instine, Oresius, and all other approued writers. For Ninias being esteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacie, there is no probabilitie in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this Ninias of any moment, other then that out of icalousie he euery yeere changed his Prouinciall Gouernors, and built Colledges for the Chaldean

Priests, his Astronomers: nor by Arius his successor, whom Suidas calleth Thuras; but that he reduced agains the Bactrians and Caspians, revolted as it seemeth in Nini-50 as his time: nor of Aralius, the successor of Arius; but that he added sumptuosity, inuented iewels of gold and stone, and some engins for the warre: I will for this present passe them ouer, and a while follow Abraham, whose wayes are warrantable, (till wee meet these Assyrians againe in this story) by whom and by whose issues we shall best give date to the Kings of Babylon: Abraham living at once with Ninus, Ni-

nias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralius, and Xerxes or Balanius. For otherwise if we leeke to proue things certaine by the vncertaine, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures set vs down without error, by the raignes of the Assprian Princes: we shall but patch vp the story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion; in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe vs, Mirum non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non constare, No miruaile if then in things very ancient, History want assurance.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these Assigned, as also for other good causes, we must first affure the time of Abrahams birth, and in what yeere the same hapned after the floud. Now since all 10 agree, that the fortieth three yeere of Ninus was the birth-yeere of Abraham; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeere after the floud the birth of Abraham hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much langling betweene those Chronologers, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. yeeres; others 352. yeeres between Abrahams birth and the floud: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus ( as we finde him in Annus) makes but 250. yeeres from the floud to Ninus: then feeing that Abraham was borne in the fortieth three yeere of Ninus, according to Eulebius, and S. Augustine, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeere of Abrahams birth was in the yeere after the 20 floud 293. or as the most part of all Chronologers gather, the yeere 292.

Now, fince I doe here enter into that neuer-resoluted question, and Labyrinth of times, it behoueth me to giue reason for my owne opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumípection, because I walke aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those dartes, which Enuie casteth at nouelty, than to goe on safely and sleepily in the easie waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuerlity.

ð. II.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to proue ABRAHAM was borne in the yeere 292. after the Floud, and not in the yeere 352.



Hose which seeke to proue this account of 292. yeeres, betweene the generall floud and Abrahams birth, ground themselues, first on these words of the Scripture: So TER AH lined 70. yeeres, and begot ABRA-HAM, NAHOR, and HARAN : secondly, vpon the opinion of losephus, 40 S. Augustine, Beda, Isidore, and many of the ancient Hebrewes before them : authorities (while they are flightly lookt ouer) feeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the latter Chronologers gather these arguments. First out of the wordes as they lie; that TERAH at 70. yeeres begot A-BRAHAM, NAHOR and HARAN: and that Abraham being the first named, Abraham being the worthiest, Abraham being the sonne of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of Terah, and so necessarily borne in the seventieth yeere of his life. Secondly, it was of Abraham that Mofes had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the bleffing; and not of Nahor and Haran: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of Christ, 50 from Adam to Abraham, without all regard of Naher, and Haran.

It is thirdly objected, that if Abraham were not the eldest sonne, then there can bee no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proued, that Abraham was borne more affuredly in the 130. yeere of Terab his age, then in the 131. 132, &c. Moles having no where fet downe precifely that Abraham went into Canaan that very yeere, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that Terah begat Abraham at 130. yeere: seeing Abraham himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeeres.

d. III.

The answere to one of the objections proposed, shewing that ABRAHAM made but one sourney out of Mesopotamia into Canaan : and it, after his Fathers death.

O answere all which objections it is very easie, the way being preparedthereto by divers learned Divines long fince, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now for a fmuch as the state of the question cannot well bescanned, vnlesse the time of Abrahams iourney into Cana-

an be first considered of; before I descend vnto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method fo farre, as to fearch into a firange tradition concerning his trauailes, that ferueth as a ground for this opinion, 20 and a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceined that Abraham made two journies into Canaan: the latter after his Fathers death, the former prefently vpon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his fathers death at Haran: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the Epifle to the Hebrewes, where it is written, By faith ABRAHAM ( when hee was Heb.11.8. called) obeyed God, to goe out into a place, which he should afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither hee went. This supposition (if it bee granted) ferues very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let vs therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that Abraham first departed Charran or Haran after the death of Terah his 20 Father, the same is proued, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of S. Stephen: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where AS.7.4. ve now dwell, that was, out of Haran into Canaan. Against which place so direct, and plaine, what force hath any mans fancie or supposition, perswading, that Abraham made two journeys into Canaan; one before Terah's death, and another after: n fuch thing being found in the Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reafon to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleadged can picke any argument, prouing, or affording any strong presumption, that Abraham past into Ca- Heb. 11.8.

naan, and then returned vnto Haran, from whence he departed a second time: then Ithinke it reason, that he be beleeved in the rest. But that hee performed the com-40 mandement of God after his Fathers death, leaving Vr and Haran for Canaan, it is as true as the Scriptures themselues are true. For after bis Father was dead, (saith the Martyr Stephen) God brought him into this Land. And, as Beza noreth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canaan, then must it be inferred, that Moles omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembred the other: and whence had Stephen, faith Beza, the knowledge of Abrahams comming into Canaan, but out of Moles? For if Stephen had spoken any thing of those times, differing from Moles, he had offered the lewes his adversaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of Christ. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs thinke that Abraham passed and repassed those wayes, more often than he was enforced so to doe, if we consider, that 50 hehad no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despaire, he had more cause then ever man had to fall into it. For hee came

into a Region of strong and stubborne nations: a Nation of valiant and resolued

Idolaters. He was belieged with famine at his first arrivall, and driven to flie into

CHAP.1. \$.3.

Sen.12.5.

Ægypt for reliefe. His wife was olde, and he had no sonne to inherit the promise. And when God had given him 1/440, he commaunded him to offer him vp to himfelse for Sacrifice: all which discomforts hee patiently and constantly under-

Secondly, let vs confider the wayes themselves, which Abraham had to passe over. the length whereof was 300. English miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great river of Euphrates, to trauailethrough the dangerous and barren Desarts of Palmyrena, and to climbe over the great and high mountaines of Libanus, Hermon or Gilead : and whether these were easie walkes for Abraham to march twice ouer, containing, as afore- to faid, 300. miles in length, let euery reasonable man indge. For if hee trauailed it twice; then was his journey in all 1800. miles from : Haran: and from Haran twice into Canaan. But were there no other argum. disproue this fancie; the manner of Abrahams departing from Haran hath more proofe, that hee had not animum revertendi, not any thought of looking backward, than any mans bare coniecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soener. For thus it is written of him, Then ABRA-HAM tooke SARA his wife, and LOT his brothers sonne, and all their substance that they posses, and the soules that they had gotten in Haran : and they departed to go to the land of Cansan and to the Land of Canaan they came. Now if Abraham brought all with him that was deare vnto him; his wife, and kinfmen, and his, and their goods: it is not proba- 29 ble that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was : or if hee could have beene thereto mooned, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet vnsettled, and prest with extreme famine at his first arrivall. For had his Father beene then alive. hee might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and reliefe, then among the Egyptians, to whom hee was a meere stranger both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might bee of Abrahams returne to Haran, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have fent him backe thither, about the time of his fathers death: so they perhaps, if they were viged, could say 30 little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should doe well to make plaine, if it be notouer-troublesome. They say that Abraham was in Haran at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeeres old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite vndone the businesse, which as wee reade, was within foure or fine yeeres after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very solemne oath his principall seruant, in whom hee reposed most considence, to trauaile into those parts, and seeke out a wife for 1/446 his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither he nor his seruant were so well acquainted in Mesopotamia, that they could particularly designe 40 any one woman, as a fit match for I (asc? Surely if Abraham had beene there in perfon fo lately as within foure or fine yeeres before, hee would not have forgotten a matter of fuch importance; but would have trusted his owne judgement, in choofing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other desireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely sonne, who was then 35. yeeres old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the floud had begotten children, rather than haue left all at randome to the confideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be beleeved) that either Abraham forgot this businesse when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise. What might be the reason, that Abrahams man, in doing his ma- 50 sters errand, was faine to lay open the whole story of his masters prosperity, telling it as newes, that Sarah had borne to him a sonne in her old age? If Abraham himfelfe, a more certaine Author, had so lately been eamong them, would not all this haue beenean idle tale? It were needlesse to stand long vpon a thing so euident

Whether it were lawful for Abraham to have returned back to Haran, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how averse hee was from permitting his some to bee curried thisher; quen though a wife of his owne kindred could not Genaus. have beene obtained without his personall presence. Incobindeed was sent thither &8. by his parents, to take a wife of his ownedinage; not without Gods especial appro- Gen. 18. bation, by whose bleffing he prospered in that journey: yet hee lived there as a seruant; fuffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a fentence written, yet out of all written examples is may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of re-10 turning to the place, from whence hee harbitaken, and transplanted them. That briefe faying, Remember Lors wife, containes much matter. Let vis but confider Melopotamia from whence Abraham was taken, and Agypt, out of which the whole nation of the Ifraelites was delinered : wee shall finde, that no bleffing iffued from either of them, to the posterity of the Hebrewes. When Ezechias was visited with an honourable Embassie from Babel, it seemes that hee conceived great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by E/si, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainely appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of Babylon they fate downe and wept. Concerning Agypt we Pfaling. 20 reade, that Selacand Nece Kings of Egypt brought calamitie upon Ifrael: also that 2.Kin.23.v.29. their confidence in the Agyptian succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into Agypt I doe not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in Deuteronomie, that God had faid, They should no more returne that way; Deut. 17. v. 161 which is giuen, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to Egypt, for the muliplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laied any such iniunction vpon Abraham of not returning to Melopotamia, I cannot fay; many things doargue it probably: that hee neuer did returne, all circumstances do (to my vnder-

standing) both strongly and necessarily conclude. But because this double passage of Abrahams is but an imagination: and that ima-30 ginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of judgement or understanding : I take it sufficient, that S. Stephen hath directly taught vs, that Abraham left Haran, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will beleeue as they doe. For all the trauailes of Abraham are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from Pr or Camerina in Chaldea to Haran or Charran: and then from Haran (after his Fathers death) to Sichem; from Sichem he remooued to a mountaine betweene Bethel and Haie: thence into £gypt: from £gypt hee returned thither againe, where Lot and he parted, because their flockes and heards of Cattle were more, then could bee fed in that part : from thence the second time hee remooued to Mamre, neere Hebron: 40 and thence having pursued Amraphel, and rescued Lot, hee after inhabited at Gerar, in the border of Idumaa, vnder Abimelee : and after neere vnto it at Berfabe, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his sonne Isaac on the mountaine Meriah. But this fiction of his retrait to Haran or Charran, appeareth not in any one story either divine or humane. Now if it may bee supposed, that Abraham had made any former iourney into Canaan, as Leurtain his Cabala hath fained, it should in reason beetherewithall beleeved, that he would in those his first travailes have provided himselse of some certaine seat, or place of abiding : and not have come a second time, with his wife, kinfmen, familie, goods and Cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himselfe. But Abraham, when he came from Charran, past through the North part of Ca-50 naan, thence to Sichem, and the Plaine of Moriab: where finding no place to inhabite, Gm. 13.0.6. he departed thence to Bethel and Haie: and so from Nation to Nation, to discouer and finde out some fit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in Genesis the eleuenth, He went foorth, going and iournging towards the South: and alwayes vnfattled. By occasion of which wandring to and fro, some say, the Egyptians gave him and

Gc3,24.

Mont.in Caleb. his the name of Hebrai. Further, to proue that hee had not formerly beene in the Countrie, we may note, that ere he came to Bethel and Haie, and at his first entrance into Canaan, God appeared vnto him, faying, Vnto thy feed will I gine this Land, thewing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a land to him vnknowner For Abraham without any other provident care for himselfe, beleeved in the word of the living God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discover it; but being arrived, he received a second promise from God, that hee would give those Countries vnto him and his feede to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should moone any man to thinke, that Moses would have omitted any fuch double journey of Abrahams, seeing hee setteth downe all his passages elf-19 where long and short? as when he moued from Sichem, and seated betweene Haie and Bethel; the distance being but twenty miles: and when he moved thence to the valley of Mamre, being but twentie foure miles: and when hee left Mamre, and fate downe at Gerar, being lesse then sixe miles 3 no, Moses past ouer all the times of the first age with the greater breuity, to hasten him to the story of Abraham : shutting vp all betweene the Creation and the Floud in fix chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeeres: but hee bestoweth on the story of Abraham fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the fine and twentiether and this time endured but 175. yeere. It hath therefore no face of trueth, that Mo-Jes forgot or neglected any thing concerning Abrahams transiles, or other actions: 20 or that hee would let downethole small remooues of fine miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and comming would have ministred some varietie of matter, or accident, worthiethe inserting and adding to Abrahams

#### **).** IIII.

The answere to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that TERAH Should beget ABRAHAM in bis bundred and thirty yeere.

Ow touching the objection, where it is faid, that it was very vnlikely that Terab should beget Abraham in his 130, years, recing the similar himselfe thought it a wonder to have a sonne at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscast, and mishardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscass, and mistaken: Abraham having respect only to Sarah his wife, when he spake

of their many yeeres. For when the Angell saide vnto Abraham in his Tent doore at Mamre; Loe, SARAH thy wife shall have a Sonne, it followeth in the next verse, Now ABRAHAM and SARAH were olde and fricken in age, and it ceafed to be with SARAH after 40 the manner of women: therefore SARAH laughed. erc.

So then, in that it is faid, it ceased to be with SARAH after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, & not on Abraham. For Abraham by his fecod wife Keturah had many fonsafter Sarah's death, as Zimron, Jockshan, Medan, Midian, Ilhbak, and Shuah: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeeres after Isaac: and the yongest 40. yeeres after. What strangenesse then, that Terab being 130. yeeres old should beget Abraham, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despaire of Abraham at one hundred yeeres? For Sarah died in the yeere of the world 2145. and Isaac was borne in the yeere 2109; and Abraham did not marry Keturah till Sarah was buried. So if wee deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145, there remai- 50 constanting. neth 36. And therefore if Abraham begat five sonnes 36. yeeres after this supposed wonder, and when Abraham was 137. yeeres old: it is not strange that his Father Terah should beget Abraham at 130. And if Booz, Obed, and Iesse, who lived so many yeeres and ages after Abraham, begat sons at 100. yeeres, or neere it, it cannot be mer-

Grigen.homil.11 34.Caietan : 😙 Perer. in Gen.

uailed at, that Terab begat Abraham at 130; and Abraham others at the same age and feuen yeeres after.

d. V.

The answere to two more of the objections: Shewing that wee may bane certaintie of ABRA-HAM'S age from the Scripture, though we make not ABRAHAM the eldest Sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of ABRAHAM his two brethren should be respected.

🛽 T followeth now to speake something to the objection, which brings Abrahams agealtogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest some of Terah, and borne when Terah was 70. yeeres old. For A-brahms age being made vncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any period rule or knowledge.

Butthis proposition, That wee cannot be certaine of Abrahams age, vnlesse we make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when Terah was 205, which was the yeere of his death, then was Abraham 75. And if you aske how I can judge of times, either preceding or fucceeding, by knowing that A-20 braham departed Haran at that age: I answere, that S. Stephen hath told vs, that Abrahams departure followed the death of his Father Terah: and Terah died at 205; so as the 75. yeere of Abraham was the 205. yeere of Terah: which knowne, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection. whereit is faid, That Moses had no respect vnto Nachor and Haran, because they were out of the Church, but to Abraham onely, with whom God established the Couenant, and of whom Christ descended according to the flesh, &c. I answere, that Moles for many great and necessary causes had respect of Nachor and Haran. For the succession of Gods Churchisnot witnessed by Abraham alone, but by the issues of Nahor and Haran, were they Idolaters or otherwife. For Nahor was the Father of Be-20 thuel, & Bethuel of Rebecca, the mother of Ifrael: & Haran was the parent of Lot, Sarab, and Mileah: and Sarah was mother to Ifaac, and grandmother to Iacob: Mileah also the wife of Nahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Iacobs great grandmother: and the age of Sarab the daughter of Haran is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a sonne at 90 yeeres, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both Nahor and Abraham married the daughters of their brother Haran; and because Isaac married Rebecca the grand-childe of Nahor; and Iacob, Lea, and Rachel, the daughters of Laban, the grand-childealso of Nahor: It was not superfluous in Moses to give light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange Gods, as it is 40 10/.24.2. yet I see no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleeved and obeyed the calling of Abraham, leaving their natural Countrey, and Citie of Vr in Chaldea, as Abraham did, and remooued thence all, except Haran, who died before his Father Terah, ere they left Chalden; but Lot, his fonne, followed Abrahaminto Canaan; and Sarah, the lifter of Lot, abraham married. Wabor alfo, who remained at Charran, gaue his fonnes daughters to I/aze, and Iacob, his own kinsemen: he himselfe having also married in his owne family; not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselues with strangers and Idolators. And that these men at length beleeved in the God of Abraham, it can no way be doubted. For when Laban had feene the feruant of Abraham standing at the Well beside Charran, hee invited 50 him to his Fathers house in this manner: Come in, thou bleffed of IFHOVAH, &c. And Gen.24, v.31. when this feruant of Abrahams demanded an answere as touching Rebecca, then anfwered Laban and Bethnel, and faid, This thing is proceeded of IEHOVAH: meaning that Gen.24. v.50. it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods pronidence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; Take, take, goe that shee may bee

CHAP.I.S.6. of the Historie of the World.

thy Masters sounes wife, even as IEMOVAH hath faid. This their often ving of the name of IEHOVAH, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a figure that they had the knoledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint Chryloftome, and some later writers. as Caietan, Oleaster, Musculus, Caluin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idolater, because he retained certaine Idols, or houshold Gods, which Rachel stole from him: ver that he beleeued in the true God it cannot bee denied. For hee acknowledgeth the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams servant, blessed of IEHOVAH. as aforesaid. So as for my selse I dare not anow, that these men were out of the Church, who fure I am were not out of the faith.

That the naming of ABRAHAM first of the three brethren, Gen. 11. V. 26. doth not prove that hee was the eldeft : together with divers reasons proouing that ABRAHAM was not the eldest sonne of TERAH.



O the maine objection which I answere last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that striue to shorten the times, endeuour to proue that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne 20 in the 70. yeere of Terahs life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, And TERAH lived 70. yeeres and begat

ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: To this I fay, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proofe at all that he was the eldest & first born sonne of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in bloud and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleafed God to make especial choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for seth was not the first borne of Adam; nor Isaac of Abraham; nor Isaac of Isaac; nor Iuda and loseph of Iacob: nor David the eldest of lesse; nor Salemon of David: as is formerly re-

But it is written of No AH; No AH was 500 yeres old, and No AH begat SHEM, HAM, and IAPHET : shewing that at the 500, yeere of his age he began to beget the first of Aug quaft, super those three sonnes. For according to S. Augustine, speaking generally, Nec attendendus est in bis ordonativitatis, sed significatio future dignitatis: in qua excelluit ABRAHAM. The order of nativitie is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignitie: in which ABRAHAM was preferred. And therefore, as in the order of the sonnes of Noab: fo is ithere; where it is faid, that TERAH lined 70. yeeres, and begat ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: For it was late ere Terah began to beget Sonnes, himselse being begorten by his Father Nachor at 29. as other his Ancestors were at The like also happened to Noah: for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130; Enosh 40 Kenan at 90; Kenan Mahalaleel at 70; Mahalaleel Iered at 60: Noah was yet 500. yeeres old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes, as aforesaid. And S. Augufline in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the yongest of Terahs sonnes, then otherwise though for his excellencie he was worthily named first. His owne words are thefe: Fiers enim potuit ve pofterior fit generatus Abraham : sed merito excellentie, quain Scripturu valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be, faith he, that ABR AH AM was begotten later: but was first namediuregard of his excellencie, for which in Scripture he is much commended. So as the naming first or last proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those iffues of Noah, or in these of Terah: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in na- 50 ture, as touching his election or spirituall bleffing, for Mofes nameth first the children of the promise, and the cidest and first in Gods fauour. Pietas ergò vel ipsa potrus electio diuina, que comitene secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis No A, & ABRAHAMO in liberis Thare. Pietie, (aith he, or rather divine

election, which doth enermore draw with it or after it pictic and the feare of God, gane place and precedencie to SEM among the children of NOAH, and to AERAHAM among those of Thare.

For the rest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. yeere of his age. And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him I/mael, when Abraham had lived 86. veeres. Gen. 12.4. It was at Gerar (the South border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Ilaac, when Abraham Gen. 16.16. had confumed 100. yeeres. It was from the valley of Mamre in Gangan that Abraham role out, when he rescued Lot and overthrew Amraphel: and he had then but the age of 82. yeeres : and it is as manifest that he parted from Haran after his Father AB.7.4.6 10 Terah was dead. But if Terah begat Abrahamat 70. yeere old, then must Abraham Gen. 14. have beene 135. yeeres when hee first set his foote in Canaan: seeing Terah must bee dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. made 205, the true age of Terab, which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For hee entred at 75: heerescued Lot at 83: hee had I mach at 86: hee had I face at 100 proued by the

Moreouer, if Abraham were the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeere of his age: then had Terak lived till Isaac had beene 35. yeeres old, and Ismael, 49. both which must then have been borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: vnleffe we should either denie credit to S. Stephen, who saith that Abraham 20 departed from Mesopotamia after his Fathers death: or else give credit to the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who in his Chronologia antoptica, faith it was about his Fathers death: because the Greeke word, w, may bee, transported by the Latine fub, aswell as by post: which though elsewhere it may bee, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terabs death, which were 60. yeeres before. Wherefore supposing Abraham to have beene borne in the 70. yeere of Terah; we must give those times and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authoritie will warrant; For Abraham had no children in Vr of Chaldea, nor in Haran: nor in 10. yeeres after his arrivall into Canaan. For the yeere of Terabs death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the yeere of 20 the World 2082, and the yeere of Ismaels birth was the Worlds yeere 2094: which maketh 10. yeeres difference. And that Isaac was borne in Canean, and was to bee offered vpon the mountaine Moriah therein, 39 miles from Berjabe, where Abraham then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of Abrahams sonnes were borne in Mesopotamia: nor while Terah lived; nor in lessethen 10. yeeres after Terahs death: and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terah, nor borne in the 70, verte

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CHAP.I.S.6. of the Historie of the World.

thy Masters somes wife, even as IEMOVAH bath Said. This their often viling of the name of IE HOVAH, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a figure that they had the knoledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint Chry (oftome), and some later writers, as Caietan, Oleaster, Musculus, Caluin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idolater, because he retained certaine Idols, or houshold Gods, which Rackel stole from him; ver that he beleeved in the true God it cannot bee denied. For hee acknowledgeth the God of Abraham and of Nabor, and he called Abrahams servant, blessed of IEHOVAH. as aforesaid. So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who fure I am were not out of the faith.

That the naming of ABRAHAM first of the three brethren, Gen. 11.v.26. doth not proue that hee was the eldest together with divers reasons proouing that ABRAHAM was not the eldest sonne of TERAH.



Othe maine objection which I answere last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strine to shorten the times, endeuour to proue that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne 20 in the 70. yeere of Terahs life: grounding themselues first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, And TERAH lived 70. yeeres and begat

ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: To this I say, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proofe at all that he was the eldest & first born sonne of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in bloud and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it plea-

fed God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for seth was nor the first borne of Adam; nor Isaac of Abraham; nor Iacob of Isaac; nor Iuda and Toleph of Iacob: nor David the eldest of Ieffe; nor Salemon of David: as is formerly re-

But it is written of No AH; No AH was 500. yeres old, and No AH begat SHEM, HAM, and IAPHET : shewing that at the 500. yeere of his age he began to beget the first of Aug qualifuper those three sonnes. For according to S. Augustine, speaking generally, Nee attendendus est in bis ordo nativitatu, sed significatio future dignitatis: in qua excelluit ABR AH AM. The order of nativitie is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignitie: in which ABRAHAM was preferred. And therefore, as in the order of the sonnes of Noah: fo is it here; where it is faid, that TERAH lined 70. yeeres, and begat ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: For it was late ere Terah began to beget Sonnes, himselse being begotten by his Father Nachor at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to Noah: for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130; Enosh 40 Kenan at 90; Kenan Mahalaleel at 70: Mahalaleel Iered at 60: Noah was yet 500. yeeres old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes, as aforesaid. And S. Augufline in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the yongest of Terahs sonnes, then otherwise: though for his excellencie he was worthily named first. His owne words are these: Fiers enim potant vs posterior sit generatus ABRAHAM : fed merito excellentie, quain Scripturu valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be, faith he, that ABRAHAM was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellencie, for which in Scripture he is much commended. So as the naming first or last proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those iffues of Noah, or in these of Terah: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in na- 50 ture, as touching his election or spirituall bleffing, for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods fauour. Pietas ergò vel ipsa potrus electio dinina, que comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis No A. & ABRAHAMO in liberis Thare. Pietie, (aith he, or rather divine

election, which doth evermore draw with it or after it pictic and the feare of God, gave place and precedencie to SEM among the children of NOAH, and to ABRAHAM among those of Thare.

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speake of any thing superfluousitis not vsed in Gods Bookes: and if Iseah had not belonged to the story, it had been but an idle name to no purpose remembred.

Now if it had been true (asthole of the contrary opinion affirme) that Moses had no respect of Nachor and Haran, who were not with standing the parents of Bethuel and Rebecca, the mother of Ifrael, and of Christ: what regard then had Moles of Iseah in this place, were she not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing

The age also of Lot disproueth the eldership of Abraham: for Lot was called an old man when Abraham was but 83. yeeres: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham, and Haran were Father to Lot, Sarah, and Milcah, Abraham marrying one 10 of Harans daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within ten yeeres as old as Abraham: it may appeare to every reasonable man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham: who also died first and before his Father left Vr in Chaldes. Also Lyra reasoneth against the opinion of Abrahams eldership, vpon the same place of Genesis: drawing argument from the age of Sarah, who was but 10. yeeres yonger than Abraham himselfe. Lyra his wordes are thele: Stigitur HARAN fuit iunior ipfo ABRAHAM, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit SARAM : imo necocto, &c. and afterward, & ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod ABRAHAM fuit vltimo natus de tribus filijs THARE, tamen nominatur primo , propter eius dignitatem : & quia ponendus erat caput stirpis & generatio- 20 nis sequentis : & quia primo facta est es repromisso expressa de CHRISTO, sicut supra dictum eft de SEM, &c. If therefore (faith Lyra) HAR AN was yonger then ABRAHAM himselfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begat SARAH: And therefore it Ceemeth better to he faid, that ABRAHAM was the last borne of the three sonnes of THARE, neuerthelesse he is named first for his dignitie, both because he was to be ordained head of the focke and generation following, and because the promise of CHRIST was first made unta bim, as before it is faid of SEM.

### d. VII.

A conclusion of this dispute noting the Authors on both sides: with an admonition that they which shorten the times, make all ancient stories the more unprobable.

T therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and T therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, I me, and Reason, that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham: and that Abraham was borne in the 130, yeere of Terah life, and not in the 70, yeere. For Abraham departing Charran after Terah died, and the property of the sonne of the so cording to S. Stephen, and that iourney by Abraham performed when 40

hee was 75. yeeres old, these two numbers added make 205. yeeres, the full age of Terah: seeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entred Canuan. For my selfe, I haue no other end herein then to manifest the truth of the Worlds Story: I reuerence the judgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars Saint Augustine was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuersie. For whatsoeuer is borrowed from him out of his 16. Booke de Ciuitate Dei,ca. 15. the same may be answered out of himselfe in his fine and twentierh question vpon Gen. Bur S. Augustine herein followed Insephus, and Isidor: and Beda followed S. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the Hebrews and lofe. phus fought to make Abraham the first borne: as if God had had respect to the eldest so in nature. So did Iolephus together with Nicholas Damascenus (thinking thereby to glorifie the Iemish Nation) make Abraham a king, entitling Sarah by the name of Queene Sarab: and said that Abraham was followed with 3 18. Captaines, of which euery one had an infinite multitude vnder him; trecentos & octodecem prefectos

habuit : quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat. And that Pharao invading him with a great armie, tooke from him his wife Sarah: Such fables argue that lolephus is not to be beleeued, but with discreet reservations.

CHAP.1.\$.7.

of the Historie of the World.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292 yeeres from the Floud to Abrabem, is vpheld by many of the Hebrews. But how should wee value the opinion of fuch Chronologers, as take amraphel for Nimrod? Surely, if their iudgement in fuch matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in fetting downe the fuccession of the Persian Kings, vnder whom they lived, whose Historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writo ters. Yet groffely have they erred therein, and so familiar are their millakings in all things of like nature, that we feldome finde their opinion rehearled without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the Romane religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing vsuall among them, to maintaine what soener they have beene formerly knowne to holde and beleene. Contrariwife, of the more ancient, Theodoret, and some following him: of later times Beroalius, Codoman, Peucer, Caluin, Innius, Beza, Broughton, Doct. Gibbons, and Moore, with divers of the Protestants, hold Abraham to haue been borne in the 130. yeere of his Father Terah. From these, (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the same Religion, and those neuerthelesse good Authours, as Bucholcerus, Chur aus, Functius 20 and others, are very anerse herein, especially sosephus Scaliger with his Sethus Calne. fins, proclaiming Beroaldus an Arch-heretike in Chronologie, and condemning this opinion of his as poylonous. Contrariwife, Augustinus Torniellus a Priest of the Congregation of S. Paul, a indicious, diligent and free writer, whose Annales are newly fer forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; not alleadging Beroaldus, nor any Protestant writer, as beeing perhaps vnwilling to owe thankes to heretikes. For my selfe I doe neither millike the contrary opinion, becaule commonly those of the Romifb Religion labour to vphold it, Nor fauour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the Protestant writers have approued it; but for the trueth it felfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparant to all men of judgement, that the best approoued Historians, Divine and prophane, labour to inucitigate the trueth of times, thereby to approue the stories, and forepast actions of the world: and not the trueth of histories to approue the times by. Let vs then make judgement to our selues, which of these two accounts give the best reputation to the storie of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuancie of Gods Church: either that of Iosephus, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. yeeres, or thereabouts, betweene the floud and birth of Abraham: or this other account, which makes 352. yeeres betweenethe one and the other: the one taking Abrabam to be the first borne of Thare, 40 in the 70 yeere of his life: the other a yonger sonne of Thare, and borne when hee had lived 130 yeeres. And if we looke over all, and doe not hastily satisfie our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated doe slothfully and drowfily fit downe; wee shall finde it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the Septuagint, who, according to some editions make it about 1072. yeeres betweene the Floud and Abrahams birth: then to take away any part of those 352. yeeres given. For if we aduisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in Abrahams time, yea, before Abraham was borne, wee shall finde that it were very ill done of vs by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times ouer-deepely betweene Abraham and the Floud: because 50 in cutting them too neere the quicke, the reputation of the whole storie might perchance bleede thereby, were not the testimonie of the Scriptures supreme, so as no objection can approchit: and that wee did not follow withall this precept of S. Augustine, That wheresoeuer any one place in the Scriptures may bee conceined disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misunderstood.

30

CHAP.1. S.9. of the Historie of the World.

For in Abrahams time all the then known parts of the World were peopled; all Regions and Countries had their Kings. Agypt had many magnificent Cities: and fo had Palastina, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the World besides, as far as India: and those not built with stickes, but of hewne stones, and defended with walles and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, then those other men haue supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plaineft, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or drawe all things into wonders and marnailes? giving also strength thereby to common cauellers, and to those mens apilh braines, who onely bend their wits to finde impossibilities, and monsters in the storie is of the World and Mankinde.

### . Ø. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians and others, grounded upon the times noted in the florie of ABRAHAM.

An mundi 2008 dil.352. natus Abraham, Euf. Aug.de Ciuit.

N this fort therefore for the reasons before alleadged, I conclude, that from the generall Floud, to the birth of Abraham, 352. yeeres were consumed: and taking the Afgrian History with vs, the same number to of yeeres were spent from the Floud to the 43. veere of Ninus abraham was borne. which 43. yeere of Ninus Abraham was borne: which happened in

the yeere of the World,2009.

Now of this time of 352, yeeres, wee must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into Shinar, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 20. vecre to Chas, ere he begat Seba: of which, though the Scriptures are filent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sonnes, we may the more fafely give the like allowance to these. For Eber begat Peleg at 24. Peleg Requat 30. Regu Serng at 32. Now after Seba, Chus begat Hauila, Sabta, Raama and Sabtecha: and Raama begat Sheba and Dedan, before Wimrod was borne, as it appea 30 reth Gen. 1c. which S. Augustine approueth. Giving then 30. yeeres more to Raama ere hee begat Sheba, and five yeeres to the five elder brothers of Nimrod, it may bee gathered that 65. yeeres were confumed ere Nimrod himselfe was borne: and that Raamab had that age ere any of his sonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for Peleg the fourth from Noah, as Raamah was, begat Regu in the same yeere of his life.

Gen. 11.18.

Let vs then allow 60. yeeres more after the birth of Wimrod, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build Babel: for sure wee are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65, and 60, make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which 40 yeere they arrived in Shinar, whereof there are 6. yeeres remaining) wee may give them for their travels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattell: and as some ancient writers have conceived, and Becanus of later times, they kept alwaies the mountaines fides, for feare of a fecond Floud. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352 there remaines 221. of which number Berofus bestoweth 65. on Belus, and 42. on Ninus, before Abraham borne: both which S. Augustine approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221.there remaineth 114. yeeres of the 352. from the Floud to Abrahams birth: which number of 114. necessitie bestoweth on Nimrod.

An. a Calute bumani generis ab aquis centesimo primo capit regnum Babylonicum (ub nostro Saturno patre Ionis Beli,qui imperauit annis 65. Berofus.

And if it be objected that this time given to Nimrod, is over-long: fure if we com- 50 pare the age of Nimrod with the rest of the same descent from Noah, it will rather appeare ouer-short. For Nimred, by this accompt, lived in all but one hundred feuenty nine yeeres: whereof hee reigned one hundred and twelue: whereas Sale who was the some of Arphaxad the some of Sem, lived source hundred thirty three

veeres: and of the same age of the World was Nimred, the some of Chus, the some

Now after Abraham was borne.

Ninus reigned 9. yeers: which added to 43. make Ninus dieth and leaueth Semiramis his successor.

Semiramis gouerned the Empire of Babylonia and Affyria 42. yeeres, and died in the Of the World 52. yeere compleat of Abrahams life.

Ninia or Zameis succeeded Semiramis, and ruled 38. yeeres, in the second yeere

of whose reigne Abraham left Mesopotamia

When Abraham was 85 yeeres old, he rescued his nephew Lot, and ouerthrew by Surprise Amraphel king of Shinar, or Babylonia. Ninias reigned 38. yeeres, and Abraham came into Canaan but 23. yeeres after Semiramis died: which was the 75. yeere of his age : fo that Amraphel may feeme to have beene this Winias the sonne of Winus, and Semiramis, whose 23. yeere, as aforesaid, being the 75. yeere of Abraham, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. yeere of Abraham, and the 33. yeere of his own reigne: after which he reigned fine yeeres: which make in all 38. But the trueth is, that the reasons to the contrary, vrging that this Amraphel could not be Ninias, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the Allyrian kings, that they are to bee ordered as wee haue fer them downe, accor-20 ding to the times noted by Moles, in the storie of Abraham, it is most certaine: vniesse we will either derogate from the trueth of Moses his computation, which were impietie: or account the whole Historie of Ninus and Semiramis to bee a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fablers.

That AMRAPHEL, one of the foure Kings whom ABRAHAM ouerthrem, Gen. 14. may probably be thought to have beene NINIAS the Sonne of NINVS.



Nd now touching this Amraphel, whom Mofes makes king of Shinar or Babylonia, in the 85. yeere of Abrahams life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the reigne of Ninias Zameis the king of the Assyrians, the sonne of N inus and Semiramis, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how hee

could be at this time king of Babylonia: Ninias Zameis then reigning there. To this doubt the answere which first offerethit selfe as most probable, is that which hath beene alreadie noted, that this Nineas or Zameis, was no other then our Amraphel: who inuaded Traconitis or Basan, and ouerthrew those fine kings of Pentapolis, or the valley of Siddim. For the Scriptures tell vs, that Amraphel was king 40 of Shinar, which is Babylonia: and the times before accounted make him to be the succession of Ninus and Semiramis: and it falleth out with the 85. yeere of Abrahams life: wherein he rescued Lot, slew Chedorlaomer, and ouerthrew the rest. True it is, that this Amraphel was not at this time the greatest Monarke: for Chedorlasmer commanded in chiefe, though Amraphel bee first named by Moses in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of Genesis. For the Kings of the valley of Siddim, or of Pentapolis, or of the fine Cities, were the vassals of Chedorl. and not of Amraphel: as it is Written. Twelve yeeres were they Subiect to CHEDORLAOMER, but in the 13. yeere Gen. 14.4. they rebelled, and in the 14. yeere came CHEDORLAOMER and the kings that were with him: and therefore was Chedorl. the principall in this enterprise, who was then king 50 of Elam, which is Persia: Now Persia being seated ouer Tigris, and to the East of Amraphels Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with Amraphel, being seated to the West of Shinar or Babylonia: Amraphel, who held Babylonia it selfe, seemethat this time to have had no great scope or large dominion. For had Amraphel beene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make Ninus or Semiramis

Xenophon.

Gex. 14.

whom hee succeeded, he should not have needed the affistance of three other kings for this expedition. But though Checorlaomer were the first and greatest of those foure Kings, (as it is manifest that hee was: For these little kings of Sodome, Gomora. e'c, were his vassals, and not Amraphels) yet this makes not the coniecture lesse probable, but that this Amraphel might be Ninias. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of Affyria, had now (as we shall shew more plainely in that which followeth) received a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long beforeit commanded all the kingdomes betweene India and the Phanician Sea: to wit, in the times of Ninus and Semiramis.

of ARIOCH another of the four Kings, and that ELLAS, whereof he is said te hane beene King, lies betweene Coelesyria and Ara-

Ow the two other kings io yned with Amraphel, and Chedorl. were Arioch and Tidal; the one king of Ellassar, the other of the Nations. For Ellasar, Aquila and Hicrome write Pontus: so Tostatus thinketh that it should bee Hellespont: which opinion Pererius fauoureth. But this is 20 🤏 onely to defend the Latine translation. For as Pontus, so is Hellespont

farre distant, and out of the way to fend any armies into Arabia Petrea, or into Idumea: which Countries these foure Kings chiefly inuaded: Besides that, it is certaine, that the Assignians (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in Asia the leffe. For at such time as the Afgrians feared the inuation of the Medes and Persians, they sent not into Asia the lesses commaunders : but vsed all the Arte they hadto invite Crafus to their affiltance: perswading him that nothing could bee more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the Aledes against the Affyrians. But examine the enterprise what it was. These Kings (faith the Text) made warre with BERA, king of Sodome, BIRSHA king of Gomor-30 ha, SHINAB king of Admath, and SHEMEBAR king of Zeboim, and the king of BELA which is Zoar. All which fine kings had not fo much ground as Middlefex: being such a kind of Reguli, as Iosua found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small territorries adio yning; of which Canaan had 33. all slaine or hanged by Iofus. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are saide also to have inuaded, bee imagined to have beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from Pontus or Hellespont, had manifested a great impotencie and weakenessein the kings of Babylon and Persia.

And though it bee alleadged for an example, that divers kings farre off, came to affift Pompey against Cofar: yet these samples without like occasions and cir-40 cumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to seare the greatnesse of these pettie kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on C.esar; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtfull then fearefull: But the whole Countrie by these foure kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the halfe tribe of Manasse, Gad, and Reuben: a narrow valley of ground lying betweene lordan and the mountaines of Seir: inclofed by the river of Arnen on the South fide, and by Lybanus on the North, confiffing of the two small Provinces of Traconitis or Basan, and the Region of the Mosbites: a conquest farre vnualuable, and little answering the power of the Assyrian Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of Ninus and St-50 miramis, who subjected all the great kings of that part of the World, without the affiltance of any of the Kings of Hellespont, or any other part of Asia the leff. But as the Vulgar and Aquila connert Ellassar by Pontus : so Symmachus makes Ariotha King of the Scythians, a King indeed, as farre fetched to ioyne with the Affricans

of the Historie of the World. CHAP. I. S.II.

inthis warre, as the World had any at that time. The Septuagint doe not change the word of Ellassar at all, but as they keep the word drarat, on the mountaines wherof the Arke didreft, so doethey in this place retains the Hebren word Ellaffar, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And Pererius himselfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable then this of Pontus or Helle (pont : yet he dares not anow his liking of them, because the Latine Translation bath it otherwise. For Stephania de Vrbibus a Gracian Cofmographer, findeth the Citie of Ellas in the border of Calefyria: and S. Hierome calleth Ellas the Citie of Arisch, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by Stephanse in Calefyria, yet it standeth on the border 10 of Arabia, of which Arioch was king: who formerly joyned with Ninus in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from Cham and Chus: after whom the name of Arise was by the Hebrews written Arisch: and afterward againe Arctas: as in the Machabees: the kings of Arabia holding that name even to the time of S. Paul, who was fought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of Aretas commanding in Cornali. Damascus. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the Assirtan Empire. It is true that wee finde in Daniel, that in the time of Nabucho- Dan 2. donolor, one Arioch was Generali of his armie, and the principall Commander under him, who was a king of kings: which makes it plaine, that Artoch heere spoken of, the fonne of that Arioch Confederate of Ninus, was no king of Pontus, nor of Scythia regi-20 ons farreremooned from the Affyrians and Babylonians. The name also of Arioch who commanded under Nabucho.lonofor is mentioned in Indith, by the name of king of the Elymeans: who are a Nation of Persians bordering Assyria, according to Stephanus: though Plinie lets it betweene the Sea-coast, and Media: and if any brother of the Arabian Kings or other of that house (knowne by the name of Arius, Arioch, Areta or Aretas) had the government of that Persian Province called Elymais (as it seemeththey had by the places of Daniel and Iudith) yet the same was in Nabuchodonoforstime. But this Arioch heere spoken of may with more reason bee taken for the king of Arabia, the sonne of Arius, the Consederate of Ninus : whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side to-20 wards the West to Babylonia, and Chaldea: and in amicie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house, and bloud: which D. Sieulus also confirmeth.

Diod.Sic.1.2.c.1

d. X1. Of TIDAL another of the foure Kings.



He fourth King by Abraham ouerthrowne was Tidal, king of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it Goigm, which Vatablus takes to be a proper name: Lyra of mixt people: Calain of runnagates without habitation:

Pererius out of Strabo, findes that Galikea was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of Agyptians, Arabians, and strabiline, followed by the strategies of the strategies o

Phanicians. Nam tales funt qui Galileam habitant; Such are the inhabitants of Galilee, faith 523. Strabo: and therefore was Tidal called king of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of Strabo is nothing in this question. For Galilea was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of Strabo. For when Abraham came into Canaan, the Cananite was then in the Land, how soener they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many pettie kingdomes adioyning to Phanicia, and Palæstina; as Palmyrena, Batanea, Laodicene, Apamena, Chalcidice, Cassotis, Chalibenius, and all these doe also ioyne themselves to Melopotamia, on the North, and to 50 Arabia on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under Tidal, I take to be the probablest coniecture.

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D. XII.
That CHEDORLAOMER the chiefe of the 4. Kings was not of Affyria, but of Persia: and that the Allyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

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Aftly, wheras it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Asyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Prominciall gouernour of Bibylonia, and that the other kings named were such also, I cannot agree with Pereriss in this. For Mofes too well acquainted with the names of Affur, and Shinar, to call the Affyrian a king of Elam: those 10

kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of Chaldaa, Shinar, Babylonia, or Affria: but neuer by Elam; and Chedorlaomer or Kedarlaomer was so called of Kidor, from Cidarim which in the Hebrew fignifieth Regale: for fo Q. Curtius calleth the

garment which the Persian kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleeue that the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatnesse at the time of this inualion, and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp hastily, or forced violently, doe not long last: Alexander became Lord of all Asia, on this side of Indus, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to ouer-looke what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselse: all 20 whose chiefe Commanders became kings after him. Tamberlain conquered Asia and India with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to prevalent surie God hath adioined a short life: and what soeuer things Nature herselse worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not

Winus beeing the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, inuaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, infolent, and cruell. Semiramis taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, then her Paramor: enlarged the Babylonian Empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her sonne hauing chan-30 ged Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no leffe feminine then shee was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuals smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those kings adioyning ( whose subjection, and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more grieuous) could not sleepe, when the aduantage was offered by such a successour. For in regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit, this King shined little (faith Nauclerus of Ninias) in the Babylonian kingdome. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men hauing beene neuer before galled with the yoke of forraine dominion, Nor hauing euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery:no long descent having as yet invested the Affyrian with a right: nor any other 40 tirle being for him to bee pretended than a strong hand; the soolish and esseminate sonne of atyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a mind lesse industrious than his Father and Mother had vsed before him. And hee that was so much given ouer to licentious idlenesse, as to suffer his Mother to raigne 42. yeeres, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preserred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither indenoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keepe what he could not without contentious perill enioy.

These Considerations being joyned to the storie of Amraphel, delivered by Alo- 50 fes, by which wee finde that Amraphel king of Shinar was rather an inferiour to the king of Persia, than either his superiour, or equall, make it seeme probable, that the Empire of Ninus and Semiramis was at that time broken a funder, and restrained again to Babylonia.

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the sormer: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great trauaile vpon Abraham, from Vrin Chaldaa to Charran, and then to Canaan, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which hee wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeere of Ninias, when Abraham obeying the voice of God, tooke this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. veeres after the death of Semiramis, the neighbour Princes had recoursed their libertie and former estates. For Semiramu armie of foure millions, with herselfe veterly strab, 154 consumed in India, and all her armes and engins of war, at the same time lost, gaue an occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures

of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that Arius the fonne of Ninias, or Amraphel, invaded the Bactrians and Calpians, and againe subjected them: which needed not if they had not beene revolted from Ninia, after N inus death. And as Arioch recovered one part, fo did Baleus or Balaneus, otherwise Xerxes, reduce the rest revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that hee conquered from Æeypt to India: and therefore was called Xerxes, id eft, Victor & triumphator, a conquereur and triumpher, which undertakings had beene no other then the efects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves, from the Babylonian sub-20 iestion. Now if we shall make any doubt heereof, that is, of the reconquest of Arius and Xerxes, both which lived after Ninus and Ninius wee may as well thinke the rest of Ninus and Semiramis to be but fained: but if wee graunt this reconquest, then is ittrue that while Ninias or Amraphel ruled, the Affyrian Empire was torne afunder. according to that which hath beene gathered out of Moses as before remembred.

d. XIII.

that they had else-where with their colonies planted them selves: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came : which if it be fo, we neede not fay that A MR APHEL was NINIAS, nor crouble our selues with many other difficulties.



He consent of all writers, whose workes have come to my perusall, agreeing as they doe, that thefe 4 kings, Amraphel of Shinar, Chedorlaomer of Elam, and their fellowes were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or feeme intituled: doth almost inforce vs to thinke that the Historie must so be understood, as I have delivered. But if in this

place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as Hierome hath it) Chedorlaomer was king of the Elamites, as Tidal was faid to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitati-40 on, or gathered out of fundrie regions: then may we otherwise conceive of this Historie: remouing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps have beene vnwilling to find because they could not find how to resolue them. For as it had been a strange coniecture to thinke that Arioch was drawn to affift the Persian, against the Sodomite; as far as from Pontus, where it is very vnlikely that Chedorlaomer was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of Siedim should have been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that Chedorlaomer, if he were king of Persin alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of Alliria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, and part of Arabia, and Canaun, to subdue those fine Townes, whose very names how they should come to his eare, being distoined by so so many great Nations of different languages, a wife man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering Persia together with the Babylonian himselfe, yea the kingdom of Ellafar, & that of Tidal, so far off removed, were become his dependants. what reason can we finde that might have induced him to hearken after Sodome and Gomerah? & when he should have fought the establishment of his new gotten Empire,

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by rooting out the posteritie of Ninus (as Ninus had dealt by Pharnus of Media. and Zoroaster of Bactria) then to imploy the forces of Amraphel, and those other kings, against fine pettie townes, leaving Tyru, and Sidon, and the great Citie of Damaso, with many other places of much importance, and farre neerer vnto him, vnfubdued? Now as these doubts which may bee alleadged against the first conquest of the vale of Siddim, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his reconquest of these sine Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly vpon the text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it beene in that small Prouince to rebell against so powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to bee forgotten, then that 19 hee should come or send to reclaime them: was it not more then madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of enasion: yea to make refishance (being themselves a dissolute and therefore vnwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betweene Euphrates, yea betweene themselues and the riuer of Indus? Likewise on the part of Chedorlaomer we should finde no greater wise dome, if he knowing the weakenesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any Lieutenant, with small forces hee might have subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrie, was not sufficient to counteruaile one moneths charges of so huge an armie. How small then must his valour haue beene, who with fo mightie preparations effected no more then the wasting of 20 that Valley, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrie, although hee had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this inualion ( supposed so great ) make any fearefull matter : but compose the two armies, asequally matcht, saying they were foure kings against fine: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall finde that Abraham slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention : Neither will the raigne of Ninias, who lived foure or flue yeeres longer, permit that he should have died so soone neither would Hi-Rories have forgotten the manner of his death, if hee had so strangely perished in Syria. Whereby it appeares, that these foure kings were not the same that they are 30 commonly thought: nor their forces fo great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well bectrue, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders energione of his owne companie, which he carried foorth as a Colonie, feeking place where to fettle himfelfe and them, as was the viuall manner of those times.

Neither is it vnprobable, that Chedorlaomer leading a troupe of Persians, Amraphel some people out of Shinar, and Tidal others gathered out of sundry places, might confort together, and make the weakest of the Countrie which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoeuer will consider the beginning of the first booke of Thueydides, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infan- 40 cie of Greece, or the manner of the Saracens inuading Affrica, and Spaine, with almost as many kings as seuerall Armies: or the proceedings of the Spaniards in their new discoueries, passages, and conquests in the West-Indies: may easily perceiue, that it was neither vnu(uall, for the leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, diflurbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That Amraphel and his affociates were such manner of Commaunders, it may seeme the more likely, by the flothfull qualitie of Ninias then raigning in Affria: whose vnmanlike temper was such, as might well giue occasion to such vndertaking spirits, as wanted the imploiments whereunto they were accustomed, in the raigne of Semi- 50 ramis, rather to seeke aduentures abroad, than to remain at home vnregarded: whils others more vnworthie than themselues, were advanced. If the consent of the whole streame of writers vpon this place make this coniecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then wee may

hold our selues to the former coniecture, that Amraphel was Ninias: and that the power of his Ancestours being by his sloth decayed, hee might well be inferiour to the Persian Chedorlaomer: or if this doe not satisfie, wee may say that Amraphel was an Vnder-king or Satrapa of Shinar, under Ninias; who may be supposed to have had his Imperial feat in his Fathers Citie Niniue: and to have preferred it before Shiner and Babylon the Citie of his Mother, whom hee hated as an viurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Saluation, and wherein therefore none bath cared to take great paines, all might erre : then can I thinke that the opinion, That these four kings were leaders of Colonies, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not kings of the Countries themselves, is most confonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And heereto adde that Chedorlaomer feemes rather called a Persian king, then king of Persia: and that Arioch (whole kingdome vindoubtedly was betweene Syria and Arabia) having beene a man of action, or being a worthy mans sonne, was very well pleased, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or pettie kings. These and such like things heere to vrge, were but with circumstances to adorne a supposition, which either may fland without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthie to have cost bestowed vpon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these 20 opinions, or any other, if he finde any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countries or people foeuer these four ewere kings, this expedition is the onely publique action that we know of performed by Abraham. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his sonnes, and of his Nephews Esawand Jacob, as they are registred by Moles, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand upon things generally knowne to all Christians, nor to repeate what hath beene elsewhere alreadie fooken, nor to preuent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, wee passethem heere in silence. And because in this Storie of Abraham and his posteritie, there is much mention of Agypt: by which it appeares that euen in the time of Abraham, it was a settled and flourishing king-

> dome, it will not bee amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities, and first kings thereof.

CHAP.

CHAP.2. \$.2.

### CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Ægypt from the first peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the deliuerie of the Israe-lites from thence.

è. I.

A briefe of the names and times of the first Kings of Agypt: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resoluting of the tructhin these points.



One after the confusion at Babel (as it seems) Chamwith many of his issue and followers (hauing doubt-lesse knowne the sertilitie of Agypt before the Floud) came thither and tooke possession of the Countrie: in which they built many Cities: and beganne the kingdome one hundred ninesie one yeeres after the 20 deluge. The ancient Gouernours of this Kingdome till such time as Israel departed Agypt, are shewnein the Table following.

Some of the

20

An. Mundi.	An.dil	a contract to
1847.	191.	Chairs.
2008.	352.	Ofiris.
2269.	613.	Typhon 3 Hercules. S
2276.	620.	Orus.
2391.	735.	Sefostris the great.
2424.	768.	Sefostris the blinde.
2438.	782.	Busiris or Oris the second.
2476.	820.	or Meris.
2488.	832.	Ratheris or Atheris.
2497.	841.	Chemeres drowned in the red Sea.

The Table and especially the Chronologie, is to be confirmed by probabilities and coniectures, because in such obscurity manifest and restlesse truth cannot be found. For S. Augustine, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of Varro, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the Agyptian Kings: which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertaine then the Suganians, whom he remembreth, then whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the Agyptian Storie, was the ambition of the Priess: who to magnific their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leafings, and recounted unto strangers, the names of many Kings that neuer reigned. 50 What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appear a anon. Sure it is that the magnificent workes and royall buildings in Agypt, such as a reneuer sound but in States that have greatly slourished, witnesse that their Princes were of marueilous greatnesse: and that the reports of the Priess were not altoge-

ther falle. A second cause of our ignorance in the Egyptian History, was the too much credulitie of some good Authors, who beleeuing the manifold and contrary reports of sindry Egyptians, & publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best; have confirmed them, and as it were inforced them upon us, by their authoritie. A third and generall sause of more than Egyptian darkenesse in the anticular third stries, is the edition of many Authors by sohn Annius, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned I may adde mine) I shinke thus; That Annius having seen some fragments of those writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an auoucher of true Histories, where approved writers confirme him: but so therwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hercupon it commets to passe that the account of Authours, either in the Chronologie or Genealogie of the Egyptian Kings, runs three altogether different wayes. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow Ensembles: Many late writers follow the edition of Annius his Authors: The prophane Histories sollow Herodotus, Diodorus, and such others.

#### ò. 11

That by the account of the Ægyptian Dynassies, and otherwise, it appeares that

CHAMS reigne in Ægypt began in the yeere after
the Floud, 191.

O reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most controuersie, the best meane is by helpe of the Dynasties: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the Dynasties (besides the authoritie of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether with the Histories of the Affyrians, Troians, Italians, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16.Dyn. is iouned by generall consent, with the 43. yeere of 30 Ninus: in which Abraham was borne. The twelve first Dynasties lasted each of them seuen veeres, under the twelue, which were called the greater Gods : so that all the yeeres of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth Dynast indured foureteene yeeres: the fourteenth 26: the fifteenth 37. These three last, are sayd to haue beenevnder the three yonger Gods. So the fifteene first Dynasties lasted one hundred fixty one yeeres. As I doe not therfore believe that the continuance of these Dyn. was such as bath been mentioned, because Amius in such-wise limits out their time : so I cannot reject the account vpon this onely reason, that Annius hath it so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas Eulebius placeth the beginning of the sixteenth 40 Dynastie, in the yeere of Abrahams birth, as aforefayd: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the summe of 161. yeeres, which according to our account were spent in the fifteene former, being subducted out of the summe of 352 yeeres, which were betweene the Floud and Abrahams birth, shew that the beginning of the first Dynastie, which was the beginning of Chames reigne in Acopt, was in the yeere 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankinde which came into Shinar, arrived at Babel, Anno à dilusio 131. In building the Tower were confumed fourtie yeeres, as Glicus recordeth: whosereport I haue elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That Cham was long in paffing with his company, their Wines Children, Cattell, and Substance, 50 through all Syriathen desolate, and full of Bogges, Forrests, and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred seuentie one yeeres had brought vpon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himselse in Agypt, wee allow twenty yeere: and these summes being added together, to wir, one hundred thirtic one yeeres after the Floud, before they arrived at

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Babel, 40. yeeres for their flaythere, and 201 for Chamipallage into Agypt, and fertling there, make vo the fumme of 191, yeeres: at which time we faid that Oham began his reigne in Levpt, in the beginning of the first Dynastie. And to this summe of 191 yeeres if we adde the Tot veeres of the 15. first wynasties, as they are numbred in common account, we stiall fall right with the yeere of A brahams birth, which was An.Dil. 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prooue that these first Dynasties must needes have beenevery short, and not contain ring in the whole fumme of their feneral times about 161. yeeres : Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must Agypt have been peopled as soone as Babel after the Floud : or the Dynasties (as Mercator thinkes) must have beene before the 10 Floud. That the arrival at Babel was many yeeres before the plantation of Agypt, after the Floud enough hath been said to prooue; and that the Dynasties were not before the Floud the number of the long-liu'd generations betweene Adam and the Floud, which was leffe than the number of the Dinafties, may fufficiently witnesse. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) bee divided into many Equafties, then may this have beene as well after the Floud, as before: confidering that the fonnes of No. b did not in every Countrie erect such forme of Policie, as had beene vsed in the same ere the Deluge: but such as the disposition of the people, the authoritie and power of the Conducter, together with many other circumstances, did in-

 III. That thefe Dynasties were not divers families of Kings, but rather successions of Regents, oft times many under one King.



duce or inforce them to.

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He short continuance of the Dynasties, doth shew that they were not feuerall races of Kings, as the vaunting Agyptians were wont to file them. What they were it cannot certainly bee warranted. For inrestitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to af- 30 firme. But this may be faid partly vpon good circumstance, partly

voon the surest proofe, That it was the manner of the Agyptian Kings, to put the government of the Countrie into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, onely referning the Soueraignty to themselues, as the old Kings of France were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe Visier. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the Dynasties, whereof many are under Cham, and more then one vnder Ofris or Mizrain; and must therefore have beene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsailors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to Agypt, as are mentioned in the Scriptures: of whom Abimelech the Philistim in his dealing with Abraham and Isaac about confederation, did no- 40 thing without Phicol Captaine of his Hofte; though in taking Abrahams wife, and in his private carriage, hee followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of Abimelech the fonne of Gideon it was faid: Is not hee the fonne of IER VBBAAL? and ZEBVL is his Officer? Also Ibbosheth the sonne of Saul, feared Abner the Captaine of the Hofte. Yea, Danie himselfe hating Isab for his crueltie did not punish him, in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared even of Hadad the Edomite living then in Ægypt. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of Cham, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idlenesse and pleasure, to have layd the burden of gouernement vpon others; and vpon iealousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to have changed his Lieute 50 nants often. Aboue all other proofes is the advancement of tofeph by Pharaoh. William. Ty. de For Pharaoh said to Ioseph; Onely in the Kings throne will I be about thee: befold, I bell sacroling. have fet thee over all the Land of Agypt. William, Archbifhop of Tyre, who flourithed about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eightie, affirmes that the

like or very same forme of gouernement by Viceroys, was in his time practised in Acopt, having there beene in vie (as he believed) ever fince the time of lofeph. He plainely shewes, that the Soldans of Egypt were not Lords of the Countrie, how eper they have beene so deemed; but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the duetie of subjects vnto the Caliphe: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not onely of civill government, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office and authority royall into the Soldans hands. He that shal reade in William of Tyre, the state of the Caliphe, or Mulene El- Lib. 19.2.20. hadeh with the forme of his Court, shall plainely behold the image of the ancient 10 Pharaoh, ruling by a Licutenant, as great in authoritic as Iofeph was, though farre inferiour in wisedome.

To thinke that many names of such Regents or Lieutenants as Ioseph was, haue crept into the List of the Egyptian Kings, were no strange imagination. For Iolephs brethren called him, The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrie: Gen. 42.30.60 Resides, it is not vnlikely that the vaineglorious Agyptian Priests would as easily re- 33. port him a King to posterity, as ignorant men and strangers deeme him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and royall managing of the State had pasfed, whileft that the King himfelfe intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kinde, the example already cited of Io-20 lephs brethren, doth sufficiently witnesse. The reports of Priests doe appeare in Diodorus, and Herodotus: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authoritie, fay; Diodorus, that Sefostris was the nineteenth King after Men. ; Herodotis, that hee was the 222. after Menas: which could not have been, if Menas had been Adam. Therfore we may well conclude, That the Dynasties were not so many races of Kings, but succeffions of Regents, appointed by the kings of so many fundry linages or forts of men. Now by whatfoeuer meanes a Dynastie or Regencie continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: fure itisthatit was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gaue the office. But the Crowne royal alwaics passed by descent, & not by election: which (beside consent of Authors) 30 the Scriptures also proue. For whereas Infeph bought all the land of Agypt for Pharaob, if the Crowne had paffed by election, then should Pharaob's children hereby either have been inthralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successour: or inioving their Fathers land, though not his estate, have been more mighty then the King: as Land-lords of all Ægypt, and the King himfel'e their Tenant. Likewise we find in Exed. 12. that God fmote the first borne of PH AR AOH, that was to set on his Throne. And in Efay it is faid of PHARAOH : I am the sonne of the ancient King.

à IIII.

Of CHAM, and his some MIZRAIM, or Osiris.



Hat the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from Cham to Chencres, now it followeth to shew. Ægypt is called in the Scripture, the land of HAM. That this name is not Pfal.78.51. giuen to it, because the posterity of Cham did reigne there, but for that himselfe did first plantit, we may gather by many circumstances. For

I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of Culb, Put, or Canaan, as well as ·Agret, were called the Land of Ham. Furtherit is found in Diodorus Siculus, that O- piod Siculus friscalleth himselfethe eldest sonne of Cham, saying, Mihi pater Saturnus deorum om-50 nium iumor: also, Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum: which must needs be understood of Cham: for this Saturnus Agyptius was Cham: as

it is said, that on the monument of Ninus was an inscription, wherein Cham was called Saturnus Agyptius. Likewise the Temple of Hammon, not sarre from Agypt, doth testifie, that Ham resided in those parts: And S. Hierome in questionibus Hebrai-

eis faith, that the Egyptians themselves did in his dayes call their Countrie Ham: as in foure seuerall places in the Psalmes this Countrie is called the land of Cham. And Ortelius, noting out of Plutarch in Ofiride, that in the facrifices of the Egyptians this Countrie of Agypt was called Chemia, expounds it for Chamia: vt puto (faith he) à Chame No Es filio, to which also he addeth out of Isidore, Ezyptum Va, hodie E. exptiorum lingua K A M vocari: that Agypt unto this day in the tongue of the Agyptians is called K A M. For the beginning and continuance of Chams reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alleadged, which I have already given in proofe of the time spent in the 15. first Dynasties : Neither is it strange that thereigne of Cham should laft folong as 161. yeeres: confidering that Sem lived 600. Arpach/had and Shelah 10 each about 400. But strange it had beene, if one Saltis created by Manetho, had in those long-lived generations reigned there 19. yeeres, and with Baon, Apachnas. Apochis, and others of the same broad, obscured the same and glory of Osiris, Orus. and Sefostris. Remeccius in histor. Iulia, placeth Mizraim next, otherwise called Osiris according to Diedorus: who faith hee was the sonne of Hammon: Krentzhemius saith that Mizraim and Ofiris are words of neere affinitie and found in the Hebrew tongue. Howsoeuer it bee, wee know that Mizraim the sonne of Cham, was Lord of L. eypt, and Reineceius citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that Agypt is now called by the naturalls in their owne language, Mezre. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether Ofiris were the same with Mizraim. It is more necessarie, and hard 20 to shew manifestly, how long Mizraim or Ofiris reigned. For whereas the yeere of his death is no where precisely set downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That he is not vainely faide by Annius his Berofus, to have begun his reigne at the birth of Abraham, when the Dynastie of the Thebai began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of Eulebius: who auoucheth as much; next by Diedorus, who faith that he inhabited Thebes: which habitation of Ofris there, that it might be cause of that Dynaft. I can well beleeve: affenting fo farre to Reincecius, who thinkes the Dynafties were named only, according to the feuerall feates of the kings.

#### Of the time when Osia is reigne ended: and that IACOB came into Egypt in the time of ORVs the sonne of Os IRIS.

He death of Ofris, when it was, none can certainely affirme. The onely coniecture that I know is made thus: Lehabim the sonne of Mizraim called Hercule: Lybius, made warre in Italy, to revenge his Fathers death, on the affociats of Typhon, in the 41. yeere of Balem King of Af-fyria: before which yeere he had made many great warres in Ægypi,

Phanicia, Phrygia, Crete, Lybia, and Spaine: and having ended his Egyptian warres, 40 left the Kingdome to Orus. Thus farre Berofus, or authors following Berofus. That Died. Sic. 1.2.e. 1 Orm laft of all the Gods (as they were filled) held the Kingdome of I/is, Diederm Siculus plainely faith: and Plutarch as much; to which all old Histories agree. Krentzhemius hereupon inferres, that fixe yeeres may bee allowed to the warres, which Hereules made in so many Countries, after the Agyptian warres were ended: so should the death of Osiri, have beene the 34. of Baleus, when himselfe had reigned 297. veeres. I thinke that Krentzhemins was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For furely in those dayes when commerce was not such as now, but all Nauigation made by coasting, a farre longer time would have been required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet 50 would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtleffe) to finde the trueth. If according to his account the death of Ofiris had beene the 24. of Baleus, then must Ifrael haue come into Egypt but seuen yeeres before the death of Osiris: and haue lived there in the reigne of Typhon. A thing not easily beleeved. For it was the same

king who advanced loseph, bad him fend for his Father; and gaue him leave to goe into Canaan, to the performance of his Fathers funerall: as may easily bee gathered out of the booke of Genesis. Whereas therefore the raigne of Osiris cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seuenth yeere of 1/raels comming into Agypt: wee must needes cut off 23. yeeres from that number, which Krentzhemius coniectures his raigne to have continued: namely feuen which hee should have lived after Iscobs comming into Agypt : nine in which Ioseph had there flourished, ere his fathers comming: and other seuen in which Typhon and Heroules had reigned after the death of Ofris, yet before lofephs advancement.

10 Neither will this disagree with the time of Hercules Lybius his wars. For the warre which Hercules made in Italie, is faid to have indured 10. yeeres: After which proportion we may well give not only fixe yeeres, as Krentzhemius doth, but 23. more to fo many wars in so many and so far-distant Countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute vnto Orus the 13. yeeres, which passed betweene the time of lofephs being fold into Agypt, vnto his advancement : confidering that Putichar who bought him, and whose daughter he may seeme to haue married, continued all that while chiefe Steward vnto Pharaoh: a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in Agypt, as the tyrannous vsurpation of Typhon must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I should 20 confidently say, that Putiphar for his faithfulnesse to Orus, the sonne of Osiris, was by him in the beginning of his raigne made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying Isleph and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, herather committed his estate into losephs hands, than vnto any of his Egyptian followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weake and vulucky in thetroublesom daies of Typhon) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further & fay, That when the faying of 10/epb pleased Pharaoh, and all his servants: then Putiphar Priest of On, being chiefe Officer to Pharaoh, did acknowledge in Ioleph, the ancient graces of God & his injurious imprisonment: wherupon he gaue him his daughter to wife: and being old, refigned his office of chiefe 30 Steward vnto him: who afterward in regard of Puliphar, did iauour the Priests, when hee bought the lands of all other Agyptians. This might appeare to some a tale nor vnlike to the frierly booke of Afenath, Putiphars daughter: but vnto such as consider that God workes viually by means: and that Puliphar was the Steward of that king, vnder whom lacob died: it would sceme a matter not vnprobable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of Hercules, in which by this reckoning hee should have spent 42. yeeres after he left Agypt, ere he began in Italie, it is a circumstance which (the length of his Italian wars considered, and his formerenterprises & atchieuements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs. but for vs: or if it were against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these o probabilities collected out of the vndisputable trueth of Scripture doe confirme it. Neuerthelesse I freely grant that all these proofes are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscuritie, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

Of Typhon, Herevles Egyptvs, Orvs, and the two Sesostres, fuccessively reigning after MIZRAIM: and of diverserrors about the former SESOSTRES.

Oncerning the reigne of Typhon, and of Hercules, I finde none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. Daniel Angelocrator giveth three yeeres to Typhon, omitting Hercules. But he is so peremptorie without proofe, as if his owne word were sufficient authoritie, in many points very questionable; alleadging no witnesse.

but as it were faying, Teste me ipso: yet herein we may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned Krentzhemius affirmeth, that Herenles did very soone

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vndertake his Fathers reuenge: and was not long in performing it: and that leauing £3/pt to his brother, hee followed other warres, in the same quarrell, as hath
uing £3/pt to his brother, hee followed other warres, in the same quarrell, as hath
uing £3/pt to his brother, hee followed other warres, in the same quarrell, as hath
beene lhewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as Krentzhemus doth) out
of Berosus, that Hervules reigned after Typhon: yet seeing Auentinus a follower of
Berosus hath it so, I will also beleeue it. That in the reigne of Typhon and Hervules,
seeine yeeres were spent, how soeveer duided betweene them, I gather out of Krentzseeine yeeres were spent, how soeveer duided betweene them, I gather out of Frentzseeine yeeres were spent, how soeveer duided betweene them, I gather out of Stentzseeine yeeres were spent, how soeveer duided betweene them, I gather out of Stentzseeine yeeres after the death of Osun for seeine yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet osunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet osunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet osunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet osunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet osunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet osunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet osunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet 0sunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet 0sunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet 0sunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet 0sunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet 0sunted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth Dynassiet 0sunted not not of the sunted not of the sunted not not of the sunted not not of the sunted not not of

From that time to the vocation of Abraham

From that time to the separture out of Agypt

Summa

Summa

Summa

which summe divers other wayes may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of Egypt, there doe remaine (as is aforesaid) onely 122. yeeres from the death of Orus: wee are now to confider how many of them are to bee allowed vnto 20 Sefost is or Sesonchosis: who is placed next vnto Orus, by authoritie of the Scholisses Apollonig: not without good probabilitie. For this great king or conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to have ouer-run a great part of Asia: to have built a fleete of shippes on the red Sea : and so to have entred into India: likewise with another fleete on the middle-earth Seas, to have passed into Europe, and subdued many Nations. This is hee (as Reinecerus judgeth) whom Iustine erring in account of histime calleth Vexoris: For Iustine placeth Vexoris in ages before Ninus: whereby it would follow that Selostris, if hee were Vexoris, was more ancient then was Ofiris (otherwise Mizraim) a thing altogether vnlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of Ifrael out of Egypt, no one Pharaob came into the land of Canaan (which lieth in the 30 way from Agypt into Asia) till the Fatherin law of Salomon, Pharach Vaphres, tooke Gerar, and gaue it to his daughter: after which time Sefac oppressed Rehoboam, and gaue it to his daughter: after which time Sesac oppressed Rehoboam, & Necho Sought passage through the land of Israel, when he made his expedition against the Chaldesns. Of King Vaphres and Necho it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King Sefostrus. Of Sefacit is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into Iudea with a great armie. Reineccius propounding the doubt, leaueth it vndecided; vnlesseit be sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himselfe placeth Se/ostris next to Orus : following the Scholiastes Apollonij. But further answere may bee made to the wither they were not one. For, as Instine witnesseth, Sesostria, otherwise Vexoria, 40 made warre on people farre remoued, abstaining from his neighbours. Sefac came vp purposely against Hierusalem. Sesofris, as Diodorus witnesseth, had but 24000. horse: Sefue had 60000: Sefostris had 8020. Chariots, Sefue but 1200: Sefostris made his expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name : Sefae, as most agree, had no other purpose then to succour leroboam, and give him countenancein his new reigne; whom he had fauoured euen against Salomon: therefore Sefostris must needes haue reigned whilest I/rael abode in £gypt.

Whereas Krentzhemius collecteth out of Herodotus, and Dioderus, that one Menas, or Menus, was next to Orus: because those Historians affirme that heereigned next after the Gods; it moueth mee nothing. For Osiru did succeed those 15. Gods, 59 namely the twelve greater, and three lesser: himselfe also (as the learned Reinicus noteth) being called Menas. Which name, as also Menasus, and Menis, were the of dignitie: though mistaken by some as proper names. Krentzhemius doth verie probably gather, that Menas was Mercurius Termaximus: the Hebrew word

Ment signifying an Arithmetician: which name Ter-maximus might well be attributed to Oliris: who was a great Conquerour, Philosopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giving good Lawes, and teaching profitable Artes. In proweffe and great vndertakings Sefostris was no whit inferiour to Osiris. For he sought victorie not for gaine, but for honour onely : and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royall disposition. leaving them in a manner to their libertie, returned into Agypt. Soone voon his returne he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was, being by his owne brother purposely fired which neuerthelesse hee is saide to have escaped. and to have reigned in all thirtie three yeeres: after which time hee chose rather to diethen to live : because he fell blinde. Both Herodotus, and Diedorus, affirme that Sesostria left a sonne, whose name was Pheron or Pherones: who afterwards tooke the name of Selostris: but was nothing like to his Father in glorie: for hee shortly fell blinde. The cause of his blindnesse Herodotus attributes to his assaulting the river Nilus with a iaueline: which tale Diodorus having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father: How long this man reigned it is no where expressed: yet for a smuch as Orus the second. (otherwife Busiris) who succeeded him, began 14. yeeres after that this Sesostris had beene king, it must needes bee that this reigned 14. yeeres at least. That Busiris began not 20 vntill these 14. yeeres at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of Buliris, to the departure of Ifrael out of Egypt plainely shewes, being almost generally agreed upon, to have beene 75. yeeres. That none came betweene Selostris the second and Busiris or Orus the second, it stands only upon probabilities; which are these. After Selostris had reigned somewhile, hee fell blinde: after certaine veeres heerecouered his fight, as is saide: which may have beene true, but is more like to have beene a fable: furely the manner of his recoverie as it is fet downe, is very fabulous: namely that by looking vpon a woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had onely knowne her owne husband, hee got his fight againe. As the time of hisreigne, before his blindnesse, and when hee was well againe (if euer hee were) 20 may have taken vp a good part of 14. yeeres: fo his workes which were great.doe much more strongly argue, that his reigne was not very short. His words are largely set downe by Herodotus, and Diodorus: a part of which may seeme to have beene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and fluces of Nilus: whom I thinke he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with spades and shouels. then with darts, and iauelins: and by his diligent overfight of that worke, was like enough to lofe both his eye-fight and his peoples love: whom his Father had very bufily employed in excessive labour about it.

Of Busiris the first oppressor of the Israelites: and of his successor Queene There mutis that tooke up Moses out of the water.



Nd heerein (if I may presume to coniecture) Busiris, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as seroboam did with the sonne of Salomon. For that Busiris himselfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appeared, by the drudgerie where with he wearied the children of Israel in his buildings: If therefore he were em-

ployed by the great Sefoftris, as teroboam was by Salomon, in the ouerlight of those to buincifies, he had good opportunitie to worke his greatnesse with the king by industrie: and afterward with the people by incensing them against their new king: as Ieroboam did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: vnlesse haue either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreouer he sought to derive all the paine and labour of publique workes from the Y 2

Exod. 1.

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£ expliants; to the Israelites: hee surely did that which to his owne people was very plaufible; who (as appeares in Exedus) were nothing flack in fulfilling the kings crueltie. Now that Orus the 2 or Bustrie was the king that first oppressed Israel, and made the Edict of drowning the Hebrew children, which (faith Cedrenus) lasted tenne monethssicis a common opinion of many great & most learned writers; who also thinke that hereupon grew the fable of Busiris facrificing strangers, It is also a common interpretation of that place, Ex. 1. that the King who knew not Iofeph, was a king of a new family. That Busiris was of a new familie, Reineccius doth shew: who also thinks him Author of the bloudie edich. Neuerthelesse, true it is, that Busiris, according to all mens computation, began his reigne 7. yeeresafter the birth of Moses; before whose 10 birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began: which Bunting thinkes to have lasted 87. yeeres, ere the departure out of Agypt. Let vs therefore consider, besides the blindnesse of Sesostrus the second, how great the power of the Regents or Viceroyes in Agypt was: and how great confidence the kings did put in them: feeing Iofeph ruled with fuch full power, that he bought all Agypt, & all the Agyptians for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his owne father & brethren, for nothing : feeing also that when the Agyptians cried out vpo Pharaoh, for bread : Pharaoh faid to all the Egyptians, Go to Tofeph: what he faith to you, do ye. If to a stranger borne larely setcht out of prison, a king well able to have gouerned himfelfe, would give fuch truft, and foueraigne authoritie it is not vnlikely 20 that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often profpers, not only the good ( fuch as Io/eph was ) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therfore perhaps the king did(as many haue done) religne his kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun, till the death of Sefultis. But whether Busines did vsurpe the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king religned it, keeping the title: or whether Bujrin were onely Regent, whilst the king lived, and atterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselse: it might well be said that Pharaobs daughter tooke vp Moses, and that Pharaoh vexed Ifrael: seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not abfurd for vs to say that the blind king Se-30 Costres the second oppressed Israel: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked Tyrani shewed his euill nature even when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that Business did it, vsing at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122, yeeres which passed betweene the beginning of Selostris his reigne, and the departure of Ifrael out of Egypt, 47. being spent : the 75. which remaine, are to bee accounted to Busiris or Orus the second, and his children. Busiris himselfe reigned 30. veeres, according to Eufebius: whom very many indicious authors heerein approoue. After him his daughter, who tooke Moses out of the water, is saide by all that I haueread, to hauereigned 12. yeeres: Her name was Thermutis Phareis, or Muthis according to Cedrenus: Eufeb. cals her Aceneris: and out of Artabanus his Historie Me. 40 ris : Iosephus cals her both Acenchere, & Thermutis Epiphanius in Panario saith that she was honoured afterward of the Egyptians, by the name of Thermutis the daughter of Amenoph, the fon of Pharach. Of this last title question might be made & much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not Pharaohs sonnes daughter, but Pharaohs daughter. Amenophis indeed is placed next before Busiris or Orus the second by Eusebia and others : but whether hee were a king or onely a Regent I cannot contecture. For Herodotus, Deodorus, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of Sejostris, Pheron. Perhaps his name was Pharaoh Amenophis: and his daughter by the Agyptians called rather the neece or grandchilde, then the daughter of Pharaoh, because of the glory of Sefostris, and the disreputation of his sonne. If so, and if that Business or Orus the se- 50 cond marrying her pretended any title by her, then is our coniecture strengthened, and then was the both daughter, grandchild, and wife vnto Pharaoh: and furuining him, Queene of the land, 12. yeeres. But if the were the daughter of orus the 2. & sister of Athoris, or Rathoris, as many thinke, to whose coniecture I will not oppose mine,

then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too yong to rule, when her Father died.

ø. VIII.

of the two brethren of Queene THERMVTIS: and what king it was, under whom Moses was borne: and who it was that perilled in the red Sea.

CHAP.2. \$.8.

Mee had two brethren: the one was Rathoris or Athoris, who succeeded her; the other Telegonus, who is onely named by Eulebius: but his linage and off-spring described by Reinecolus. Rathoris after his sisters linage and off-spring described by Reineccius. Rathoris after his sisters death reigned 9, years after whom Chemers, thought to be his sonne, reigned 10. and then perished in the red Sea. During the reign of Chen-

eres, Eulebius faith, that Telegonus begat Epaphus vpon 10: of which Historie elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of Chencres ( whom some call Acencheres: but all or most do stile source a fighter against God) Acherres reigned 8. yeeres: and then Cherres 15. This descent seemes from Father to sonne. In the 11. yeere of Cherres it is said by Euseb. that Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Egypt, built Memphis. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not vnlikely; viz. That Ægypt was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laide vpon it, and the destruction of her king and armic in the red Sea : else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the later of whom, or his posteritie seemes to have taken all from Cherres the grand-child of Chencres. For whereas Armais is faid to have reigned 4. yeeres after Cherres: and Armesis one after Armais: these two kings are by Eusebius and others accounted as one; and his reigne said to have beene 5. yeeres. His name is called Armeus, otherwise Danaus: and his pedigree thus described by Reineceius in Historia Iulia,

> Epaphus: Lybia, who had

Agenor, Belus, and Busiris.

Egyptus or Ramesses who gaue name to the Countrie, hauing expelled his brother Danaus, reigned, and begat Lynceus, married to Hypermnestra.

Danaus or Armeus expelled by his brother . A. gyptus, after hee had reigned fine veeres.became king of Argos in Greece: was Father to Hypermnestra.

How it might come to passe that the Nephews sons of Epaphus should have occupied the kingdome after Cherres, it is hard to fay : confidering that Epaphus himselfe is reported by Eusebius to have been borne in the time of Chencres. But for a fmuch as the Historie of Epaphus his birth, is diversly related by Eusebius, it may suffice, that Belus the father of Danaus & Egyptus, otherwise called Armeus and Ramesses, was equal-50 ly distant from Busiris or Orus the second, with Cherres the grand-child of Cheneres. And that the posteritie of Telegonus did marrie very yong, it appeares by the Historie of these two brethren, Danaus & Agyptus: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the later 50. sons:perhaps, or rather questionlesse by divers women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoeuer it were, the generall conExed.4.19.

Printle.

fent of writers is, that Armem or Danam did succeede Cherres: and (according to Eulebius and good Authors approuing him ) reigned fine yeeres. Ramesses followed, who reigned 68. yeeres. This Ramefles or Agyptus is that Armefelmiamum or Arme-(esmiamus, under whom, in the opinion of Mercator, and of Bunting that followes Mercator Moles was borne: and the cruell Edict made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reigne seemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of Mercators opinion. For whereas the Lord faid to Moles, Goe, returne to Agypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: Mercator heereupon conceines, that it was one and the same king under whom Moses was borne, and under whom he slew the Agyptian at the 40. yeere of his age: and fled into the wildernesse, and there abode for feare: 10 all which Circumstances could agree with none, but this Ramesses, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true Paradox, then a common errour, hee placeth one Aliffragmuthofis (whole name is found in the lift of Egyptian kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeeres more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successours from Themosis (whom Eus. cals Amasis) downwards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene Manetho and Eufeb. hee findes Moses borne under Armesesmiamum: and Israel deliuered in the dayes of his sonne Amenophis. The very name of Aliffragmuthofis feemes to him with little alteration 20 to found like Pharatates, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a king, or a wife man about the time of I/aac. For (faith he) from Aliffragmuthofis to Phragmuthosis, Pharmuthosis, Pharetasis, or Pharatates, the change is not great. Mercater was a man of excellent learning and industrie: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable workes: yet my affent heerein is with held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that Chencres was the king who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place Exod. 4. all are dead, &c. may better be vnderstood of Busines and all his children, then of one king alone: Thirdly, St. Cyrill in his first booke against Iulian the Apostata, saith that Dardanus built Dardania, when Moses was 120. yeeresold: Ramesses, which was this Armelesmiamum, being 30 then king of Agypt. After Ramesses, Amenophis reigned 19. yeeres: who is thought by Mercater, and peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be the King that perished in the red Sea : of which our opinion being alreadie laied open, I thinke it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a Chronole-

gicall Table shall lay open) and heere to speake of that great deliuerance of Israel out of Egypt: which for many great confiderations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly ouer-

paffe.

CHAP.

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CHAP. III.

# Of the delinery of Hrael out of Ægypt.

Of the time of Moses birth, and how long the I/raelites were oppressed in Agypt.



CHAP. 3. S. I.

Rue it is that the Historic it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of Moles his birth. who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great workes of the Highest, the different opinions are very neere as many, as the men that have written of that Argunient.

L. Viues in his annotations upon S. Augustine citeth many of their coniectures: as that of Porphyric out of Sanchoniato, that Moses lived in the time of Semiramis: but if hee meant the first Semiramis, it was but a fond conceit: for belides that the same is contrarie to all

Stories Divine and humane; while that Semiramic lived, shee commanded Syria, and all the parts thereofablolutely: neither were the Ammonites, or Moabites, or Edomites. while she ruled, in rerum natura.

A second opinion he remembreth of Appion, taken from Ptolomie a Priest of Mendes, who faith that Mofes was borne while Inachus ruled the Argines, and Amelis in

30 The third opinion is taken out of Polemon, in his Greeke Historie the first booke: that Moles was borne while Apis the third King ruled Argos.

A fourth is borrowed from Tatianus Asyrius, who though hee cite some authorities, that Moles lived after the Troian warre, is himselfe of opinion, that Moles was

farre more ancient, prouing it by many arguments. Fiftly, he setteth downe the testimonie of Numenius the Philosopher, who tooke

Mulaus and Moles to be one: confirming the same out of Artapanus, who confesfeth that Mofes was called Museus, by the Grecians: and who farther delivereth that he was adopted by Chenephis, or Thermutis, the daughter of Agypt: the same which Eupolemus calleth Meris; others (as Rabanus Maurus) Thermothes. Eusebius also affir- Euseb.de prepar. meth, that by Eupolemus in his first booke de bono, Moses vir Deo coniunetismus is called Muleus Indeorum. Eulebius in his Chronologie, finds that Moles was borne while Amenophis ruled Agypt. The ancient Manethon cals that Pharao, which lived at Moles birth, Thumosis or Thmosis: the same perchance which Appion the Grammarian will haue to be Amoss, and elsewhere Amenophis the Father of Sethosis: to whome Lysimachus and Cornelius Tacitus give the name of Bocchoris. To mee it seemeth most probable that while Saphrus, called also Spherus or Iphereus, gouerned Asyria; Orthopolis Sieyonia; and Criasus the Argines; that then (Sesostrus the second ruling in Egypt Moses was borne. For if wee beleeue S Augustine, it was about the end of Cecrops time, that Moses led Ifrael out of Agypt. Eduxit Moses ex Agypto popu- Auglisait. Jolum Dei noussimo tempore CECROFIS Atheniensium regis: MosEs (faith he) led the people of God out of Egypt, about the end of CECROPS time King of the Athenians. In this fort therefore is the time of Mofes birth, and of his departure out of Agypt best proued. S. August. affirmes (as before remembred) that Moses was borne: Sephrus gouerning Afgria; and that hee left Agypt about the end of Cecrops time.

of the Historie of the World. Снар.2. \$.2.

Now Saphrus ruled 20. yeeres; his successor Mamelus 20 yeeres; Sparetus after him 40 yeeres : in whose fourth yeere Cecrops began to gouerne in Attica : Ascatades followed Sparetus, and held the Empire 41: So as Moles being borne while Saphrus ruled Afgria, Orthopolis Sicyonia, and Criafus Argos (for these three kines lived at once at his birth, faith S. Augustine, as Cecrops did when he departed £27pt) it will follow that the birth of Moles was in the nineteenth yeere of the Algrian Saphrus : for take one yeere remaining of 20. (for so long Saphrus reigned) to which adde the thirtie veres of Mamelus, and the 40. yeres of Sparetus, these make 71. with which there were wasted three yeeres of Georops his 50 yeeres: then take nine yeeres out of the reigne of Ascatades, who was Sparetus successour, those nine yeeres added to 71. make 80, 10 at which age Moles left Agypt: and addethele nine yeeres to the three yeeres of Cecrops formerly spent, there will remaine but soure yeeres of Cecrops his 50: and so it falleth right with S. Augustines words, affirming that towards the end of Cecross his time, Moles led the people of Ifrael out of Agypt.

Now the time in which the Hebre wes were opprest in Agypt, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine yeeres before the birth of Moses, and 54. yeere, or rather more, after loseph: betweene whose death and the birth of Moses, there were confumed 64. yeeres: fome of which time, and 80. yeeres after, they lived in great feruitude and miserie. For asit is written in Exodus: They fet taske-masters over them. 20 to keepe them under with burdens: and they built the Cities Pithom and Ramases, &c. And by crueltie they caused the children of Israel to serue; and made them weary of their lines, by fore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid vponthem by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisedome of God appointed: euen from 54. yeeres, or not much more after the death of 10feph, who left the World when it had lasted 2370. yeeres, to the eightieth yeere of Moses, and vntill hee wrought his miracles in the field of Zoan, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514, towards the end thereof, according to Codoman, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliuer of Egypt, may the better bee vnderstood, I thinke it necessary to speake a few 30 words of the principall places therein named, in this discourse.

ð. II.

Of divers Cities and places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or elfewhere in the Scripture.

Numb.33. Ezekici 30. Hierem.z.43, 44,46. Iosep.l.1.c.9. Tyr. de Bell. Sacr. 1.19.6.23.

Eufeb.depræp.

Gen.12.15.

Esai.19.11.

Exed,1.

2370.

2514.



His Citie which the Hebrewes call Zoan, was built seuen veeres after Hebron. Ezekiel calleth it Taphnes; and so doth Hieremie; the Septus-gint, Tanis; 10sephus, Protaidis; after the name of an Ægyptian Queene; Antonius giues it the name of Thanis; Hegessippus, Thamna; and William Tyrius, Tapius. It adiouneth to the land of Gosen, and is the same, wherein Hieremie the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the Egyptian

and Iewift Idolatry.

their Pharaohs then commonly refided; and not vnlikely to be the same Citie, where Abraham in his time found him. But Eusebius out of Artapanus affirmeth, that Abraham read Astronomie in Heliopolis, or On, to Pharetates King of Egypt. Alex. Polybiftor. out of Eupolemus hath it otherwise, saying, that Abraham instructed the Agyptian Priests, and not the King; both which authorities Eusebius citeth. The Sep- 50 tuagint, and the Vulgar edition, for Zoan write Heliopolis. Pagnin, Vatablus, Iunius, and our English call it on; and Ptolomie, Onium. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower Lgypt, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of Nilus falling into the Sea at Peleusium. And it

Zoan or Tahnes was in Mofes time the Metropolis of the lower Leppt, in which

it may be that Heliopolis to the South of the river Trasan, was the fame which Vatablus and our English call Auen. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine Exech.3.17. knowledge: the same, which Pomp, Mela, and Plinie, call Solis oppidum; Tyrius in the Holy Warre, Malbec; the Arabians, Bahalbeth; and Simcon Sethi, Fons Solis. Of this Heliepolis, or On, was Putiphar Prieft, or Prince, whole daughter lofeph married. In the lofeo t. 1. bell. Territory adioyning Iacob inhabited, while he lived in Egypt. In the confines of this Indaice. 1. Citie, Onicas, the high Priest of the Jewes, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; not much inferiour to that of Hiernfalem (Ptolomie Philopater then governing in Egypt) which flood to the time of Velpalian, 333, yeeres after the foundation by to Oniss, whom losephus fallly reporteth, herein to have fulfilled a prophecie of Esa.c. 19. In dieilla erit Altare Domini in medio terra Agypti; In that day fall the Altar of the Lord bee in the middest of the Land of Legypt. Cintiochus Epiphanes at that time of the building tyrannizing ouer the Iewes, gaue the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in Legypt. Lastly, there it was that out Saujour Christ Iesus remained. while toleph and the Virgin Mary feared the violence of Herod: neere which (fayth Brochard) the fountaine is still found, called teliss well, whose streames doe afterward Brochser, fands water the Gardens of Ballamam, no where else found in Agypt. And hereof see more in Brochard, in his description of Egypt.

Brownera, in its description of Egypt.

There is also the Citie of Noph, remembred by Esai and Ezekiel; the same which Esach..... 20 Hosea the Prophet calleth Moph: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adjoyning, so called, which Mountaine Herodotus remembreth. And this is that great lib.2. Citie, which was called Memphis; and so the Septuagint write it. It is knowne to the strabians by the name of Mazar. The Chaldeans name it Alchabyr; and Tudalen-

Pelulum, which Vatablus, Pagnin, Iunius, and our English write, Sin; the Septangint G.Tyr. Lao.s. 17 call Sais; and Montanus, Lebna; is not the same with Damiata, as Gul Tyrius witnest- lib.2.65. feth. In the time of Baldwin the third , Pelusium was called Belbeis. Belbeis (faith Tyrius) que olim dicta est Pelusium; Belbeis, that in times past was called Pelusium.

The Citie of No, the Septuagint call Diospolis. Of which name there are two or Exch. 30.15,16 30 three in Egypt. Hierome converts it Alexandria, by anticipation, because it was so

called in the future. Bubastus, for fo Hierome and Zeigler write it, is the same which the Hebrewes call Exch.30.17. Pibeleth.

To make the storie the more perceinable, I have added a description of the land of Gofen, in which the Ifraelites inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of Taphnes or Zoan, Heliopolis or Bethfemes, Balfephon, Succeth, and the reft; together with Mofes passage through the Desarts of Arabia the Stonie. For all storic without the knowledge of the places, wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the 40 knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serue to retain, what wereade, in our memories, fo well as these pictures and descriptions doe. In which respect I am driven to digresse in many places, and to interpose some such discou se, other wise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, Arias Montanus; who in his Preface to the Storie of the Holy Land, hath these words: Si enim abs q locorum observatione res gesta narrentur, aut line Topographia cognitione historia legantur, ades confusa atg. perturbata erunt omna, vt ex üs nibil non obscurum, nibil non difficile elici possit; If narration (faith he) be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done : or if Histories be read without Topographicall knowledge; all things will 50 appeare to intricate and confused, as wee shall thereby under standnothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficultie.

ò. III.

ð. III. .

Of the cruelty again ft the Israelites your children in Agypt: and of Moses his preservation, and education.



Vt to returne to the story it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and flauery, which the Ifraelites endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: infomuch as Pharaob confidering the danger of difcontented pouertie, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude. how perillous they might bee to his estate, by suggestion of the Deuill 10

resolved to slaughter all the male children of the Hebrews, as soone as they should be borne. To which end he fent for Sephora and Thua, women the most famous and expert amongst them, que praerant (saith Commestor) multitudini obstetricum, who bad command given them over all mid-wines; by whom (as it seemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to have called all the mid-wives of Agypt together, had been a strange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the Hebrews, or of the Lepptians, it is diverly disputed. S. Augustine calls them Hebrews, because it is written Exodus the first, The King of Egypt commanded the midwines of the Hebrew women, Gr. But Iosephus, Abulensis, and Pererus beleeue them to be Egyptians. Whosoeuer they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the 20 execution of that fecret murder, to the end the world might witnesse both the wickednesse of the Agyptians, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and reuenge: Pharaoh finding those women filled with pietie, and the feare of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publikely, or howfoeuer, to destroy all the male Hebrew children borne within his

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Ver. T 6. Ioseph.ant.l.2.

Ver.32.

c.s. Abu! & Perer.

Ex0d.10.5.

Now besides the doubts, which Pharaoh had of the multitudes of the Hebrewes. the greatest part of whom hee might have assured, by affoording them the instice, which every King oweth to his valfals, and the rest he might have imployed or sent 10fepant.lize.s away at his pleasure; 10fephus giveth another cause of his rage against them, name- 30 ly. That it was prophetically deliuered him by an Egyptian Prieft, that among the Hebrewes there should bee borne a childe; who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To preuent which, (and prefuming that he could refift the ordinance of God, by a meane, contrarie to the lawes of Heauen and of nature) hee stretched out his bloudie and mercilesse hand to the exccution of his former intent. The same preuention Herod long after practised, when fearing the spirituall kingdome of Christ, as if it should have beene temporall, he caused all the male children at that time borne to bee slaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fift of Exodus. Come, let vs worke wifely with 40 them, lest they multiplie; and it come to passe, that if there bee warre, they towne themselves allo vnto our enemies, and fight against vs, and get them out of the Land. But wee see, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wifedome of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they relie on the inventions of their owne most feeble, and altogether darkened understanding. For even by the hands of the dearely beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and minister of Gods meruailous workes taken out of Nilus, being thereinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a fucking and powerleffe infant. And this Princeffe hauing beheld the child his forme and beautie, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compathon, as she did not onely preserue it, and cause it to be fostered; but 50 commanded that it should be esteemed as her owne, and with equal care to the sonne of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deede, shee called the childe Moses, as it were, extractus, or ereptus, taken out, to wit, out of the water : or, after Iosephus and Glicas, Moy, a voice expressing water, and hises, as much to say, as

that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken. Clemens Alexandrinus was of Strom, Li. opinion, that Moses was circumcised, before he was put into the Arke of Reedes. and that Amram his father had named him Joachim. In his youth hee was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge of Pharaobs Daughter, and by men of the most vnderstanding, taught and instructed : quem regio more educanit, prafectu et sapientibus A- phil de vits apptiorum Magistris, à quibus erudiretur, faith BASIL; Vnto whom shee gaue princely e- Moss. ducation, appointing over him wife Masters of the Egyptians for his instructers. Thereby (say lofephus and Philo) hee became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the Agyptians; which also the Martyr Stephen, in the feuenth of the Attes confirmeth; 10 And Moses was learned in all the wifedome of the Agyptians. Which wifedome or fapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as Six. Senensis hath gathered, wee have added, betweene the death of Moses, and the reigne of losus.

**?.** IIII.

Of Moses his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his warre in Athiopia; and of his marriage there: PHILO his indeement of bis Pastorallife: and that of PERERIVS of the Bookes of GENESIS and IOR.



CHAP-3.5.4.

Hen Moses was growne to mans estate, losephus and Eusebius, out of Artapanus, tell vs of ten yeeres warre that hee made against the Athiopians: of the belieging of Saba, afterward by Cambyfes, called Meroe; and how he recouered that Citie by the fauour of Tharbis, a Daughter of Athiopia, whom he tooke to wife. So hath Commestor a prettie

tale of Moles, How after the end of that warre, Tharbis relifting his returne into Egypt, Moles most skilfull in Astronomie, caused two Images to bee ingrauen in two precious stones, whereof the one increased memorie; the other caused forgetfulnesse. These he set in two rings; whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of obliuion, 30 to his wife Tharbis, reserving the other of memorie for himselfe: which ring of forgetfulnesse, after shee had a while worne, shee beganne to neglect the love shee bare her husband : and fo Moles without danger returned into Egypt. But leauing these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeere of Moles age, when hee beheld an Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed Hebrewes. moued by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdaine against the other, in the contention he flew the Egyptian. Soone after which act, finding a disposition in some of his owne Nation to accuse him, for whose desence hee had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduice of God, whose chosen seruant he was, hee fled into Arabia Petraa, the next bordering Countrie to 40 Egypt; where wandring all alone, as a man left and for faken, in a place vnknowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in suture times were the irreconciliable enemies of the Hebrewes: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly meanes) to make the watering of a sew sheepe, and the affilting of the Daughters of Raquel the Midianite, an occasion whereby to prouide him a wife of one of those, and a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him ina Countrie neerest Egypt, fittest to returne from: necessarie to bee knowne, because interiacent betweene Egipt and Indea, through which he was to leade the Ifraelites; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best served. And laftly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Desarts, there

50 the glorie of God, which shineth most, couered him ouer, and appeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings sonne, or an adopted child of great Pharachs daughter. butas a meeke and humble theepe-heard, fitting at a mountaine foote; a keeper and commander of those poore beasts onely.

In that part of Aravia, neere Madian, hee confumed 40, yeeres. And though (as

C.4.V.13.

CHAP.3. \$-5.

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Philo in the story of Moles life observeth ) he did not neglect the care of those flocks. committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastorall knowledge: vet in that solitary Desart hee enjoyed himselse: and being separate from the presse of the world, and the troublesome affaires thereof, hee gaue himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, whereof his younger yeeres had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also judging that his Pastorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principalitie, which heafterward obtained. Elt enim (faith PHILO) ars Paltoralis, quali praludium adregnum, hoceft, adregimen hominum, gregis mansuetisimi. Quemadmodum bellicosaingenia praexercent fe in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postes in militia & bello per- 10 fectura sunt; brutis prahentibus materiam exercity, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At verò prafectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddim simile cum regno in subditis ; idecá, Reges cognominantur Pastores populorum, non contumelia sed honoris gratia; The art of keeping sheepe is, as it were, an introductorie exercise vato a Kingdome, namely, the rule out men, the most gentie flocke: Euen as warlike natures doe before-hand exercise themselves in hunting. practifing on wild beafts those things, which after they will accomplish in war fare : those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to traine themselves, both ir time of warre and of peace. But the gouernement of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of resemblance unto a Kingly rule over But the gouvernement of service causeus, value a none of the people, not in way of reproch, but for 20

That Moses, in this time of his abode at Madian, wrote the Booke of lob, as Pererius supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that Iob was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to Pererim opinion, That Moles, while heeliued in that part of Arabia, wrote the bookes of Genesis; although I cannot denie the reason of Pererius conjecture, That by the example of Iobs patience hee might strengthen the oppressed Hebrewes: and by the promises of God to Abraham, Mass, and lacob, put them in affurance of their deliverie from the Leyptian flavery, and

of the Land of rest, and plentie promised.

Of his calling backe into Agypt by the Angel of God, and the maruailes and wonders which hee performed, thereby to perswade Pharaoh, that he was the mef- 30 senger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteene Chapters of Exedus; and therefore to treate of all the particulars therein contained, it were needlesse. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when Moses desired to be taught by God, by wat name hee should make him knowne, and by whom hee was sent; he received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and everbeing nature. Out of which he deliuered him in the first part of his answere, a name to be considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to bee understood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe, but the eternall: which truely is; which is about all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; neuer continuing 40 at one stay, nor being the same so long, as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoeuer is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in enery shortest wieron ad Dam. piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. Vna est Dei & solanatura, qua verè est: id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Catexa qua creata funt, etiamsi videntur effe, non sunt, quis aliquando non fuerunt, & potest run(um non effe, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is, for hee hath his being of himfelfe, and not from any thing without bim. Other things that are created, although they seeme to be , yet they are not; for sometimes they were not : and that which hath not beene, may againe want being. And with this, in respect of the Divine nature, the saying of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth: Tota rerum natura vmbra est, aut inanis, 50 aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either emptie or deceitfull: in comparison of whom (saith E(ay) all Nations are as nothing, lesse then nothing, and

Of the tenne plagues wherewith the Agyptians were strucken, the first was by

changing the Rivers into bloud: God punishing them by those waters, into which their Forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the Hebrewes. To which this place of the Reuelation may bee firly applied: and I heard the Angellof the water fay, Lord, thou art iuft, which art, and which wast: and c.xs.v. hely because thou hast indged these things; for they shed the bloud of the Saints and Prophets. and therefore hast thou given them bloud to drinke.

The rest of the Plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flyes, or slinging Waspes; by the death of their Cattaile; by leprous Scabbes, by Haile and Fire; by Grashoppers; by darknesse; after which Pharaoh forbad Moses his presence: moued the hardned to heart of the vnbeleening King no longer, then the paine and perill lafted, till fuch time as his owne first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein wee remember God perforce) stood voon no condition: whereas before, hee first yeelded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women and children, referuing their bestiall; but hee was now content for the present, that the Isrelites should not only depart with all their owne, but with a part of the Siluer, Gold, and Iewels of his owne people: of which (the feare being past) hee suddainly repented him, as his pursuit after them proued. For when every one of the Hebrewes had (according to direction from Moles receiued) flaine a Lambe, without spot or blemish, for the Passeouer, a Sacrament of the 20 most cleaneand vnspotted Saujour) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the doores; the Angell of God in the dead of the night smote every first-borne of Agypt, from the sonne of the King, to that of the Begger and Slaue: the children of the Ifraelites excepted. At which terrible judgement of God, Pharach being more then euer amazed, yeelded, as before is fayd, to their departure. The Lepptians (faith Epiphanius) did in after-times imitate this colouring with Epiphan.l.t. bloud, which the Israelites vsed after the Passeouer; ascribing an exceeding vertue to cont. Eleros. the Red Colour: and therefore they did not only marke their Sheepe and Cattell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserue them from lightning and other harmes.

Of PHARAOHS pursuit of the Israelites: and of their passing towards the Red Sea, To farre as Succoth.

O w, when the people were remooned, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) hee bethought him aswell of the Honour being hardened by God) nee petnongar man account of lost, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in Suffering them to depart with the spoiles of his people, and in account of the state of spight of himselfe. And having before this time great Companies of

Souldiers in readinesse, hee consulted with himselfe, what way the Ifraelites were like to take. Hee knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrey of the Philistims. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probabilitie of his Allies, hee suspected that Moses meant to find some other outlet, to wit, through the Desart of Etham; and there, because the Countrey was exceeding Mountainous, and of hard accesse, and that Moses was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, hee thought it impossible for the Israelites to escape him that way. In the meane-while having gathered together all the Chariots of Agypt, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer Exed. 14.0.7. them; hee determined to set vpon them in the Plaines of Gosen, which way soeuer 50 they turned themselues. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharpe Hookes on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the Brittaines vsed against the Romanes, while they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Armie of PHARAOH, IOSEPHVS affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Iofant.l.v.c.6. Horse,

Horse, and 20000. foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that

Pharaoh intended long before to affaile the Hebrewes at their departure, or to desirov

them in Gofen; and refused them passage, till such time as hee had prepared an Armie.

to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of Exodus, hee doubted two things,

eyther that the Hebrewes might joyne themselves to his enemies within the Land, or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence

at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieued him withall, enforst him at

this time to give an affent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But

were it otherwise, and Iosephus partiall in this affaire, yet by the wordes of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of Egypt: which could not bee done to

in hafte. For Moles made but three dayes march, ere Pharaoh was at his heeles; and

yet the last day he went on sixteene miles: which, in so hot a Countrey, and to drive

their Cattell and Sheep with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children.

was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemie at hand. Now, as Moles

well knew, that hee went out with a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnder-

standing in all his Enterprizes: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but v-

fing the vinderstanding which God had given him, hee left nothing vinperformed be-

comming a naturall wise man, a valiant and a skilfull Conducter; as by all his actions

him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after hee had warned I/rael

time forward they were commanded to account, as the first Moneth of the yeere.

Whether in former times they had beene accustomed to begin their yeere in some o-

ther Moneth, following the manner of the Egyptians, and were now recalled by

Moses to the rule of their Forefathers, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that they had.

and retained, another beginning of their politike yeere, which was not now abroga-

ted, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still con-

tinued in vse. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, vnto

the beginning, middest, or ending of the yeere; that distinction of the Sacred, and

ry Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeere, like enough it is that Moles himselfe

in fortie yeeres space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering

thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust: but that any rule of framing

their Kalendar, was made publike, before the captiuitie of Babylon, I doe not find.

Now because time and motion beginne together, it will not, I thinke, bee any great

breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the forme of the

Hebrew yeere: with the difference betweene them and other Nations, in ordering

the Politike yeere is not to bee neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in eue- 40

When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded 20

and counsailes from this day to his death well appeared.

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CHAP.3. S. 6. of the History of the World.

Of the Solarie and Lunarie yeeres: and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named.

I. March. The first Moneth, Nilan, or Abib. The second, Iar, or Tiar, Zio, or Zin. 2. April. Thethird, Sinan, or Sinan, or Siban. 2. Maie. 4. Iune. The fourth, Tamuz. 5. Inlie. The fifth, Ab. The fixth, Elul. 6. August. The seventh, Tyfri, or Ethauin, or Ethanim. 7. September. The eighth, Marchefuan, or Mechafuan, or Bul, or with Iofephus, Marfonane. 8. October. 1. Ant.c.a. 9. Nouember. The ninth, Chiflen, or Callen. The tenth, Tebeth, or Thobeth. 10.December II. lanuarie. The eleventh, Sebeth, or Sabath. The twelfth, Adar, and Ve Adar. 12. February.

E Adar was an intercalarie Moneth, added, some yeeres, vnto the other twelue, to make the Solarie and Lunarie yeere agree; which (be sides the generall inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by cafing the Moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to bee regarded of the He-

bremes, because of the divine Precept. For God appointed especiall Feasts to be cele- Deut. 16. brated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeere, and withall on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not have so beene kept, if eyther the day of the Moone had 30 fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe beene found farre

distant from his place in the season of the yeere.

Other Nations, the better to observe their Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertaine all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commoditie of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their yeeres vnequall, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more dayes, as theerrour committed in foregoing yeeres required. The errour grew at first, by notknowing what number of dayes made up a complear yeere. For though by the continuall course of the Sunne, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plaine enough even to the most sauage of all people, when a yeere hath 40 passed ouer them; yet the necessitie of ordinarie occurrences, that are to bee numbred by a shorter Tally, makes this long measure of whole yeeres insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affaires. Therefore men obserued the Monethly conspicuous revolution of the Moone, by which they divided the yeere into twelve parts, Subdividing the Moneth into 29 dayes and nights, and those againe into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are sensible and easily discerned: so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexitie in the vnderstanding. Twelue revolutions of the Moone, containing lesse time by eleven dayes or thereabout, than the yeerely course of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the space of sixteene yeeres, euery Moneth was found in the quite contrarie part of the 50 yeere, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the yeere, making it to confift of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sunne and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sunne determine his yeerely revolution by any fet number of whole dayes; neyther did the Moone

Exed.14.7.

of the Passeoner, he appointed a generall Assembly or Rende-vous of all the Hebrewes The Territory at Ramafes, in the Territorie of Gofen; a Citie standing indifferent to receive from of Golenwas afterward cal- all other parts of the Countrey the dispersed Hebrewes: and gaue commandement. that enery Family should bring with them such store as they had, of Dow and Paste, not staying to make it into bread: knowing then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having confidered the great strength of appeareth in Pharashs Horse-men and Chariots, of which kind of defence Moses was vtterly vn-Gen. 47.0 provided (though as it is written, the I/raelites went vp atmed ) hee marched from Ramajes Eastward, towards the Desarts of Etham, and incamped at Succoth, which 30 he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth abib. Which Moneth from that

the accompt of time.

Exod. 23. V.16. € 6.34.V.22.

Num.33. Exod.13.

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Plind. 34. 6.6.

changealwayes at one houre; but the verie minutes and lesser fractions were to bee observed by him, that would seeke to reduce their motions ( which motions also were not still alike) into any certaine rule. Here lay much wisedome and deepe art. which could not soone bee brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at randome, the Athenians held the yeere to containe 360. dayes, wherein most of the Greekes concurred with them. That 360. dayes filled vp the Gracian yeere (besides many collaterall proofes) it is manifest by that which Plinie directly affirmeth, telling of the Statues, erected in honour of Demetrius Phalereus, which were (fayth he) 360. whilest as yet the yeere exceeded not that number of dayes. By this account neyther did any certaine age of the Moone beginne or end their Moneths; neyther 10 could their Moneths continue many yeeres, in their owne places: but must needes bee shifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inserted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupie their owne roomes in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnitie of the Olympian Games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth Hecatembaon (which answerethin a manner to our lune) they were carefull to take order, that this Moneth might euer beginne with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some two daies to the last Moneth of every yeere: those Games being held once in foure yeeres. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter euen; which 20 caused them sometimes to omit one day in the sourth yeere, which was the second of the Moneth Badromian; (agreeing neerely with our August) sometimes not to omitit, or (which is all one) to insert another for it into the fourth Lunarie yeere, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Moneth of Iune would energy yeere have growne colder and colder, had they not fought to keepe all vpright, by intercalating in each other Olympiad, that is, each eighth yeere one whole Moneth, which they called the second Polideon or December; which was the device of Harpalus, who also taught them to make one Moneth of 29. dayes, another of 30. and so successively through the whole yeere. Thus with much labour they kept their yeere as neere as they could, vnto the high 30 way of the Planets; but these markes which they observed, were found at length to bee deceitfull Guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeeres intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11. hours and 18. minutes at the least, or some wayes in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, have bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good methode, likely to continue, was Meton the Athenian, who not regarding the Olympiads, and the eighth yeeres intercalation, deuised a Cycle of 19. yeeres, wherein the Moone having 235. times runne her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place, and on the same day of the yeere, as in the 19. yeere before past shee had done. This invention of Meton was entertained with great applause, and paffing 40 from Greece to Rome, was there inserted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoyded the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had beene vsed; for by the intercalation of 7. Moneths in the 19. yeeres, all was so even, that no sensible difference could bee found. Yet that errour which in one yeere could not be perceiued, was very apparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore Calippus denised a new Cycle containing foure of Metons, that is to fay, 76. yeeres; and afterwards Hipparchus, a Noble Astrologer, framed another, containing foure of Calippus his Periods, each of them finding some errour in the former observations, which they diligently 50 corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which Iulius Cafar made, who by aduice of the best Mathematicians, then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the yeere vnto the forme which is now in vse with vs, containing 365. dayes and fixe houres, which houres in foure yeeres make

yp one whole day, that is intercalated enery fourth yeere, the 24. of Februarie. The correction of the Iulian yeere by Pope Gregorie the 13. Anno Domini 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall consent; it was indeed, but as a note added vnto the worke of Cefar: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed, that the Sunne, which at the time of the Nicene Councell, Anno Dom. 224 entred the Aguinoctiall on the 21. day of March, was in the yeere 1582, ten dayes sooner found in that time, Pope Gregery strooke out of the Kalendar ten dayes, following the fourth of october, so that in stead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which meanes the moueable Feafts depending on the Sunnes entrance into Aries, were aso gaine celebrated in such time, as at the Nicene Councell they had beene. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the Councell of Trent ordained, that from thence forward in enery hundreth yeere, the Leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred : because the Sunne doth not in his yeerely course take vp full fixe houres aboue the 365. dayes; but faileth so many minutes, as in 400. yeeres make about three whole dayes.

Butthe Cycle of 19. yeeres, which the Hebrewes vied, was fuch as neyther did need any nice curiofitie of houres, minutes, and other leffer Fractions to helpe it; neyther did in summing up the dayes of the whole yeere, neglect the dayes of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out fo, that 20 alwayes the Kalends or first day of the Moneth was at the new Moone, and because that day was festivall, they were very carefull aswell to observe the short yeere of the Moone, passing through all the 12. Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sunne, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gaue to Nifan their first Moneth, which is about our March or April, 30. dayes; to lar their second Moneth 29. dayes; and so successively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that every two Moneths of theirs contained somewhat euenly two revolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact dayes; which made up 7. Moneths in 19. yeeres; to 6. of which 7. 20 were commonly given 30.dayes; to one of them 29.dayes, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common yeere (as appeareth by the seuerall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes, which faile of the yeere, wherein the Sunne finisheth his course, 11. whole dayes, with some fractions of time. But these dayes, and other broken pieces, howfoeuer they were neglected in one yeere, yet in the Cycle of 19. yeeres were so disposed of by convenient Intercalations, that still at the end of that Cycle, both the Sunne and Moone were found on the same day of the yeere, Moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had beene at the beginning of it 19. yeeres before.

Divers have diverfly fet downe the forme of the Hebrew yeere, with the manner 40 of their Intercalations. SIGONIVS tells vs, that enery fecond yeere they did adde sig deren Hebr. a Moneth of 22. dayes; enerie fourth yeerea Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. 110.3.6.1. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeere of the Sunne. But herein Sigonivs was very much deceived. For the Moone doth never finish her course in 22. or 23. dayes: and therefore to have added so many dayes to the end of the yeere, had been the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the yeeres following, which could not have begunne as they ought, with the new Moone. Genebrard faith, Geneb. Chron. La that enery third yeere, or second yeere, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the yeeres end vnto the other 12. This I beleeue to have beene true; but in which of the yeeres the intercalation was (if it bee worthy of confidera-

50 tion) me thinkes they doe not probably deliuer, who keepe all farre from enennesse untill the very last of the 19. yeeres. For (to omit such as erre grossely) somethere are who fay, that after three yeeres, when besides the dayes spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. dayes are left remaining, that is, 11. dayes of each yeere; then did the Hebrewes addea Moneth of 30. dayes; keeping three dayes, as it were in plussage

CHAP. 2. S. 8. of the History of the World.

unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the fixt yeere; at which time, besides the Intercalarie Moneth, remained sixe daies, namely, three surmounting that Moneth, and the Epact of three yeeres, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeere; at which time they have 18. daies in hand : all which with the Epact of the 19. yeere make vp a Moneth of 29. daies, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle makes all euen.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirme nor denie; yet furely it must needes have bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeere every Moneth were removed from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeere and more; which inconvenience by fuch a reckoning was vnauoydable. Wherefore, to I preferre the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the Moneths. by ferting downe a more convenient way of Intercalation in the 8. yeere. For the 6. daies remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and fixth veeres, added vnto the 22. daies, arising out of the Epacts of the seventh and eighth veeres, doe fitly ferue to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeere following; and this borrowing of two daies is so farre from causing any disorder, that indeed it helpes to make the yeeres ensuing vary the lesse from the proper season of every Moneth. This may suffice to bee spoken of the Hebrem Moneths and Yeeres, by which they guided their accounts.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea : and of the divers wayes leading out of Ægypt.



Rom Succetb in the morning following, Moses led the Israelites towards the Defart of Etham, to recouer the Mountaine 1001, by the edge of that Wilderneffe, though hee intended nothing leffe then to goe out that way, of all other the neerest. But being assured of the multitude of Horiemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, hee kept himselfe 30

from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and Mountainous ground on his lest hand. At Etham hee rested but one night, and then hee restected backe from the entrancethereof, and marched away directly towardes the South; the distance betweene it and Succoth being about eight mile. That hee forbare to enter Arabia being then in light thereof, it feemeth to proceed from three respects; the first two naturall; the third divine. For Pharaoh being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which Moles tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers It is probable which Moles led, confifting of aboue a Million, if not two Millions of foules, (for as it is written Exod. the 12. Great multitudes of fundry forts of people went out with them) others brought could not possibly passe ouer those Desart and high Mountaines with so great multi-40 by the Bebrevs tudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that fastnesse he should have ouer-taken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne wordes: They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them lowed Moses at in, doe shew his hopes and intents; which Moses by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, Moses by offering to enter Arabia that way, drew Pharach towardes the East-side of the Land of Gosen, or Rameses: from whence (missing Moses there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoeuer, yet while the Hebrewes kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better fecured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the Horse and Chariers. Thirdly, Moles confidence in the Al-powerfull God was 50 fuch, by whose spirit, only wife, he was directed, as hee rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliuerance and victorie to Almightie God, than eyther by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000, men, to cast the successe upon his owne understanding, wife conduction, or valour. The third

ledge of the truc God folhis departure.

day he marched with a double pace from Etham towards the Valley of Pihacheroth. 16. mile distant; and sate downe betweene two ledges of Mountaynes adjoyning to the Red Sea, to wit, the Mountaynes of Etham on the North, and Baalzephon towards the South : the same which Oforius calleth Climax : on the top whereof there stood a climax is ra-Temple dedicated to Bask And, as Phagius noteth, the word so compounded, is as ther so called in respect of a much to fay, as, Dominus specula, sine custodia; Lord of the watch-tower. For the Agyp- passage vpand tians beleeved, or at least made their saues beleeve, that if any of them offered to downe, then escape that way into Arabia, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to proper name. returns to their Lords and Masters. For the Agyptians had gods for all turnes. 10 . Leypty dis facundi; The Egyptians were fruitfull in gods, faith Saint Hierome. But Moles, who incamped at the foot of this Mountayne with a million of foules, or as other conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-towre afleene . or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Agypt into Arabia vpon the firme land. Moles refused, as well that of Pelusium and Casiotis, the fayrest and shortest of all o- Exod, 13. v.17. ther, in respect of Indea, as the other by Etham, from which he reslected, for the reasons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of Pihacheroth, between the Mountaynes, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom Pharach made fo great speede with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gave the He-20 brewes no time at all to reft them after fo long a march; but gate fight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brinke and wash of the Sea: insomuch as the Hebremes being terrified with Pharaohs Sudden approch, beganne to despaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to have taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to Moles charge, that themselves foresaw those perills in which they were wrapped. And feare, Which, faith the booke of WISEDOME, it the Cap. 17.11. betraying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despaire in Gods former promises, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

### VIII.

Of their paffage ouer the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it selfe.



Vt Moles who feared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodnesse, who hath neuer abandoned those, that affuredly trust in him; vsing this comfortable and resoluted speech: Feare not, &c. for the Ægyptians whom yee have seene this day, yee shall Exed.14. v.13. neuer see them againe. The Lord shall fight for you. After which Mo-

les calling on God for succour, receiued encouragement, and commandement to goe on, in these wordes : Wherefore cryeft thou vnto me? (peake vnto the children of If- Exed.14. v.16. 40 rael that they goe forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide is, and les the children of Israel goe on drie ground through the middest of the Sea. Moses obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night finding the lands vncouered, past on towards the other side and coast of Arabia: two parts of the night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Eafterne winde, and by Moles rod to prepare.

Pharach followed him even at the heeles, finding the same drie ground which Moles trod on. Therefore, as it is written: The Angell of God which went before the Holt of Ifrael removed and went behinde them: also the piller of the cloud went from before them, and flood behinde them; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his im-50 mediate power, or by the ministerie of his Angell, to interpose his desence betweene the Hebrewes and their Enemies; to the end that the Agyptians might hereby be 10/11 24. v.7. blinded, in such fort, as they could not pursue Ifrael with any harmefull speede. But in the morning watch Moses seized the other banke of Arabia side and Pharaoh (as the dawne of day beganne to illighten the obscure ayre) finding a beginning of the

Exod.14. v.27.

Seas returne, hasted himselfe towards his owne Coast: But, Moses, stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is, the Sea moued by the power of God, ranne backe towards the land with vnresistable surie and swistnesses, and overwhelmed the whole Armie of Pharach, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that God tooke off their Chariet wheeles, that is, when the waters began to coner the lands, the Egyptians being strucken with seare of death, ranne one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the Hebrewes, their wheeles stucke salt in the mudde and quick sands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

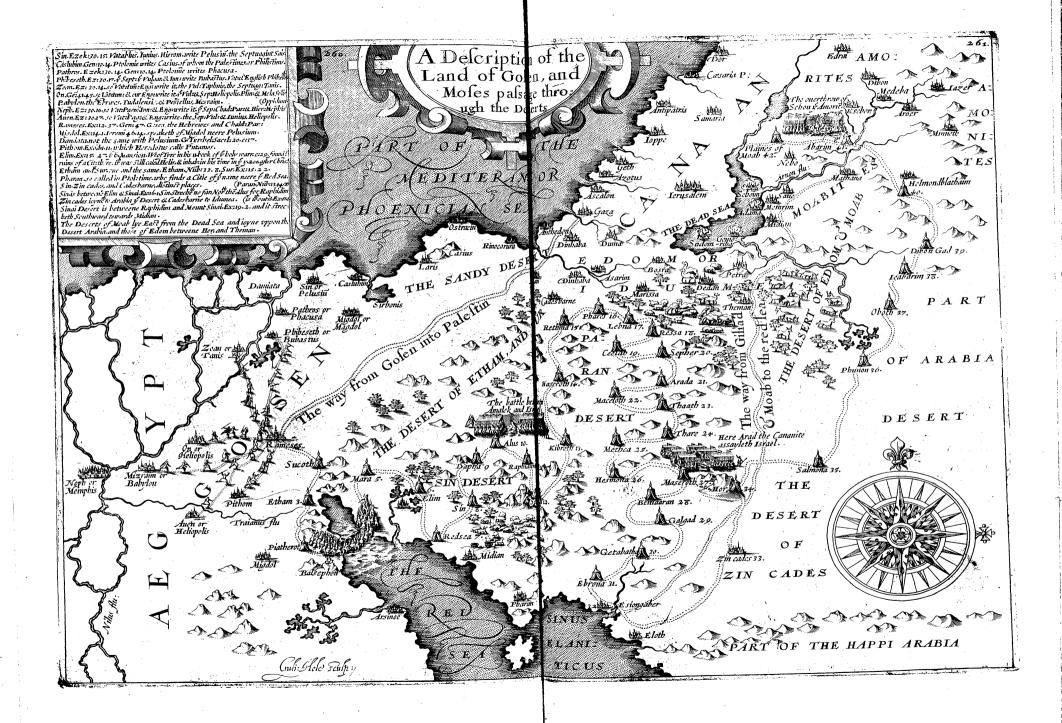
Lyranus vpon Exod. 14. and others, following the opinions or old. Traditions of to the Hebrewes, conceined, that after Moses had by the power of God divided the Red Sea, and that the children of Israel were searchill to enter it, Aminadab Prince or Leader of the Tribe of Inda sirst made the adventure, and that therefore was that Tribe ever after honored above the rest, according to the prophecie of I A c o s, Gen. 49.8. Thy fathers somes shall how downe unto thee. But Hierome vpon the 11. of Hose condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that Inda had the first place in all their marches in the Desart, and, as we now call it, led the Vangard; (wherevpon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea), yet that Moses himselfe was the Conducter of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77. P SALME: Thou didst leade thy people like sheepe by the band of 20 Moses and Arron.

The Hebrewes have also another fancie, that the Red Sea was divided into twelve parts, and that every Tribe past over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. Psalme, according to the yulgar: Divisit mare rubrum in divisiones; He divided the Red Sea in divisions. Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a greene Field or Pasture. But Origen, Epiphaniu, Abulensis, and Genebrard, savouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelve Pillers, nortwelve Armies of the Exprisans. It is written in the 77. Psalme, v.16. Thy way is in the Sea; not thy wayes; and in the last of the booke of Wisedome, vers. In the Red Sea there was a way.

Now this Sea, through which Moses past, and in which Pharab, otherwise cal- 30 led Chenchres, perished in the 16. yeere of his reigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the Red Sea, though the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other waters. But as Philostratus in his third booke noteth, and our selues know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait betweene Arabia the Happy and Ethiopia, or the land of the Abysius: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which Ptolemie calleth Pollodium, to the other Land of Ethiopia, hath not aboue fixe leagues in breadth, and the same also filled enerywhere with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. Leagues from Coast to Coast, and it runneth vp betweene Arabia the Happy, and Arabia Petras, on one side, and Ethiopia and Egypt on the other, as farre as Sues, the vttermost end and in- 40 draught of that Sea: where the Turke now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly give it the name of the Arabian Gulfe : but the North part towards Sues, and where Moses past, is called Heropolites of the Citie Hero, sometime Troy, and of later times Sues. Plinie calls it Cambifu, by which name it was knowne, faith he, before it was called Hero many yeeres. The Arabians call this Sea towards the North Apocopa, Eccant, and Eant. Artemidorus writes it Alemiticum: King Juba Laniticum, others more properly Elaniticum, of the Port and Citie Elana: which the Septuagint call Elath : Ptolemie, Elana : Plinie, Lana : Iofephus, Ilana, and Marius Niger, Aila: there is also Ilalah in Affyria, to which Salmanaffar carryed the Ifraclites captive, Kings 2.68. v.11. which Malah in Affyria, the Septuagint call Elaa: and in the first of 50 Chron, the 5. Ala. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diverfly named, the Moores and Arabians (Vassals to the Turke) know it by no other appellation, then the Gulfe of Meca, after the name of Mahomets Towne Mecca. The Greekes write it the Sea Erythraum, of a King called Erythras, or Erythraus: and because Ery-

Plm.l.6.c.29.

z. King. 9. Iof. Ant. 8. c. 2.



thros in the Greeke fignifieth Red: hence it is, that, being denominated of this Errthraws, the sonne of Perseus and Indromeds, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as Onin. Curtius coniectureth: which Arianus and Strabo confirme. But it feemeth to Arian. de geft. me by the view of a discouerie of that Sea in the yeere 1544. performed by Stenen Alex. Mag. 18.

Strabes, 16. Gama, Viceroy of the East India for the King of Portugall, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of rednesse, both from the bankes, clifts, and sands of many Ilands. and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of Caltro, a principall Commander vnder Gama (which discourse I gaue Master Richard Hacluit to publilh) that there is an Iland called Dalaqua, sometime Leques, contayning in length 25 Leagues, and 12. in breadth, the earth, fands, and clifts, of which Iland, being of a reddish colour, serue for a foile to the waters about it : and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same Castro reporteth, that from 24. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coast 180, mile, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the clifts and bankes are of red earth, or stone. which by reflection of the Sunne-beames, give a kinde of reddilh lufter to the waters. Thirdly, those Portugals report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corrall growes, which is carryed into most parts of Europe, and elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees, faith Strabo, and those growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shaddowes of these stones, sands, earth, and clifts, I suppose that it first tooke the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it feemeth to be fuch: which Iohannes Barros in his fecond Decade, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from Elana, or Ezion Gaber adjoyning, now Toro, called by the ancient Cosmographers Sinus Elaniticus, which washeth the banks of Madian or Midian, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards Sues. fome three Leagues or nine English mile over, and from this Port of Toro to Sues, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the first 26. haue 20 nine miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterward the lands both from £gypt and Arabia, thrust themselves into the Sea, and straighten it so fast, as for sixe miles together, it is not about three mile over; from thence vpward the land on Egypt fide. falleth away and makes a kinde of Bay or Coue for some ten miles together, after which the land growes vpon the Sea againc, and so bindes it into the very end thereof, at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that Moses past it ouer, though others would have it to be over-against Elana or Toro; but without iudgement: for from Ramases to Pihacheroth and Baalzephon, there is not about 20. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most, which Moses past ouer in three dayes: and between the land of Aeypt opposite to Elana or Toro, the distance is aboue 80. o miles. For Ramases, to which Citie Moses came (being the Metropolis of Gosen) when he left Pharao at Zoan, and tooke his last leave, standeth in 30. degrees five minutes of Septentrionall Latitude: and Migdol, or the Valley of Pihacheroth, at

the foot of the Mountayne Climax, or Baalfephon, in nine and twentie and a halfe. which made a difference of fine and thirtie English mile, the way lying in effect

North and South.

CHAP.3. S.8.

d. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.



He Ægyptians, and of them the Memphites, and other Heathen Writers, who in hatred of the Hebrewes have objected that Mofes pastouer the Red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tyde, and that Pharan conducted more by furie then discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recouer the coast of Egypt, he was ouer-taken by the is

floud and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of Moses (which authoritie to men that beleeve not therein perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same naturall reason vnto which they fasten themselues, it is made manifest, that had there beene no other working power from aboue, or affistance given from God himselfe to Moles. and the children of Ifrael than ordinarie and casuall, then could not Pharao and all

his Armie haue perished in that pursuit.

For wherefoeuer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught. there 20 doethe waters fall away from the Land, and runne downeward towards the Ocean. leauing all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be drie Land. Now Moses entring the Sea at Migdel under Baalzephon (if he had taken the aduantage and opportunitie of the tyde) must have left all that end of the Red Sea towards Sues, on his left hand drie and vncouered. For if a paffage were made by falling away of the water, ten or twelue mile farther into the Sea then Sues. much more was it made at Sues, and betweene it and where Moses past: who entred the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeue or Strait, had beene by the ebbe of a spring tyde discouered, when Pharae found the floud increasing, he needed not to have returned 30 by the same way toward Agypt side, but might have gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: and so taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at Sues it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truely witnesse the contrarie, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth; but that Mofes past on betweene two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, Pharao by any returne of waters could not have perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, proue the cause to haue beene a power about nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Againe, those wordes of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong East-winde, doe rather prouc the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more then ordinarie: for that Sea 40 doth not lye East and West, but, in effect North and South, And it must have beene a West and North-west winde, that must have driven those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-winde blue athwart the Sea, and cut it afunder: so as one part fell backetowards the South, and mayne body thereof: the other part remayned towards Sues, and the North. Which being vnknowne to Pharao: while he was checkt by that Sea, which vled in all times before to ebbe away, the floud prest him and ouer-whelmed him. Thirdly, seeing Infephus augweth, that Moses was not only of excellent judgement generally, but alfo, fo great a Captayne, as he ouer-threw the £thiopians in many battels, being imployed by Pharao, and wan divers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to 50 condemne him of this groffenesse, and distraction : that rather then he would have endured the hardnesse of a Mountaynous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honor which he would there winne vpon Pharao) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water.

For he knew not the contrarie, but that Pharao might have found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding Pharaos approch, cryed out against Moses, and despaired altogether of their safetie: and when Moses prayed vnto God for helpe, he was answered by God: wherefore cryest thou unto me? speake unto the children of Israel that they goe forward, and lift thou vo thy rod, and Aretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it : which proves that there was not at the time of Pharaos approchany ebbe at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby the Sands discouered themselves betweene the Sea on the left hand toward Sues. to from whence the waters moued not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, So that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the capita. v.a. left hand, that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could onely follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood vpright as walls doe, as some of the Schoole-men have fancied. For had Pharaoh and the Agyptians perceined any fuch buildings in the Sea, they would foone have quitted the chace and pursuit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of judgement, that can thinke, that Pharaok and the Azyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of heauenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Countrie, on his owne Coast, and in his owne most traded and frequented 20 Ports and Hauens, and wherein, his people hauing had so many hundreds of yeeres experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknowne or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their owne prosperitie, they least discerne it comming, and least feare it. Lastly, if the Armie of the Egyptians had been ouer-taken by the ordinarie returne of the floud, before they could recover their owne Coast; their bodies drowned would have beene carryed with the floud which runneth vp to Sues, and to the end of that Sea, and not have beene cast ashore on that coast of Arabia where Moles landed, to wit, vpon the Sea-banke ouer against Baalzephon, on Arabia side: where it was that 20 the Ifraelites faw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinarie floud would have carryed them: Which floud doth not any where crossethe Channell, and runne athwart it, as it must have done from Agypt side to Arabia, to have cast the Egyptians bodies there; but it keepes the natural course towards the end of that Searand to which their carkaffes should have beene carried, if the worke had not beene supernaturall and miraculous. Apollonius in the lives of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which stayed in the Countrie, and did not follow Pharaoh in the pursuit of Israel, did euer after honor those Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of Pharabbs destruction: as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a God of that 40 Plant or Roote, about which he was occupyed; and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be giuen elsewhere. Orosius in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans, tells vs, that in his time, who lived some 400. yeeres after Christ, the prints of Pha-

raphs Chariot wheeles were to be seene at a low water on the Egyptian fands: and though they were sometime defaced by winde and weather, yet soone after they appeared againe. But hereof I leaue euery man to his owne

beliefe.

CHAP.

AEIs 7. 10fua 14.

2474.

2514.

Pag. 254.

Exeds 2.

Num1.33.

Exod.13.

Num.33.

Exod.14.

Num. 33.

Exed.14.

Num.; 3.

Exod.15.

Nim.33.

# CHAP. IIII.

Of the iournying of the Hraelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them: with a difcourse of Lawes.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the storie, untill the Amalekites met with the Ifraelites.



VT to goe on with the storie of Israel, in this fort I collect the times. Moses was borne in the yeere of the World 2434. Saphrus then gouerning Assyria; Orthopolis Sycionia, or Peloponne fus ; Criafus the Argines; 20 Orus Egypt, and Deucalion Theffalie. He fled into Midian when he had lived 40. yeeres, in the yeere of the World 2474. and two yeeres after was Caleb borne. He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into Egypt, and wrought his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the yeere 2514, in the last Moneth of that yeere. On the 14. day of the first

Hebrew moneth Abib, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sunne setting, in the yeere of the World 2514. was the celebration of the Passeoner: and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the first-borne saine through 30 Agypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrewes inhabited. The 15. day of the first moneth of the Hebrewes called Abib, being about the beginning of the yeere of the World 2514. Moses with the children of Israel removed from the generall

affembly at Ramases, and marched to Succoth.

And departing thence they made their third Station at Etham: and iournying from Etham, they incamped in the Valley of Pihacheroth, or Migdol, under the Mountayne Baalzephon; and in the same night after mid-night, they past the Red Sea: Pharaoh and his Armie perishing in their returne, about the first dawne of the day. Moses having recovered the bankes of Arabia, gave thankes vnto God, for the deliverie of Israel; and making no stay on that coast, entred the Desarts of Arabia Petrea, called 40 Sur. But finding no water in that passage, he incamped at Marah, in the Desart of Etham, which in Exod. 15. v.22. is also called Sur, 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of Israel prest with extreme thirst, murmured against Moses the second time; first at Pharaohs approch in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But Moles taking the branches of a tree, growing neere a Lake of bitter water, and casting the same thereinto, made the same sweet: a playne type and figure of our Saniour; who vpon the tree of the Crosse changed the bitternesse of euerlasting death into the sweetnesse of eternall life. Plinie remembers these bitter Fountaynes in his fixth Booke and 29. Chapter. From whence to Delta in Egypt, Sefostris first, Darius after him, and lattly Psolemie the second, began to cut an artificial River, thereby by Boats and 50 fmall Shipping to trade and nauigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities vpon Nilus. From Marah he removed to Elim, the fixth Mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelve Fountaynes of sweet water, and three-score and ten Palme trees, he rested diuers dayes. Whether

CHAP.4.S.I.

Whether this Helim were the name of a Towne or Citie in Moles time, I cannot affirme. And yet the scarcitie of waters in that Region was such, as Helim, which had twelve Fountaines, could hardly bee left unpeopled. William, Arch-Belhop of Tyre, in his Historie of the Holse Warre, found at Helim the ruines of a great and ancient Citie. And at such time as Baldwine the first past that way into Laypt, Ingress w (laith he) Helim, Civitatem antiquisimam populo Israelitico aliquado Will Irr.l. 116 familiarem; ad quam cum peruenisset, loci illius incola, Regis aduentu pracognito, naui- capity. sulam ingredientes in mare vicinum (e contulerunt; Entring Helim a very ancient Citie. no well knowne sometime to the people of Israel, whither, when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approch, tooke Boate, and shifted themselves into the Sea, lying neere them. From Elim hee returned againe towards the South, and fate downe by the banks of the Red Sea: the feuenth Mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of Amalech, who prepared to refift his passage through that part of Arabia. And Moles who had not as yet trained those of the Hebrewes, appointed to beare armes: nor affured the minds of the rest, who encountring with the least miserie, were more apt to returne to their quiet flauerie, than either to endure the wants and perils which every where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to vndertake or sustaine so dangerous an enemie; he therefore made stay at this Mansion, untill the fifteenth of the second Moneth called Zim, or Iiar: and made Exodate. 20 the eight Mansion in the Defart of Zin; where the children of Israel mutinied against Moses the third time, having want of foode. In the sixteenth Chapter of Exodus, Moses omitteth this retrait from Elim to the red Sea, but in the collection of enery severall incamping in the 22. of Numbers, it is set downe.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of Quailes, as all the Countrie about their incamping was couered with them. The morning following it also rained Mauna, being the fixteenth of their Moneth, which served them in stead of bread. Exod. 16. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of Agypt. And though they had great numbers of Cattel, and Sheepe among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feede themselves with many of those : but referued them both for the milke to release the children withall : and for breede

to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two removes of twentie mile: the one to Daphea, the other to Alus, distant from Raphidim fixe miles. Here being againe prest with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from Leppt, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beafts, than to suffer a casuall and sometime necessarie want, and to vndergoe the hazzards and travailes which energy

manly minde seeketh after, for the love of God and their owne freedomes. But Moles with the same rod which hee divided the Sea withall, in

the fight of the Elders of Ifrael, brought waters out of the Rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were satis-

fied.

A a

S. II.

Fx0d.15. Num.33.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battell with the Amalekites, and IETHROES comming: who being a Kenite, was Priest of Madian.

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Exed.17.

Nd while Moles incamped in this place, the Amalekites who had knowledge of his approch, and gheffed that he meant to leade the children of Ifrael through their Countrie (which being barren of it felfe, would bee veterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattel) thought it most for their advantage to set vpon themat to

Raphidim: where the want of water, and all other things needful for the life of man interbled them. On the other fide Mofes perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to losus, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest Hebrewes, to incounter d. malrch. Betweene whom and Israel, the victorie remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the Hebrewes and Amalekites contending with equall hopes and repulses for many houres. And had not the strength of Moses praiers to God been of farre greater force, and more prevalent, than all reliftance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly indangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnacquainted with scarcitic of food. and those minds whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, & despaired 20 in their first attempts, wil hardly, or neuer be brought again to hazard themselves.

After this victorie Iethro repaired to Moses, bringing with him Moses his wife, and his two Sonnes, which either lethro forbare to conduct, or Moses to receive, till he had by this overthrow of Amalech the better affured himselfe of that part of Arabia. For it is written in the 18. of Exed. v. I. When I ETHR o the Priest of Midian, Mos Es Father in law, heard all that God had done for Mos Es, &c. of which, the last deed to wit, the overthrow of Amalech, gave lethre courage and affurance, be then repaired to his sonne in law Moses, at Sinai; where among it other things, he aduised Moses to appoint Judges, and other Officers, ouer Israel; being himselfe vnable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of 30

people, full of discontentment and private controversie.

This Iethro, although he dwelt among the Midianites, yet he was by Nation a Kenite, as in the fourth of Indges v. II. 6 17. it is made manifest; where it is written; Now HEBER the Kenite, which was of the children of HOBAB, to wit, the sonne of IETHRO, the father in law of MosEs, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents untill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh. Likewise in the first of Samuel, Saul commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, lest hee should destroy the with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountaines of Sin Kadelh: and the Amalekites dwelt in the Plaines, according to the faying of Num. 24.72.21: Balaam, speaking of the Kenites; Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest 40 in the Rocke. And that Saul spared this Nation, he giveth for cause, that they shewed mercie to all the children of Ifrael, when they came up from Agypt. For these Kenites were a Nation of the Madianites, and the Madianites were of the issues of Madian, one of the fixe fonnes which Abraham begat on Kethura: and might also take that name of Kenites from Kethura, of whom they descended by the Mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their parent Abraham. For Moses, when he fled out of Egypt into Midian, and married the daughter of Iethro, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made Iethroes Daughter the Mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seede 50 of Abraham should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these; who are descended from Abraham himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of Chus. For in the fifteenth of Genef. vers. nineteenth these Kenetes or Chustes are listed with the

the Hittites and Perizites, with the Amorites, Canamites, Gergelites, and lebulites, which were indeede afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites, descended from A- Gen. 3. braham, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, Heber the Kenite, which was of the chil- 111dg.4. dren of Hobab, was departed from the Kenites, that is to fay, from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh or Kadesh. Againe, Moses nameth that Nation of the Kenites, before Midian, or any of Abrahams other fonnes were borne: which he did(referring my felfe to better iudgement)rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the Kenites, fo we may confider of the Madianites, parted by Moles in- Gen. 15.4. to fine Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of Madian by the River Zared, afterwards destroice by Moses. But the Madianites necre the bankes of the Red Sea, where Moses married his wife Zipora, and with whom he left her and his children, til after the ouerthrow of Amalech, seeme like wise not to have beene corrupted. For these Madianites with the Kenites affisted Israel, and guided them in the Defarts. But the Madianites in Moab, and to the North of the Metropolis of Arabia, called Petraa, were by I/rael rooted out, when those adioyning to the Red Sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of Madian, of whom Iethro was 20 Priest, and the other Cities in Moab were the same, yet the contrarie is more probable. For Moles would not have fent 12000. If raclites, as farre backe as the Red Sea from the Plaines of Moab to have deftroired that Madian, where his wives kindred inhabited: feeing himfelfe comming with 600000.able men, was encountred by Amalech, in that passage. Neither could Moses forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Defarts, wherein himselfe and Israel had wandered 40. veare.

That Iethro, or Iothor, Raguel, or Reuel, and Hobab, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the Pulgar and Septuagint, which call him Raquel; and our English Renel: Exod.2.18.calls him lethro, or lother, Exod.2. & v.1.c.4.v.18. & 20 6.18.1. 6 6. 9. 10. 6 12. and in Numbers c. 10. v. 29. Hobab. Others take Iethro and Hobab to be the fame, but not Raquel.

### ð. III.

Of the time when the Law was given: with divers commendations of the innention of Lawes.



He rest of the moneths of this yeare 2515. were spent in the Desart of Sinai, neere the mountaine of Sinai or Horen, the twents and the Eusebium thought that Sinai or Horeb were distinct mountaines: Hierome, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For in Exod. 3.v. 1. it is called Horeb: and in Exod. 24.v.

16. it is written Sinai. In the 100. Pfalme v. 19: Horeb: in Exod. 19.11. Sinai. And foit is called, Galatians 4.24 and againe, Dent. 4. 10. 6 15. 6 Deut. 5.2. Horeb. And so is it in the first of Kings 8.6 and the 2. of Chron. 5. 10. and in Malachie 4.4. Finally, in Ecclesiasticus the 48 7. they are named as onc. Which heardest (saith Ecclesiasticus) the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the indgement of the vengeance. Somewhat they are distoyned at the top by the report of Peter Belonius: who in the yeare 50 1588, past out of Ægypt into Arabia, with Monsieur de Fumet of France, and trauailed to the top both of Sinai and Horeb: Sinai being by farre the higher hill. From the fide of Horeb (faith he) there falleth a very faire spring of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two Monasteries of Christian Marronites, containing some 100. Religious persons of diners Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate

Sam.1.c.15. Gene.25.

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Pet.Bel.lib.z.

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fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) give entertainment to

all strangers, which passe that way.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of water necre Sinai in Moses time, it is very probable: First, because he incamped thereabout almost a yeare, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written Exed. 32.20. that when Moles had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which Aaron fet vp in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of Ifrael to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angell of God was given to Moles, where he staied a whole yeare, wanting some ten or twelue daies: for he remoued not 10 till the 20. day of the second moneth of the second yeare; and he arrived about

the 45. day after the egression: the Law being given the 50. day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of Exodus, to the end of that booke; all in Leuiticus; and all in Numbers. to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and vie thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the storie any way distoyned, he may turne ouer a few leaves, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and square of Lawes: 20 fo it pleased God to give thereby vnto Moses the powerfullest meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouerne that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Sea-man to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide & conducter of all in generall, to the hauen of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinewes of energy estate in the world, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a just law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eie without lust, and to a Mind 30 without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue.

This benefit the Ancient, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as Gods, or as the sonnes of Gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesse liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest & most prosperous Conquerours that ever governed them. The Israelites, the Lacedamonians, and the Athenians, received their Lawes from one : as the Israelites from Moses ; the Lacedemonians from Lycurgus : the Athenians from Solon ; the Romanes sometime from 40 their first Kings, from their Decemviri, from their Senatours, from their Lawyers, and from the people themselues: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People;

as in England, France, and in other Christian Monarchies and Estates.

## d. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.



He word Lex, or Law, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diuerfly, and 50 in an indifferent sense vsed. For if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of Grammar, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any private ordi-

nance of Superiours to Inferiours; for the commandements of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees doe also vsurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word Law: of which Esay, Wee unto Esay to. them that decree wicked decrees, and write gricuous things. Likewise, the word is vied for the tumultuarie resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth Ari-Rotle also call lawes, though cuill and vnsufficient. Mala lex est quatumultuarie post- Estic. 1.4.c.1. ta est; It is an ill law that is made tumultuously. So as all ordinances, good or euill, are called by the name of lawes.

The word Law is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as ig it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and platforme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Divines call legem fomitis, is to be vnderstood. For every law is a kind of patterne of that which is done according vnto it: in which sense as \* elsewhere, this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or figmentum of the heart : so in St. Paul to the Romanes it is called a Law. But I fee another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my minde, and leading me captive unto the law of sinne. Againe, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called a lawes, fo farre as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a So Vivil,

a Lyon to be fierce or valiant. Also private contracts among Merchants and other Tradesmen, doe often put dera certis imon the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, pofuit naturaloprescribing a necessarie meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civill communitie. The rest, to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c. which have not noted that hee the common good for their end, but being leges inique, are by Thomas called viojoynes leges &
fadea togelentia magis quam leges; rather compulsions then lawes: And what socuer is not iust, there is in the St. Augustine doth not allow for lawes, how socuer chablished: for he calls them law is often iniqua hominum constituta, qua nec iura dicenda, nec putanda sunt; The vnius constitue called the cotions of men which are neither to be termed nor thought lawes. For faith ARISTOTLE, uenant. Legaliaiusta sunt factiua, & conservatua falicitatis; Iust lawes are the workers and pre- Arist. Elbic.5. 30 feruers of happineffe: because by them we are directed ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life, according to Cieero. Yea, to life enerlasting, according to the Scriptures. For the

end of the law, faith Plato, is God and his worthip. Finis legis Deus & cultus eius. Plato in Diali. Lex, or the Law is so called by the Latines à legendo, or à ligando, of reading or de Leg. binding: Leges quia letta er ad populum lata, faith Farro; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might reade them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other Etymologie, à ligando, is no lesse agreeable with the nature ofa Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as confregerunt ingum, diruperunt vincula: they have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. Hierem, 5.5. And in the second Pfalme, Dirumpamus vincula corum, & projiciamus à nobis funes Pfalma. 40 ipforum; Let ws breake their bands in funder, and cast away their cords from vs.

The Couenant it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God: and because of Gods peoples voluntarie submission of themselves vnto it: for which word the Septuagint, and the Epifle to the Hebrewes, vie the word Audonan, a Testament or last will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectuall for our faluation, but in respect of the death of the Testator, for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force: as Hebr. 9. 17. it is said, Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.

The Hebrewes call the law Thorab of teaching, because enery man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The Greekes call it Nomos of distributing, To because it distributesh to every man his ownedue; the power of the law is the power of God: Iustice being an attribute proper vnto God himselfe. Imperium legis imperium Dei eft; The raigne of the law, is the raigne of God.

Law in generall is thus defined by the Philosophers: Lex est vitaregula, pracipiens qua sunt sequenda, & qua fugienda; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, Aa 3

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270 and what to shanne, or Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum resum Regina: Law

is the Queene or Princesse of things both humane and dinine. But this description is grounded vpon the opinion of ineuitable fate. Law is the very wifedome of Nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called Index (ui & curui, the demonstrance of it selfe. and of the crooked: fo is the law, the Indge and measure of right and wrong.

Mr. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to goodnesse of operation; and though law as touching the substance and effence, consist in vnderstanding: Consludit 14men actum voluntatis; Yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word Ius is also dinersly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: some- 19 time for the law it selfe; as Ius Civile, or Ius gentium. Isidore distinguisheth the two generall words Iss and Fas: whereof Iss, faith he, hath reference to men. Fas to God. Fas lex divina, Ius lex humana. To goe over another mans field, is permitted, by Gods law, not by mans; and therefore in a thing out of controuersie, Vireil

vsed both those words : as Fas & iura sinunt, God and men permit.

The word Iss or Right, is derived or taken from the old substantive Nowne iussum, a bidding or commandement: or perhaps from the Greeke (w)e, which is the name of Iupiter, or of the Latine genitiue case Iouis, because as the Scripture speaks, the judgement is Gods. For as it is certaine that ius-iurandum came of Ionis-iurandum, (for fo we finde it written in Nonius out of the ancient, in which sense the Scrip- 20 ture calls it iuramentum Iehoua) fo also we may say, that Ites came of Iouis, quia Iouis est: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his Vicegerents the Magistrates, he is the pronouncer and exequutor of right. Of this Ius the iust are denominated, influs à iure, and iustitia à iusto; The right gives name to the righteous : and instice takes ber name from the inst.

Dest.1.17. 2.Chron.19.6. Exod.22-11. I.Reg. 2.43.

Isid, Etym.

ð. V.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the law eternall.

30



Vt because lawes are manifold, and that every kinde hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and di-Ringuish them. I meane those forts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne: leaving the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.

1	Eternall, or vncreated.	٢	The written is The law of Mojes.  also double. The Gossell 40
Lawes are of 3.< kindes.	Naturall, Nationall, or Internall.	Diuine) which hath two parts. Vnwritten.	S As the doctrine and religion of the Patriarks before the writ-
	Lawimpo- fed or of adting, and perfection, commonly called Nature, are dou- positive.	S Maissan	Which Cicero in his fecond booke of innention cal- leth Ius legiti- mum, divided  [Ecclefiaflicall, Ecclefiaflicall, and and 50
.`		Humane \\ which is al- \\ fo twofold. \\ \number nwritten.	Secular.  Set the laws of sustome and when.  The

The law eternall is thus defined by T HOMAS. Lex eternaest eternus divine fa- P. 29. 2011. pientia conceptuis, fecundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipfo pracognitarum : The eternall law is the eternall conceipt of Gods wifedome, as it is referred to the couernement of things foreknowne by himfelfe. Or Lex aterna ell summa atque aterna Th.q.93.art.s. ratio dinine (apientia: quaternes res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis iuxta conditionem if farum modum aliquem necessitates adjerat; It is the high and eternall reason of civing sapience : as it directeth all things in such fort to their proper ends. imposing a kinde of necessitie according to their severall natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same divine understanding directeth all to thefe to their proper ends; foit is called providence; but as it imposeth a necessitic according to the natures of all things which it directeth, so it is called a law.

Of this eternal law Cicero tooke knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, hee wrote in this manner. Exat ratio perfects serum natura, er ad recte faciendum impellens of a delicto auocans: que non tum incipit lex effe cum foripta est: sed tum cum ortaest. Orta autem simul est cum mente dinina : quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad inbendum & ad vetandum ratio est recta summi louis; That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling ws backe from enill, did not (faith he) then begin to be a law when it was written : but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true law and a fit 20 Princeffe to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is alwaies one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it divers and manifold. It also feemeth one law in respect of things necessarie, as the motions of the heavens; stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men: another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counsaile and providence of God: from this law all lawes are derined, as from the rule vniuerfall; and there-

to referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

30 The eternall, and the dinine Law, differ only in confideration; the eternall di- Tho, & Aug. recting more largely, aswell every creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall: but the divine law to a supernaturall end only: the Naturall law is thence derined, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawne : in that it hath the forme ofright reason: from which if it differ, it is then impositio iniqua, a wicked imposition: and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessarie or contingent, naturall, or morall, 40 and humane. For the law eternall runneth through all the vniuerfall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall, and inanimate.

Hence it is that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creatour and Directour: as Praile him all yee his Angels: praile yee him Sunne and Moone, all Palm.148. bright Starres: heavens of heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise yee the Lord from the earth yee Dragons and all depths: Fire, and baile, (now, and vapours, flormie winds, which exequate his Word: mountaines, and bils: fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beafts, and all Cattell, &c. Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glorie and selicitie proposed vnto them (beatitude being both the attractine, and the end) so all other 50 naturall things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their owne natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, knowne cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heavie to fall downeward:

things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heate what soeuer is apposed. This

I.1.de lib.arb.

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kinde of working the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature : others to fate; a difference vsed in termes onely; it being no other then Gods generall prouidence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is omnia super omnia: so are all things which appeare in themselues thence derived: there-vnder subjected: thence-from by his eternall law and prouidence directed, euen from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the confideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal law, Bur as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to Saint Avgvstine, Lex aterna est qua instum est vt omnia sint ordinatissima; The law eternall is that, whereby it is

inst, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which St. Augustine vseth a sufficient areument in his first Booke of Free-will the fixth Chapter. For the law of Moles which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the Padagogia of Gods people, or introduction to Christ should be expired; which time of expiration some thinke our Sauiour noted to be come, when on the Crosse he faid, Consummatum est. But I rather thinke these words of our Saujour to have no 20 other signification, then that now the prophecie of their giving him Vineger to drinke was fulfilled. For fo S. Iohn expounds it, when he faith v. 28. That Christ feeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, Vt consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, I thir st. though I denie not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the iudicial, as appertained peculiarly to the Iewes, and agreeth not with the law of the new Testament and Gospell of Christ. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe; but the things prescribed change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the Wisedome of S A-LOMON, And being one she can doc allthings, and remaining in her selfereneweth all. 20

ò. VI.

of the Law of Nature.

Aug.in Epift. ad Hil.89. & in E-uang, lob.tract.

F the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the Schoolemen: only as it is considered in man, it is called the impression of dinine light, and a participation of the eternal law in the rea-Conable creature. Lex naturalis est impressio diuini luminis in nobis, & parschool ticipatiolegis aterna in rationali creatura. VLPIAN defines the natu- 40

& lure.l.t.it.1 rall law to be the same which nature bath taught all living creatures; Ius naturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit: and he afterward addeth, Ius istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium que terra mariá, na scuntur, auium quoque commune eft; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the Same is common to allius e creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth. But this definition is not generall, but of the natural law in things of life.

The law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall qualitie, which God in his eternall providence hath given & imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is divinum lumen in men, inlightning our formal reason; so is it more then sense in beasts; and more then ve- 50 getation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first fight, & without experience or infiruction, to flie from the enemies of their lines: feeing that Bulls & Horses appeare vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, then the least kinde of Dogs, and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and flieth

from the other, yea though by them neuer seene before, and that as soone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to prouide for Winter, Birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempessuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of Indiato make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang ouer Riuers, & not on any other part of the tree, or elsewhere: to faue their egs and yong ones from the Monkies, and other beafts, whose weight fuch a twig will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kind are exceeding many which may bee given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the semale of the Palmitto, will not beare any fruit except the male grow in fight. But this they doe by that law, which the infinite and vnfearchable wisedome of God had in all eternitie prouided for them, and for every nature created. In man this law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made it selfe subicet, and a Vassal to passions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not by the law of Nature incorrupt, which St. Augustine calleth the law Supra & A. ex ofreason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the Germans did anciently loco ad Rom. 7. allow of theft: and that other Nations were by law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the lawes of Lycurgus it was permitted to men to vie one anothers wife, and to the woman to choose them others besides their husbands, to beget Theod. Lo. de cuthem with child: which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten randu affett:

Grecorum.

The Seythians, and the people of both Indies, hold it lawfull to burie with them the best beloued wives: as also they have many other customes remem-

bred by G. Valentia, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authoritie it is that these lawes some men anow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithlesse among the faithlesse: to prouide for our selues by another mans destruction : that injurie is not done to him that is willing : to destroy Nemo inve na-30 those whom we feare, and the like. For taking the definition of natural lawes, cither out of S. Augustine or Aquinas, (the one calling it the impression of divine light; locupletion fieri the other, the dict ate or sentence of practique reason the same can teach vs, or incline debei. vs to no other thing, then to the exercise of Justice & vprightnesse: and not to offer or performe anything toward others, faue that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selues. For such is the law of nature to the mind, as the eie is to the bodie; and that which according to David Aneweth vs Pfalm.4. good, that is, the observation of those things which lead vs therby to our last end; which is eternall life: though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption 40 is not taken for the law, is, as a foresaid, the impression of Gods dinine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternall. For without any law written the right reason and understanding, which God hath ginen vs, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to gine vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrarie, wee prepare and purchaic for our felues. For when the Gentiles (faith S.P a v 1) which have not the Rom. 2. ver. 14. Law, doe by nature those things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themselues. Now, to loue God by whom we are, and to doe the same right to all men, which we defire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and 50 habitation. In arce altissima rationis quies habitat; Therefore, the Gentiles (faith S.PAVE) which show the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences Romanutris.

for a witnesse of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them. And it is most true, that who soeuer is not a law vnto himselfe (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the aduantage of hypocrisic) worketh nothing else, but the

betraying

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Gen.I .

10b,c.28.

betraying of his owne foule, by craftie vnrightcousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth vs not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eic, seeing from him, who is an infinite eie, we cannot hide them; fome Garlands wee may gather in this May-game of the world, Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arefeit; Those · flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them. That wee should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selues, and become searefull witnesses of our secretest euils, did that reverend Philosopher Pythagoras teach in this golden precept : Nil turpe committas, neque ceram alijs, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipfum; Commit nothing foule or dishones, faith he, neither to be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but aboue all men reverence thine owne conscience. And 10 this may be a precept of nature and right reason : by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to giue heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is heaptly moved to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth, and the acts of right reason are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excufable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obay the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the hearbe which seedeth seede, &c. and the Beast, 20 which liueth thereon. He gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obay. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to give light, and to serue for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes, the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first Chaos, darkenesse,

and confusion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did Caine perceive his owne wickednesse, and offence, in the murther of Abel: for he not onely seared the displeasure of God, but the reuenge of Men: it being written in his reason, that 30 whatfoeuer he performed towards others, the same by others might bee done vnto him againe. And that this judgement of well and euill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall law, before the law written: Moses in the person of God witnesseth, Gen. the fourth : If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doe not well, sinne lyeth at thy dore.

The Schoolemen are large also in this question of the natural Law: the same being opened amply by Reinerius, Antoninus, and Valentia. But it is not my purpose

And to these appetites are referred the first indemostrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proofe, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to line in their iffue, when they cannot in themselves. And as

to write a volume of this subject. But this law which Thomas Aquinas calleth an act of reason taken properly, and not a habite, as it is an cuident naturall judgemet of practique reason: they divide into 40 indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and euill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vaiuersall propositions. Againe, as it answereth the natural appetite, prescribing things to be defired as good, or to be avoided as evill (as of the first, to defire to liue, and to satisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appe-Tho.4.94.411.2. tites that are in vs. For in every man there are 3. forts of appetites, which answere the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to liue, and to preserve our being & life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them; for the Father after his death lives in 50 his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children.

man is a being, Ens or Res: so hee doth desire good, and shunne euill. For it is common to all things, to defire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by Aristotle, to be that which all Estical, 1. e. z. desire. Which definition Basil vponthe 44. Psalme approueth: Recte guidem Bonum definierunt, Quod omnia expetunt; Rightly haue some men defined Good, or Goodnesse. to be that which all things desire.

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs. as wee have fense. Whence, by the law of Nature, wee defire the delights of euerv sense: but with fuch moderation, as may neither glut vs with fatietic, nor burt vs with excesse. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meete. even by the law of nature, that the fensitive appetite should not carrie vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beafts) we may well fay, that Nature hath given divers lawes vnto them: In which sense the Civilians define Naturallright, or Ins naturale, to bee the fame which Nature hath taught all living creatures; Yet the Schoolemen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but onely a Im, or Right, which is the matter, & aime of every Law. For fo they distinguish it: where Vibian affirmeth, that Ius naturale is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (faith Valentia) lus is not to be taken for a Law, but for the 30 matter of the Law. And yet where Vipian also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one tus nature, the other Tus gentium: the Divines vnderstand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all cuident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason: both in bealts and men; and restraine the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a liuing creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selues: and the lawes of this appetite are the Commandements

of our religion.

Now although there are many other branches and divisions of this law of na-20 ture answering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to Aquinas; first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motive facultic, which is but one, firring vp to good, and declining the contrarie: fecondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, because all the parts

are reduced to one and the fame last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature increaseth, Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tune fit Basil. 40 quod (criptum est, Adueniente mandato, peccatum reuixit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by S. PAVL, When the Commandement came, sinne revived. Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by S. P A V L, To be delivered over into a reprobate sense (or Rom.1.28: minde) to doe those things which are not convenient : and againe, that their consciences Rom.2.15. beare witnesse, and their thoughts accuse them. For, though this law of nature firetch not to every particular : as to command fasting and the like : yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and what soeuer is agreeable to right reason. And therefore, faid D A M A S C E N E; homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men (faith he) are made enill, by declining unto that which is contrarie to nature: and La Fidenico. 50 S.Avgvstine, Omnevitium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Euery vice 6.30. doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrarie unto it.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so fireight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequalitie of portions, according to vnequal merit:



by taking from the euill, and giving to the good: and by permitting and comman. ding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of justice and equitie.

And though the law of nature command, that all things beereffored which are left in truft, vet in some causes this her law she suffereth to be broken: as to denie a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while hee was fober. But the vniuerfall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of Godare alterable: who according to St.P AVL, abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himself

2.Tim.2.

Aug.de Civit.

d. VII.

Of the written Law of God.



Fter the eternall, and naturall, the law Positive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explica-tion of the former, hath two kinds: Diuine, and Humane. Againe, the divine positive law is double; the old and new: The old was giuen vnto Moles in Mount Sinai or Horeb, at fuch time as the world

had flood 2512. whole yeeres: and in the 67.day of this yeere when as Ascatades or Ascades governed the Assyrians, Marathus the Sycionians, Triopus the Argines, Ce- 20 crops Attica, and Acherres Agypt: to wit, after the promise to A raham 430. yeeres. And this, it feemes, was the first written law which the world received. For the very word Nomos, fignifying a law, was not then, nor long after invented by the Gracians: no not in Homers time: who lived after the fall of Troy 80. yeeres at leaft: and Troy it felle was cast downe 235. yeeres, after Moses led Ifrael out of Egypt. This law, it pleased God to ingrave in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his exprest will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might have, whereof to meditate, till the comming of Christ: and that so these children of Ifrael, though bred among an Idolatrous people in £gypt, might be without excuse : the flight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason knowne to vs why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their lives long, the Elders of families might easily without any written law inftruct their owne children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had, besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, for a fmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good, and cuil; nor condemne euery sinne in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound divine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue enery day leffe authoritie than other to the naturall law; In these respects it was necessarie, that the law should be written, and fet before the eies of all men: which before, they might, but would not reade, in 40 their owne consciences. The Schoolemen, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessitie, why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded upon this place of DAVID, The law of the Lard is undefiled, converting foules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull giving wisedome to children. For the humane law, faith St. Augustine, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; feeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessarie, and hinder common profit: but the divine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by David it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serueth for the direction of our minds. For the lawes of men can 50 onely take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our disposition and wil: and yet it is required, that we be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words converting our soules, added by David: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the Cabalists. Actiones

Снар.4. \$.8. hominum nulla essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur; The actions of men (lay they) would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the minde.

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar lawes among fundrie Nations, we cannot bee affured of; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without errour; and therefore also said DAVID, That the testimonie of the law of God is faithfull : giving wisedome ta children.

d. VIII.

Of the unwritten law of God, ginen to the Patriarks by Tradition.



Ow, that in all this long tract of time, betweene the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the Patriarks of the first age received many precepts from God himselfe, and whatsoever was first imposed by Adam, the same was observed by Seth, who in-

structed Enos: from whom it descended to Nouh, Sem, Abraham, Isac, Iacob, 10/eph, and Moles. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were forno merly imposed and delivered over by Tradition, which kinde of teaching the *lewes* afterward called Cabala, or Receptio: precepts received from the mouth of their Priests and Elders: to which the Jewes after the law written; added the interpretation of fecret mysteries, reserved in the bosomes of their Priests, and value full to be vittered to the people. But the true Cabala was not to be concealed from any; as being indeede the divine law revealed to the Patriarks, and from them delivered to the pofleritie, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto Adam in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his owne name Adam of Adamah, Earth, or 20 red clay, hee gane other names fignificant, not only to beafts, but to his Children and Nephewes, which afterward his iffues imitated; as the name of Seth fignifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one given in recompence for Abel that was flaine; and Enosh fignifieth reading is cum manor milerable, &c. Further, God commanded Adam to till the ground, and terra: but God to line by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruits, but the for- did not destroy bidden, and in Adam also was marriage first instituted: all men thence-after being why may nor commanded to cohabite with their Wines, rather than with their Father and this preposition Mother.

That murther and crueltie was also forbidden, both before the law written, and force, which is sobefore the floud it selfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was hathaccording one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankinde by the general floud. For 4.1. Item. 44.4. God said vnto No A, An end of all flesh is come before mee: for the earth is filled with and Deut. 34.1. crueltie through them: and behold, I will destroy them \* from the earth. That offence ing these words therefore, for which all perished, could not be vnknowne to all that perished. Gods are but a repemercie and inflice interpoling betweene the vntaught, and reuenge. This com-tition of that mandement God repeated to Noz, after the waters were dried up from the earth. which is faide, Whoso sheddeth mans bloud, by man shall his bloud be shed: for in the Image of God hath he minem de super-

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was observed among the ofaithful, and the contrary punished by the fathers curse: as, Cursed be Canaan, a seruant Gen. 9 25. of (cruants shall be be unto his brethren. Againe, we finde that the unnatural sinne of the Sodomites was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from Heaven. The sinne of Adulteric and Rauishment, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for Dina's forcing: and by the Gen. 34.25.

Gen.38.24.

iudgement which Iuda gaueagainst Tamar, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of Pharaoh and Abimelech, against whom this sentence was pronounced. Thou art but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken : for she is a mans Wife: To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beafts; of Circumcisson, of the Brother to raise vp seed to his brother that left a Widow childleffe, and divers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this Divine Law imposed, of which the Law of Moses containeth that which is called The old Testament, may be said, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was ingrauen in stone, but also in substance to haue beene 10 giuen in precept to the Patriarks. For as S. Paul witnesseth of himselfe, I knew not sinne, but by the Law: so ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of vnwritten law; the Angels intuitiuely; Men by Reason; Beafts by sense and instinct, without discourse; plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necesfary motions, without sense or preception.

ð. IX.

Of the Morall, Indiciall, and Ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture (peaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of MOSES.

Rem. 3. v. 19.

Rom.3.28.

Ow as the word ( Law) in generall, as is afore said, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and reftraine: so this Law, called the Law of Moses in particular, is taken by S. Paul diversly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, Now week know what seener the Law saith, it faith to them which are under the Law.

When it is opposed, or differenced from the Prophets and Pfalmes, it is there ta- 30 ken for the fine Bookes of Moles. For so Saint Luke hath diffinguished them; as, All must be fulfilled which are written of mee in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the

Luc.24.44.

When it is opposed to the Gospell, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, Therefore we conclude, that a man is tustified by faith without the workes of the Law.

When it is opposed to Grace, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and summum iss: as, For yeare not under the Law, but under grace.

Rom.6.4.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or signes are 40 taken for the things fignified; as the Sacrifice for Christ, and the like: then it fignificth but shadowes and figures; as, The Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth cameby I ESVS CHRIST.

10bn 1.17.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of Christs comming, it signifieth the whole policie of the lewes Common-weale; as, Before faith came, weewere kept under the Law, &c. or the Law of the order and institution of the Aaronicall Priesthood; as, Allthe Prophets and the Law, or the Priests, prophecied unto IOHN. And if the Priesthood bee changed, the Law also, to wit, of the Priesthood, must needes bee

Heb.7.12. & 10.I.

> The word (Law) is sometime also taken by the Figure Metonymia, for Interest, 50 Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, The Law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.

Rom.7.23.

But the Written Law of Moses, or the Law of the Old Testament, of which we now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the mindes of men by God, and afterwards written by Mojes, or by him repeated. commanding Holinesseand Instice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the law, and threatning death to those which breake the law in the least. For according to Saint lames, Whosoener shall keepe the whole, and faileth in lames 2, 10; one point, is guilty of all. The definition vied by the Schoolemen, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus given. Lex divina eft divinam decretum, hominibus prascribens modum necessarium ot apte peruentre posint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, que est vitimus humana vita finis; The divine law (lay they) is the decree of God prescribing unto men a necessary meane, where by they may aptly attaine su-

10 pernaturall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.

The law of Moses hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that cuill to be auoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as Doe this, for I am the Lord, whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; The Ceremonial of divine feruice, and of holines; (for external worthip, and the order of hallowing our felues vnto God is called Ceremony) and the Indiciall teacheth the particular gouernment, fit for the Common-wealth of the Iewes, and prescribeth orders for iustice and equity. And therefore was it faid of Saint Paul, The commandement is iuft, bo- Romania. 20 ly and good: inst, or instice being referred to the Indiciall: holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Indiciall part is touching the gopernment of the commonwealth of the lewer, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremoniall is divided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obferuances. To Sacrifices belong beafts, and the fruits of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Veffels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcilion, the Passeouer, & such like. For the Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meats, as not to cate the bloud and fat of beafts: or in some other 20 outward things, as in wallings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to weare mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen ; as also it prohibiteth other vnnatural and unproper commixtions, as Thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an Oxe and an Asse, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth naturall compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty euen to bealts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some referre these precepts, Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest; nor beate downe the first buddes of the tree nor muzzell the labouring Oxe, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of Moses, but it hath as vet in some respects, the same power which it had before the comming of Christ. For 40 the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: sauing in the ability of iustifying or condemning; for therein are wee commanded to loue and worshp God : and to vie charitie one towards another : which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be observed; though principally for the feare of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it fore-fignified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides, it still liueth, in that it giueth both instruction and testimony of Christ, and in so that it gineth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy fignification, which are ftill expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before Christs comming and in a farre lesse degree of necessity.

Lastly, the Indiciall lineth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuerfall equity thereof.

Bb 2

But

Gal. 3.23. Luc. 16.6.

Rom.8.2.

But the Morall faileth in the point of instification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vic and external obscruation (because Christ himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were lignes and shadowes) and the Judiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the lewes Common-weale, and policic.

A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the fine sirst.

10

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S for that which remaineth in the generall confideration of the divine written Lawe, it may in effect bee reduced into these nine

1. The dignitic and worth of the law.

The Maiestie of the law-giuer.

The propertie and peculiaritie of the people receiving it.

The conveniencie of the time in which it was given.

The efficacie and power thereof.

The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

The end and vse of the Law.

The sense and understanding of the Law.

The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignitie of the Law is sufficiently prooued by S. Paul, in these wordes: Wherefore the Lawe is holy, and the Commandement is holy, and iust, and good: which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudi-

The Maiestie of the Law-giver is approved in all his creatures: who as he hath given all things their lives, and beings, so he onely gave the law, who could 30 onely give the end and reward promised, to wit, the saluation of mankinde : but he gaue it not to Moles immediatly, but by the ministery of Angels : as it is faid. And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediatour : and in the Acts, Hee gave

the Law by the ordinance of Angels.

The proprietie and peculiarity of the people, receiving this Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared : Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and diffeuered: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to Abraham. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and severed they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the pro-40 mise was made by Godvnto Abraham, and his seed: not vnto his seedes, as to Esan and Iacob, but to his feede, as to Iacob, or Ifrael fingularly, of whom Christ. Nowto ABRAHAM and his feede were the promises made: he faith not to the feeds, as speaking of many, but to thy feede, as of one, which is Christ.

4. The conveniencie of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. Augufine: that it was about the middle time, betweene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the law of Nature continued from Adam to Moses: the law written in the Commandements received by Moses in the worlds yeere 2 514. continued to the Baptisme of John: from which time begun the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conveniencie are formerly given.

The fifth confideration is of the efficacie of this law, the same being a disposition to, or signe of our iustification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousnesse in morall precepts. For through the passion of Christ were sinnes forgiven, who taketh away the sinnes of

CHAP.4. S.II. of the Historie of the World. the world : and therefore S. Paul calleth the rudiments of the law beggerly and weake, Gal. 4. beggerly as containing no grace, weake as not able to forgiue and infine. The bloud

of Goates and Bulles, and the afnes of an Heifer could only cleanse the body: but they were figures of christs bloud, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the Gal. 20 law could instific then Christ died in vaine.

Of the fixth poynt, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Tellament.



He Old and New Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to saluation; as the Old by workes, the New by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or object and remote end, they agree: which is mans happinesse and saluation.
The Old Testament or Law or Law

The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament; which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witnesse. Yet the new of more excellencie, in that it doth more liuely expresse, and openly and directly delineate the 20 waves of our redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to bee abrogated: In that be (ayth the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old. For the old Heb. 68, 11.12 law, though greatly extolled by the Prophets, and delinered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policie perishable: but the New was given in a promise of an euerlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the Apocalyps, a Testament and Gospel for euer during.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chiefe part is the Law of Moles, of which the Prophets and Psalmes are Commentaries, explicating that

The New Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chiefe part there-30 of is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epistles, or Letters of the Apostles, and the Acts or Story of the Apostles, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word Euangelian fignifying a joyfull, happie and prosperous message, or (as Homer vsed it) the reward given to the Messenger, bringing joyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a facrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing successe, as by xenophon. In the Scriptures it hath three significations; First, for glad tidings in generall, as in E/ay the 52.v.7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained, to signifie that most joyfull message of saluation, as in Luc. 2.10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of Christ: and so wee understand the foure Ad.x. Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and disulging the doctrine of Christ, as Cor. 1.9.v.14. and

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are divided in volumes) is by Daneus comprised in these foure.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Couenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the effects, that is, in righteousnesse and instification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, 50 so was there one Couenant, one Adoption, and one Dostrine. As the old Law doth point at Christ, so doth the new Law teach Christ: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end: even the saluation of our soules: which according to S. Peter is the end of our faith. For although it bee faid, that Moses did promise

Gal. 2. v. 6.

C.11.V.13.

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Lib.de Cinit.Dei 18,6.15.

In Sophon.c.3.

by observing the law an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and honie, the propagation of children, and other worldly bleffings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spiritual bleffings by Christ, for by the earthly hee raised their mindes to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselues strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly Hierusalem: according to this place of the Hebrewes: All these died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them a farre off, and beleeved them: confessing that they were strangers and pilgrimes on the earth. To which purposcalso Saint Av GVSTINE: Omnine panci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena aterna promitti: Few (faith hec) doe understand the olde 10 law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promifed. And S. HIEROME: Noluit Deus palcere Iudeos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, vt Iudei somniant: God would not feede the lewes as beafts with corporall gifts and riches, as themselves dreame. And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, Ego fum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum ; I am thy God, and I will be your God. For the words , I will be your God, proone that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gaue them this promise; but in respect of the suture: to wit, the safetic of their soules. For as God created both body and foule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vncared for, which lineth euer.

The agreement betweenethe Old and New Testament in substance, inferresal-20 fo the agreement infoundation. For Christ is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the Apostles and Prophets: in whom all the promifes of God in the Old and New, are affured: the fathers having eaten the same spiritual foode, which wee eate

in our Sacraments. The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our finne and miserie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, serueth in subordination to the

Gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercie and saluation: to which the Law seruing as an introduction ( for to those which acknowledge their sinne and miserie, God sheweth his mercic and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospel in the effect. For other wise if we seuer the law from subordination to the Gospel, the ef-20 fects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousnesse by workes, the other by faith; the Law woundeth, the Gospel healeth : the Law terrisieth, the Gospel allureth; Moses accuseth, Christ defendeth: Moses condemneth, Christ pardoneth. The Oldrestraineththe hand, the New the minde. Data est lex que non (anaret (faith S.Avgvstine) sed qua agrotantes probaret; The Law was given, notto helpe but to discouer sicknesse: and S. CHRY SOSTOME, Data est lex, vt se homo inueniret, non vt moribus (anaretur, fed vt medicus quareretur; The law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his difease was thereby holpen: but that he might then feeke out the Phisician. For Christ came to fauethe world, which the law had condemned. And as Mofes was but a feruant, and Christ a Sonne, so the 40 greatest benefit was reserved to bee brought, as by the worthiest person, sayth Cyril: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

Heb.7.

### . XII.

# Of the rest of the points proposed.



He seuenth consideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to Christ: for finding no righteous field on rowne workes, we must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and vtmost 50 and the next and proper and of the last, is to professional of the last. end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousnesse, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. Cursed is he which

continueth not in all the things of this law.

The second end of the law, isto render vs inexcusable before God: who know-

ing so perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteouincife, and performance of dutie to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law is as bath beene faid, to fend vs to Christ, and his grace, being in our felues condemned and loft. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearefull tempost, threatning eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to defigne, and preserue, the place of the Church and true people of God; and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the comming of Christ: after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vie of the Ceremonial law is to confirme the truth of Christ, and the new Testament. The vse of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equitie, and right, whereto we must conforme our selues.

The fense and understanding of the law is double, literall and spirituall: by the literall we are taught the worship and service of God: by the spirituall, the sigures

and mysticall fore-speakings of Christ.

CHAP.4. S.12.

Laftly, for the durance or continuance of the law, the same had being vntill the pallion of Christ: before which time, and while Christ taught in the world, both the The Scepter old and the new were in force. But after that the true facrifice was offered vpon the finall not de-Altar of the Croffe, then the Lewish facrifices and ceremonies, which were Troes and Part from Iufigures of Christ (Christ being the body of those shaddowes) ccased to binde the con-20 sciences any longer: the mysteric of our redemption being now by Christ and in him tweenhis feet, finished. In token whereof the vaile of the Templerent as under; noting that the come. ceremoniall vailes and shaddowes were now to be removed, not that the moralllaw of the Commandements was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: otherwise then that it had not power to condemne according to the Iewish doctrine, as aforesaid. For the observing of the law was by christ himselfe severely commanded : our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein David so much rejoyced, as he preferred the observation of the law, before all that the world could yeeld. In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus dinitijs 3 I hane beene delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches: And againe. The law of thy mouth is good for me aboue 20 thousands of gold and silver. This is the love of God (laith S. IOHN) that wee keepe his John 1.5. Commandement. And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselse in Deuteronomie witnesseth. This Commandement Deut.30.XI.12. (faith hee) which I command thee this day, is not hidde from thee, neither is it faire off. It is Rom. 610 v.6. not in heaven that thou shouldest (ay, Who shall goe up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and 7.8. saufe vs to heare it that we may doe it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest fay, Who shall goe ouer the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? &c. but the word is very necre unto thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart for to doe it. Behold (faith Moses) I have let before thee this day, life and death, good and eaill, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maiest line, &c. Neither is it said invaine in S. MATTHEVV. St CAP, 9. 17. vis ad vitam incredi, (erua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandements: and in S. IO HN: Scio quia mandatum cius vita aterna est: I know that his Commande- c.12, v.50. ment is life enerlasting. And if this be the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as S. Iohn hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements: certainely he is but alvar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it is not in mans abilitie, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (Christ onely as man excepted) yet if wee rightly consider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Com-50 mandements, we shall finde in our selues, how we borrow libertie, and rather let hip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and dinine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedie of libertie) proposeth to it selfe. For this is the lone of God, that wee keepe his Commande-

Leuit,18.4.

ments, and his Commandements are not grieuous, 1. IOHN 3. verse 12. and if wee examine cuery precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to judge, by what easie perswafions, wee steale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vse it against our pleafing defires.

### d. XIII.

Of the seuerall Commandements of the Decalogue: and that the difficultie is not in respect of the Commandements, but by our default.

Or by the first wee are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? fecing enery reasonable man may conceine and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinites: and that it is of necessitie, that by this almightic Vnitie, all things have beene caused, and are

continued. And if brute beafts had this knowledge of their Creatour, and how in his providence he hath also provided for every of them, which giveth to beasts their foode, &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serve and love him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatrie, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true. Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings. For their first erection was to keepe the memorie of men famous for their vertue: vntill (faith Lactantius) the Deuill crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weake and ignorant foules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that having life and reason, implore their helpe, which have 30 neither: yea, of more vilde prize and baser, then the basest of beasts, who have sense and estimation? for what doe wee thereby (saith the Wisedome of SALOMON) but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, asistance in our iournies of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hath no power? And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which hee prayeth, be more senselesse: Danid maketh a doubt. For (faith he) they that make them are like unto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.

The breach of the third Commandement is neither perswaded by worldly pleafure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, wee are no way allured to this horrible disdaine of God, vnlesse the hate of good men, and 40 Gods curse, bee accounted an aduantage. For as our corruptest nature gives vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except euerlasting sorrow, and Hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custome hath the Deuill brought vp among men, without all subtletie of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornefull advantage over vs. For slaughter satissieth hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to neede, Adulterie to lust, Oppressionto couctousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemie, and the irreverent abuse of Gods name, as it giveth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, so the most saluage Nations of the world doe not vse it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the Sabbath day holy, hath neither paine, 50 burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, Moses teacheth in the reason of the law: as in Exod. 23.12. And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Affermay rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God gaue vs life and being have begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weake and helpeleffe infancie, and bestowed on vs the haruest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Indiciall ordinances, curfing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, have made difference between flaughter cafu-10 all, and furious. Affettio enim tua (faith BRACTON) imponit nomen operatuo: It is the affection and will that makes the worke fuch as it is. And certainely who soener cannot forbeare to commit murther, buth neither the grace of God, nor any vic of his owne will.

The third of the second Table, commands vs from adulterie. Now, if the preferuation of Virginitie haue been possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who Nuprin replens in all ages have mastered their selfly desires, and have returned chast to the grave: 144 Paradijum It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbeare the dishonour and injurie, which we offer to others by fuch aviolation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men to all that affect it. And there is no man living whom the defire of beautie and forme hath so constrained, but he might with case forbeare the prosequuti-20 on of this ill: did not himselfe give sucke to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it

grow to strong heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame. The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kind of violent robberie had been vsed in Moses time, which many Ruffians practise nowa-daies in England, and to the dishonour of our Nation more in England, than in any Region of the world among Christians, out of doubt, he would have censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speake not of the poore and milerable foules, whom hunger and extreme necessitie inforceth, but of those detefted Theeues, who to maintaine themselves Lord-like, assault, robbe, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man, or breake by violence into o-20 ther mens houses, and spend in Brauerie, Drunkennesse, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men fometime have laboured for all their lives: impoverishing whole families: and taking the bread and food from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might easily be observed; it would soone appeare, if Princes would resolue, but for a few yeeres to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these Hella

Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impouerish or destroy it. The fifth Commandement of this fecond Table, is, the prohibition of false witneffe: from which if men could not forbeare, all furety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witnesse, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to fuffer the same death or punishment, which he fought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

hounds. And if every man may prefume to be pardoned once, there is no state or

The last of the ten Commandements forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wines for concupifcence, or their goods for defire of gain. And this precept feemeth the hardest for men to obferue; so esteemed by reason of our fraile affections: and yet if wee judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconfiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For although it be not easie to master all our sudden passions, yet 50 we may referaine and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if wee please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word Coucting reacheth to all those it is to be considered. For Concupiscentia, according to some, Est effranatus habendi appetitus; An unbrideled, or unrestrained appetite of having : And as touching such an appetite, we canot excuse our selues by any our natural frailty, or vnaduised error;

Wifd.13.19.

Pfal.147.49.

Gloffa in verb.

Pfal.35.18.

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But, as I suppose, the word Concupiscence is more largely taken, either for a determinate and vnbridled cuill intent, or for fome vrging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later fort: which is, Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione que est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi; Such passions, or inclinations are unperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vitious action. And fure, it may feeme, that follong as wee relift fuch motions, they harme vs not: as they fay, Quamdiu refragamur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas daminari permittimus; As long as wee give no ascent onto them, it is thought by some that they hurt vs not; and that then onely they hurt, when we suffer them to be are sway. But these men, as it seemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath been to forbidden in the other: for in every Commandement, not only the outward act. but also the inward affent vnto cuill, though it breake not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that wee may know the difference betweene this Commandement and the reft, the distinction of delires is to be held: that some are with assent, and vnbridled: others bridled, and without affent. For so even the Morall Philosopher can rell vs. that the Continent man hatheuill desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good defires, but restrained and suppressed by contrarie passions. The enill defires when they are accompanied with affent, are in every Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act; and therefore, if wee will have any thing proper to this 20 Commandement, we must needes say, that the evill desires of the Continent man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are heere forbidden. For though he that bridleth his cuill defires be much better than he that yeeldeth vnto them: yet fuch a man, euen according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For Ariftotle himselfe makes Continentia, not to be vertue, but only a degree vnto it: confessing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his euill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinitie delivereth touching this matter. For, as he faith, that in the Continent man the having of these cuill delires, though he relift them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the 30 having of them is a sinne. Only in this we excell him heere: that we are able out of Divinitie to give the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that every one sinneth. that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth that the cuil defires of the Continent man, that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be finne: feeing such desires, though bridled, are a-pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull indeuours to keepe his commandements, we witnesse our love toward himselfe; wee may not fafely give libertie to our vanities, by casting backe upon God (who is inflice it selfe) that he hath given vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and com- 40 mandements impossible for vs to keepe. For as hee is accursed (faith St. Hierome) that anowes that the law is in all things possible to bee observed: so hee hath made this addition: Maledictus qui dicit impossibilia Deum pracepisse; Accursed is heethat faith that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) imposible. Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the law; so is our weakenesse also in the Scriptures laid before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to be vnderstood, that we should without cuasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithfullindeuours to obserue them: which if we doe vnfainedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, David witnesseth. Enter not into indeement with thy servant, for in thy sight no flesh that liveth shall bee 50 iustified. And in the first of Kings, There is no man that simneth not: And againe, who can (ay, I have made my heart cleane? But seeing there is no sinne grieuous without deliberation; let euery mans conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly or restraine himselse in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subiecta commandement vpon paine of losse of his loue, to perfome some service: if the subject neglecting the same, seeke to satisfie his Soueraigne with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himselfe to be derided therein. d. XIIII.

If there were not any Religion nor Judgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessarie to be obsersed.



Снар.4. \$.14.

Nd if we consider aduisedly and soberly, of the Moralllaw, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of Moles gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that fuch was his mercifull providence in the choile of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adjoying to the observing, or not observing of them, were there no divine power at

all, nor any Religion among men, yet if we did not for our owne fakes striue to obferue these lawes: all societie of men, and all indeuours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would bee taken away; and enery state and common-weale in the world fall to the ground and diffolue. Therefore, these lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a bleffing: to the end that the innocent might bee defended that 20 enery man might enjoy the fruits of his owne tranaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iustice, order, and peace, wee might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaves; of civill men, and not of faluages. And hereof making our humane reason only Judge, Let vs see the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of thefe lawes.

As first, what would the iffue be if wee acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, war, and bloud-fied follow, than that which the difference of ccremonie, and diversitie of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, metall. dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receive thence from either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth there-with this disaduantage, and ill to man, that who locuer taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witnesse for him, when hee may justly víc his holy name.

The offeruing the Sabbath holy, gineth rest to men and beasts, and nature her selfe requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given vs being, we thereby teach our owne 40 children to scorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeeres require comfort and helpe

If murther were not forbidden, and severely punished, the races of mankinde would be extinguished; and whosever would take the libertie to destroy others, giueth libertie to others to destroy himselfe.

If adulteric were lawfull and permitted, no man could fay vnto himselfe, This is my sonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posteritie, no indevour by vertue and undertaking to raife families: murthers and poisonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and euery man subject to most filthic and vncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankinde would shortly after perith, or liue as the faluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischiefe of robberie, as where Moses for leffer crimes appointed restitution sourc-fold, policie of State and necessitie hath made it death.

Pfal.143. C.8 v.46. Pro.20.v.9.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens lines and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would sweare against the vertuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle begger and loiterer, against the carefull and paineful labourer; all triall of right were taken away, and justice thereby banished out of the world.

The coucting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while wee couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne : our appetites are therin fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we doe but couet; and if we docuattaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours, wee can looke for no other, but that our selves shall also either by thest or by strong hand be de- to

priued of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there benothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing? Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull and prouident God ordaine them; without the observation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertilitie of the earth, with all the bleffings given vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For we should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappie condition.

d. XV.

Of humane Law, written and unwritten.



Vmane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first divided into two. viz. Written and Vnwritten. The vnwritten confifts of vlage, approved by time : which Isidore calls Mores: and he defines Moresto be Consuetudines vetustate probata, to be customes approved by antiquitie or unwritten lawes. Now custome differeth from vie as the cause from

the effect: in that cuttome is by vie and continuance established into a law; but yet 30 there where the law is defective, faith Isidore.

And of cultomes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customes, received and exercised by Nations, as the cu-Romes of Burgundie, and Normandie: the ancient generall custome of England, and the customes of Castill, and other Provinces ..

The second are these pettie customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others

vnwritten.

The particular or pettie customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimonie of the inhabitants. The customes of the Duchie of Cornewall comprehending 40 also the Stannerie of Deuon, as touching Tin, and Tin causes, are written in Deuon, but not in Cornewall. But how soener vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought every custome to be rationabiles, as well as prascripta. Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de iure ab initio non subsistit; That which at first was not grounded woon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (faith V L PIAN) quod ab initio vitio sum est, non pote strattu temporis conualescere; Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessarie in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law divine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessarie continuance: it being manifest that every custome, which is against the law, had his 50 beginning from cuill deedes, and therefore not without the former confiderations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they baue beene since continued, because posteritie is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto mo-

In Reg. Iuris.v.2 q.117.art.1.

Plp.1.29.

ued. For non sufficit simplex toleratio. And it is in this fort ouer-ruled in the law : Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui nouam legem, & nouam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est; The people cannot bring a new custome against law : saue by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. Papinian calls the Law a common precept, the aduisement of Wifemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. Isidare 10 calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Gouernement and common profit: And more largely, Omnesd qued ratione confilit; All that

stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, Gree, de Val. ex agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rationall discourse of Tho. q.p. art. 3, those, that exercise publique authoritie: prescribing necessarie observances to the 4.94. art. 2. subject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, S. Augustine teacheth, faving: Wibilex effe non videtur, qua iusta non fuerit; It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iust: and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no law inft and legitimate (faith S. Jugustine) which the Lawno makers have not derived from the eternall. Wibil instum aique legitimum est, qued L. 1. delib. drb. non ab aternalege sibi homines deriuauerint.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law naturall, to wir, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to bee made by an authorised Magistracie, it cannot bee doubted, be the Gouernment of what kinde socuer. For it falleth other wise vnder the Title of those decrees called Violentia, or inique constitutiones; Violences, or wicked constitutions.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure 4. Parts: 20 conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: soenery particular of the humane law may be resolved into some principle or rule Tho.4.9.5.411.2. of the naturall.

Secondly, it is to be confidered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the com-

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authoritic.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law, it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and divers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall under it. For according to THOMAS, Alia lex IVLIA de Adulterys, alia CORNELIA de Sicarys; The law of IVLIAN against Adulterie is one, othe CORNELIAN against Ruffians, is another. Now the humanelaw, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the law of Nations, and the Civill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly; lesse properly for every law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that Vlpian vnderstands it: for he defineth Ius gentium, or the law of IX ations, to be that which is onely common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations: but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that dictate, or sentence, which is drawne from a very probable, so though not from an euident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations doe affent vnto the conclusion, as that the free passage of Ambassadours be graunted betweene enemies, &c. which Nationalllaw, according to divers acceptions, and divers considerations had of the Humane law, may be sometime taken for a Species of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

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Ins Civile, or the Civill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers estates it is also diuers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately derived from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of fuch principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or easily affent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and doe not fit all estates. In Leg. 6. ta. ff. Hercof V L P I A N, Jus civile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omde tuflita Iure. nia ei feruit : itad, cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, idest. Civile efficients; The Civillan (faith he) doth neither wholly differ from the law of Na. ture, and Nations, nor yet in all points obay it: therefore when wee adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Civill Law.

The law now commonly called the Civill Law, hadits birth in Rome; and was first written by the Decem-vire, 202. yeeres after the foundation of the Citie. It was compounded aswell out of the Athenian, and other Grecian lawes, as out of the ancient Romane customes and lawes Regall. The Regall lawes were deuised by the first Kings, and called Leges Regia, or Papyriana, because they were gathered by Papyriu. Tarquin then raigning. For though so many of the former lawes as maintained Kingly authoritic were abolished, with the name; yet those of Seruius Tullius, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common villic. sigon.l.t.out tie, were continued, and were a part of the lawes of the twelue Tables. To these lawes of the twelue Tables were added (as the times gaue occasion) those made by 20 the Senate, called Senatuf-consulta: those of the common people, called Plebifeita: those of the Lawyers, called responsa prudentum: and the Edicts of the Annuall Magiffrate : which Edichs being first gathered and interpreted by Iulian, and presented to Adrianthe Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall lawes; and the Volume Riled Edictum perpetuum; as those and the like Collections of Justinian afterward were.

The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the French call Reglements, confilled in this, that lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soueraigne authoritie (bee the soueraigntie in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but Iuffum Magufratus, vn- 20 lesse by authoritie it be made a law) hath end with the Officer, who made the same, faith V ARRO. Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam effe dicunt; They who ascribe the most unto an Edict, say that it is a law for one yeere: Though Isidore dothallo expresse by the word Constitutions or Edicts, those Ordinances called Ass of Prero. gatines ; as Constitutio vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit; An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth or daine or proclaime.

Lastly, the Humane law is divided into the Secular, and into the Ecclesiastical, or Canon. The Secular commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquillitie of the Common-wealth: the Ecclesiasticall the spirituall good, and right Gouernment of the Ecclesialticall Common-wealth, or Church, illud nature legem, boc dininam 40 (pettat; That respecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God. And somay Ius Civile be taken two waies; first, as distinguished from the law of Nations, as in the first division; Secondly, as it is the same with the Secular, and divers from the Ecclesiasticall. But this division of the Schoolemen is obscure. For although the Civil be the same with the Secular, as the Civill is a law, yet the Secular is more generall, & comprehendeth both the Civill, and all other lawes not Ecclesiasticall. For of Secular lawes, in vsc among Christian Princes, & in Christian Common-weales, there are three kinds; the Civill which hath enerywhere a voyce; and is in all Christian estates (Englandexcepted) most powerfull; the Lawes of England called Common, and the Lawesof custome or Prouinciall. In Spaine besides the Law Civil, they have the customes of 50 Castill, and other Provinces. In France besides the Civill, the customes of Burgundie, Bloys, Berri , Niuernois, and Lodunois, Ge. Tous lieux situes & asis en Lodunois , seront gouernez selon les costumes du dit pays; All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, shall bee gouerned according to the customes of that place.

Dien. Hal.

CHAP.4. S.15. of the Hiftorie of the World.

There are also in France the customes of Normandie, and these of two kindes; Generall, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three estates. The Charters of confirmation of these ancient customes, before and since their reformation have these words; Nos autem, registrum pradictum, vius laudabiles, & consuctudines antiquas, &c. Laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus: The Register aforesaid, laudable we, and ancient customes wee praise, approone, and by our Kinoly authoritie confirme. The common law of England is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certaine Maximes by those customes of the Realme approoued. Vpon which customes also are grounded those Courts of Re-10 cord, of the Chancerie, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with other small

These ancient customes of England have been appropried by the Kings thereof. from age to age: as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disfeiled, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answere by the law of the Land, was confirmed by the Statute of Magna Charta. It is by the ancient custome of England, that the eldest Sonne should inherite without partition. In Germanie, France, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In Ireland it is the custome for all Lands (that have not beene refigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the house shall enjoy the inheritance during his owne life; and so the second and third 20 eldest (if there bee so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent : this is called the custome of Tanistrie. For example, if a Lord of Land have source sonnes, and the eldest of those foure haue also a sonne, the three brothers of the eldest sonne. shall after the death of their brother, enjoy their Fathers lands before the Grandchilde: the custome being grounded vpon the reason of necessitie. For the Irish in former times having alwaies lived in a subdivided Civill warre, not onely the greatest against the greatest, but every Baron and Gentleman one against another, were inforst to leave successors of age and abilitie to defend their owne Territories. Now as in Normandie, Burgundie, and other Provinces of France, there are certaine peculiar, and pettie customes, besides the great and generall custome of the Land, so are there 30 in England, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our lawes, as I take it, are the Acts of Parliament: lawes propounded and approound by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are Acts of choise, and selfe-desire. Leges nulla alia vip. ff. de Leg. saula nostenent quam quodindicio populirecepta funt; The lawes doe therefore binde the Lig. 32. subject, because they are received by the judgement of the subject. Tum demum humana le- Aug, de veraveges habent vim suam, cum sucrint non modo institute, sed etiam firmate approbatione com- lig. cap. 31. munitatis; It is then that humane lawes have their strength, when they shall not onely be de- Gratian in dec. uised, but by the opprobation of the people confirmed.

Isidore fasteneth these properties to every Christian law, that the same be honest, to that it be possible, that it bee according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Countrie; also for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. Hee also giues foure effects of the law, which Modeflinus comprehends in two; to wir, obligation, and instigation: the former binds vs by feare, to avoide vice; the later incourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to CICERO; Legem oportet effe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemá, virtutum; It behooueth the law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues. The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obsernation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes; and it is two-fold, the one constraineth vs by feare of our consciences, the other by feare of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, Coast ue, and Directine.

The second of these two effects remembred by Modestinus, is Instigation, or incouragement to vertue, as Aristotle makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being such as they ought to bee, doe both by prescribing and for-

Art. 3. tit. 5.

bidding, vrge vs to well-doing; laying before vs the good and the cuill, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative, commaunding good, and power negative, forbidding euill, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which David comprehendeth the whole body and fubstance thereof: faying, Declina à malo, & fac bonum; Decline from euill, and doe

Pfal. 36.

### d. XVI.

That onely the Prince is exempt from humane lawes, and in what fort.



Ow whether the power of the humane Law bee without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well Divines as Lawyers: and namely, whether Sour-raigne Princes beecompellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforefaid; the one Directine, the other Co-

active: to the power Directive, they ought to be subject, but not to that which conftraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to give a pre- 20 judiciall judgement against himselse; and it equalls have not any power over each other, much lesse haue inferiours ouer their superiours, from whom they receive their authoritie and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much aboue the lawes, as the foule and body vnited, is aboue a dead and senselesse carcasse. For the King is truely called, Ius vinum & lex animata: An animate and living law. But this is true, that by giving authoritie to lawes, Princes both adde greatnesse to themselues, and conserve it; and therefore was it said of Bratton out of Ivs TINIAN: Merito debet Rex tribucre legi quod lex attribuit ei : nam lex fasit vt ipfe fit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the King; for 20 it is the law that doth make Kings.

Brack, 1. 2.

But whereas Bracton ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes divine; and by humane lawes onely declared to bee Kings. As for the places remembred by the Dinines and Lawyers, which inferre a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein. than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God onely.

P/al. 50. ff. de Leg.

Tibi (eli peccani, faith DAVID; Against thee onely haue I sinned: therefore, the Prince cannot be faid to be subject to the law; Princeps non subjectur legi. For seeing according to the Schoolemen, the law humane is but quoddam organum & instrumen- 40 tum potestatis gubernatiua: non videtur posse eius obligatio adeum seextendere, adquem ipfaves potestatis human enon pertinct; sed vis potestatis humane non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neg lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transmutandi aliud: Secine humane law (say they) is but a kinde of organ, or instrument, of the power that gouerweth it feemes that it cannot extend it felfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of : but the Gouernour himfelfe, in whom the gouerning power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his come power be contolled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law maker hemselfe : for every active abilitie is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfe re- to fides. And feeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law: Ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps sine legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince or law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliner himselfe from the bond of the law. Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus

Greg. de Valen-

concluded. Subdititenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis, Princeps verò sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the law by necessitie of compulsion, but the Prince onely by his owne will, and regard of the com-

CHAP.4. S.16. of the Historie of the World.

mon good. Now concerning the politique lawes, given by Moles to the Nation of the Ifraelites, whether they ought to be a President, from which no civil inflitutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leaue it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater abilitie. Thus

much I may be bold to affirme, that we ought not to sceme wifer than God himselfe. to who hath told vs that there are no lawes for ighteous, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their fenerall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no leffe than in their peculiar languages: which difagreeable conditions to governe aprly. one and the same law very hardly were able. The Roman civil lawes did indeede containe in order a great part of the then knowne world, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar : yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much vinto the naturall customes of the fundric people, which it governed. For whether it bee through a long continued perswasion; or (as Astrologers more willingly graunt) some influ-20 ence of the Heavens, or peraduenture some temper of the soile and climate, affoording matter of prouocation to vice (as plentic made the Sybarites luxurious: want and opportunitie to feale, makes the Arabians to bee Thecues) very hard it were to forbid by law an offence so common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from just and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of Conso vnhappily discreed from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great furic rejected, because pluralitie of Wives was denyed vnto them. I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than feafonably. In such cases, me thinks, it were not amisse to consider that the high God himselfe permitted somethings to the Israelites, rather in regard of their 20 naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant vnto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where even the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniust; there may the law, given by Moses, worthily bee deemed the most exact reformer of the cuill, which forceth man, as necre as may by, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with folong and fo publique approbation, that the vertue opposing it would seeme as vncoutin, as it were to walke naked in England, or to weare the English fashion of appa-

fomewhat that the rigour of Mofes his law required; cuen as the good King Hezekia 40 did, in a matter meerely Ecclesiastical, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation. praying for the people; The good Lord bee mercifull vnto him, that prepareth 2.chron.cap.39. his whole heart to seeke the Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though he bee not v.18.19. cleanfed according to the purification of the Sanctuarie: which praier the Lord

rell in Turkie: there may a wife and vpright Law-giver, without prefumption, omir

heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by Master Doctor willet, that the morall Iudicialls of Moles doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatinely that we are tyed to the same scueritic of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is not given by Moses: Christian

50 Magistrates ruling vnder Christ the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemencie and Mer- 1617 9. cie, may abate of the severitie of Moses law, and mitigate the punishment of death. but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heavie; for to shew more rigour than Moses, becommeth not the Gospell.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the subject of

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C4. 5. 3.

many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon mee, to speake any thing definitiuely in a case which dependeth still in some controversie among worthie Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truely fay, that the defence of it hath alwaies beene very plaufible. And furely howfocuer they bee not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely law; yet shall wee hardly finde any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Judge may rest, with equal satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giving sentence vpon doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that ludge could have beene witnesse, of whom Fortescue that notable Bulwarke of our lawes doth speake, complaining of a judgement giuen againsta 10 Gentle-woman at Salisburie, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other proofe, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to alhes: the man who accused her, within a yeere after being Conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistris was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) gricuously lamented: but this ludge, faith the same Authour, Sapius ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum eiu de boc factaipse purgaret; Hee himselfe often confessed unto mee, that bee should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact. Wherefore that acknowledgement which other Sciences yeeld vnto the Metaphysiques, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to produe the principles of sciences, which out of the sciences themselues cannot be proued, may justly be granted by all other politique inflitutions, to that of Moses; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the Metaphyliques, which is, Ens quatenus Ens; Being as it is being, is infinitely inferiour to the Ens Entium; The being of beings, the only good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wisedome. To which purpose well saith Saint AVGVSTINE, Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & Sapiens, illam ipsam consulit aternam, de qua nulli anima iudicare datum est; The Author of temparall lames if he bee good and wife, doth therein consult the law eternall, to determine of which there

is no power given to any Soule. And as well Prince Edward, in Fortelone his discourse, Nemo potest melius aut alind fun-30 damentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; Noman can lay a better or another foundation.

than the Lordhath laid.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

## The Storie of the Israelites from the receiving of the Law to the death of Mos Es.

è. I.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of I frael, for their marches through the Wildernesse; with a note of the reverence given to the worship of God. in this ordering of their troupes.



HEN Moses had received the Law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the Arke and Sanctuarie: bee mustred all the Tribes and Families of Ifrael: and having scene what numbers of men fit to beare armes, were found in every Tribe, from 20. yeeres of age vpwards; hee appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, fuch Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in enery Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole Armie was 6025 50. able men for the warres, besides women and children; also, besides the strangers which

followed them out of Agypt. This great Armic was divided by Moles into foure 30 groffe and mightie Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, bee called Armies; as contayning the three whole Tribes of Iudah, Islachar, and Zabulon. In the Tribe of Iudah were 74600 fighting men, led by Naason: in Islachar 54400.led by Wathaniel: in Zabulon 57400. led by Eliab. All these marched vnder the Standard of the Tribe of Iudah, who held the Vauntguard, and was the first that mooued and marched, being lodged and quartered at their generall incamping on the East side of the Armie, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignitie.

The second Battalion or Armie, called in the Scriptures the Host of Reuben, had joyned vnto it Simeon and Gad, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of Reuben. In the Tribe of Ruben were 46500. vnder Elizur: in Simeon 59300. vnder Shelumiel: in Gad 45650. vnder Eliasaph, These had the second place, and incamped on the South fide of the Tabernacle.

Thethird Armie marched under the Standard of Ephraim, to whom were ioyned the Regiments of Manasse and Beniamin; who, io yned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. Ephraim had 40500. vnder Elishama: Manasse 32200. vnder Gamliel: Beniamin 35400. vnder Abidam.

The fourth and last Armie, or Squadron, of the generall Armie, contayning 157600. able men, marched under the Standard of Dan; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of Nephtali and Asher. And these had the Rereward, and moued last, incamping on the North side. Dan had 62700. vnder Ahiezer: Asher 41500. vnder Pagiel: Nephtali 53400. vnder Ahira.

Besides

Besides these Princes of the seugral Tribes, there were ordained Captaines over Thousands, ouer Hundreds, ouer Fifties, and ouer Tens; as it may appeare by that murinic and insurrection against Moses, Num. 16. v. 1. 6 2. For there arose vp against Mofes 250. Captaines of the Affembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne: of which number were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Which three principle Mutiners, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the twelne Princes of the Tribes, or Generall Colonells before spoken of, as by their names

ZX um. I. is made manifeft.

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The bleffing which Ifrael gaue to his children, tooke place not onely in the dinifion of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after fol- 10 lowing; but even in forting them under their severall Standards in the wildernesse it was observed. For Indah had the precedencie and the greatest Armie, which also was wholly compounded of the sonnes of Lea, Iacobs wife. Ruben having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother Simeon, who had vindergone his Fatherscurfe; and with Gad, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. Infeph, who in temporall bleffings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided vnto two Regiments: the yonger (according to Iacobs prophecie) taking place before the Elder. He was affifted by Beniamin, his best beloued brother, the other sonne of Rashel. To Dan, the eldest some of Iacobs Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Ar- 20 mie, according to Iacobs prophecie. Hee had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of Lea, or Rachel, but onely the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, fur-rounded by the Leuites. Neere vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approch, by reason of these soure powerfull Armies which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of Israel to come neere it, who were not of the Leuites, to whom the charge was committed. So facred was the mooueable Temple of God, and with fuch reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their feuerall offices and 20 functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of Numbers. And as the Armies of the people observed the former order in their incampings : 6 did the Leuites quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the Tabernacle: the Geshurites on the West, within the Armie, and Standard of Ephraim, ouer whom Eliasaph commanded, in number 7500. The familie of Cohath on the South fide, guided by Elizaphan, within the Armie of Reuben, and betweene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third companie were of the familie of Merari, ouer whom Zuriel commaunded, in number 6200, and these were lodged on the North side within the Armie of Dan; On the East side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which Indahled, did Moses and Aaron lodge, and their children, 40 who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other Leuiticall families, was Eleazar the some of Aaron, his successour in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Armie of Ifrael, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being alway fet in the middle and center thereof. The reuerend care, which Mofes the Prophet, and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Arke and Santhusrie, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industrie vied in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in 50 the provisions; the dutifull observance in the laying vp and preserving the holic Vessels; the solemne remooning thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Familie, by the

Anabaptist, Brownist, and other Sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of Poperie, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as Time would foone bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the Hedges; and the Offices of the Ministerie (robbed of all dignitic and respect) bee as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-gouernement, left to newnesse of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many kindes of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish Churches within England: every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancie with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; infomuch, as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrarie to it selfe, the Faith of men will soone after dye away by degrees, and all Religion bee held in scorne and contempt. Which distraction gaue a great Prince of Germanie cause of this answere to those that persuaded him to become a Lutheran, Si me adiungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs : si me alijs adiungo, à vobis condemner ; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo; If I adicyne my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; of I toyne with others, I am condemned by you; What I should avoide I see, but I know not what I should follow.

The offerings of the twelue Princes: the Passeouer of the second yeare: The departing of IETHRO.



Ow when Moses had taken order for all things necessarie, prouided for the service of God, written the Lawes, numbred his Armie, and divided them into the battailes and troupes before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all forts, The twelue Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, Num. 8.

ixe couered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the San- The Hebrew marched, the parts of the 1 abernacie, with all that belonged that the shoulders of the sonnes death waighter excepted, which for renerence was carryed vpon the shoulders of the sonnes eth sixteene of Korah, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conucied the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were deli- Gerah of silver uered to the Leuites for that service, namely to the sonnes of Gershan and Merari.

Besides these Chatiots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, ling: the Siele offered vnto God, and for his service in the Temple, a charger of fine filtur, waighing 130. sheekles; a silver Boll of 70. sheekles; after the sheekle of the Sanetuarie; pounded Exod. and an incense-Cup of gold, often sheekles, which they performed at the same time 30.13.) conteined when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by Aaron: and before they marched from to a santhuarie Sinai towards their conquest, besides the beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law Ceremoniall, the waight of all the twelve filuer chargers, and the comon sitwelue siluer Bolles, amounted vnto 2400. sheekles of siluer; and the waight of gold eleis but halfe in the incense-Cups, to 120. sheekles of gold, which makes of sheekles of silver 1200. fo much, to wit in the incenie-Cups, to 120. incekies of gold; which indees of ineckies of index 125ch ten Gerabs: as every sheekle of gold valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold & silver which it is vsually exthey offered at this time, was about foure hundreth and twentic pound sterling, peddedsthorh This done, Moses, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for bours to proue the celebrating of the Paffeouer, which they performed on the foureteenth day of that the comthe celebrating of the Pajeout, which they per the 20. day of the fame, the cloude mon and the sonthware siele was lifted vp from aboue the Tabernacle, as a figne of going forward; Moses begin-were all one. ning his march with this inuocation to God; Rife up, Lord, and let thine enemies bee Num. 9. v. 5. fastered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee. Then all the people of Ifral re- Exodult.34. moved from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine Sinai, towards Parani Num. 9. 17.

the Armic, or great squadron of Inda, led by Waashon, taking the Vauntguard, followed by Nethancel and Eliab, Leaders of the Tribes of Isachar and Zabulon: after whom the rest marched, as in the figure express. And because the passage through fo many Defarts and Mountaines, was exceeding difficult: Moses leaving nothing vnforethought which might scrue for the advancement of his enterprize, he instantly intreated his Father in-law, whom in the tenth of Numbers hee calleth Hobab to accompanie them in their journey towards Canaan; promiting him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man, as hee was of great understanding and judgement (as appeared by the Counsaile he gaue to Moles for the appointing of Judges ouer the people) so was hee a perfect guide in all those to parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at Midian, or Madian: and (asir feemeth) a man of great yeeres and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of Madian, when Moles fled first out of Agypt, and married his Daughter, which was 42, yeeres before this request made. And though Moses himselfe had lived 40. yeeres in these parts of Arabia, through which hee was now to trauell: yet the better to affure his paffage, and so great a multitude of soules, which could not bee so few as a Million, it was necessarie to vse many guides, and many conducters. To this request of Moses, it may seeme by the places, Exod. 18. 27. and Num. 10, 30. that Ie. thro, otherwise called Hobab, yeelded not: for it is euident, that he went backe from Indic. 1. 16.264. Moses into his owne Countrie. But because it appeareth by other places of Scrip- 20 II. Alfor Sam. ture, that the posteritie of this Hobab was mingled with the Ifraelites, it is most likely that this his returne to his owne Countrie was rather to fetch away his familie. and to take his leave of his owne Countrie, by fetting things in order, than to abide

Rcg. 10. 14. 1. Chron. 2.55. Zer. 35.

### ð. I I I.

The voiage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the red Sea.



Fter this dismission of Hobab, Israel beganne to march towards the Defarts of Paran: and after three daies wandring, they fate downeat the Sepulchers of luft, afterward called Tabeera, or Incensio: by reason that God confumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers which role vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23. day of the same Mo-

neth. And from this 23. day of the second moneth, of the second yeere, they rested and fed themselues with Quailes (which it pleased God by a Sea-winde to cast vpon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of Sinan or June: whereof furfaiting there died great numbers : from whence in the following meneth, called Thamus, answering to our Iuly, they went on to Hazeroth, where Mirian 40 the fifter of Moses was stricken with the leprosie, which continued vpon her seven daies, after whole recovery Ifrael removed toward the border of Idumea: and incamped at Rithma, neere Kades Barnea, from whence Moses sent the twelve discoverers into the Territorie of Canaan, both to informethemselues of the sertilitie and strength of the Countrie; as also to take knowledge of the Waies, Passages, Rivers, Fords, and Mountaines. For Arad King of the Canaanites surprised divers companiesof the Israelites, by lying in ambush neere those waies, through which the difcouerers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the returne of the discouerers of Cades, the wrath of God was turned against Israel; whose ingratitude and rebellion after His so many benefits, so many remissions, so many mira-50 cles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliuerance from the Agyptian slauerie, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible wildernesse (for so Moses callethit) with the victorie which hee gaue them against the powerfull Amalekites, to be no other then the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee

Num.11. & 33. Num. 12.

Num. 31.

Deut.1.v.27.

CHAP.S. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wives, and children to be flaughtered, and given for a prey and spoile to the Amorites or Canaanites. For it was reported vnto them, by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles; that many of the people were Gyantlike (for they confest that they saw the sonnes of Anas there) who were men of fearefulltature, and fo farre over-topped the Ifraelites, as they appeared to them, and to themselues, but as Grashoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutinie exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captaine (or as they call it now a daies, an Electo) to carry them to backe againe into Egypt; fo did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every soule of the whole multitude ( Iosua and Caleb excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter Canaan, being then neere it; and at the mountaine foote of Iduman; which is but narrow, laying before them the fertilitie thereof; and affuring them of victorie. But as men; whom the paffion of feare had bereaued both of reason and common fense, they threatned to stone these encouragers to death; accounting them as Num. 14.10. men either desperate in themselues, or betrayers of the lines, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interpoling the feare of his bright glory betweene the vnaduised furie of the mul-20 titude, and the innocencie and constancie of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence; threatning an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and mercilesse pestilence. For this was the tenth in- Num. 14. U.21. furrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God delivered them from the flaueric of the Egyptians. But Mofes (the mildeft or meckeft of all men) praied vnto Num. 12, v. 3. God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this fo severe a judgement, how descruedly soener afflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations, and give them occasion to vaunt, that the God of Ifrael, failing in power to performe his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitlesse Desarts. Yet as God is no leffe iust than merciful, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consu-30 ming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: & therfore, as with a hand leffe heavy than hoped for he scourged this iniquitie, so by the measure of his glory (euermore iealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to passe vnpunished referuing his compassion for the innocent: whom,

D. IIII.

because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to

preserue, and in them to performe his promises, which have never beene frustrate.

Of their unwilling neffe to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of diners accidents in the returne.

Ow when Moses had reuealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heavie displeasure towards them, they beganne to bewaile themselues, though ouer-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselues, and was no more among

them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, They would needes amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrarie againe to the aduice of Moles; who affured them, 50 that God was not now among them; and that the Arke of his coucnant should not moue, but by His direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies sword which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no leffe sharpe than death; and in the hands of the Amalekites, and Canaanites no leffe cruel. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwaies follow those counsells which carrie

2. Kings c. 17.

Num. 33.

2.Chro.c. 33.v.3

them to their own destructions: so the Hebrewes, after they had for saken the opportunitie by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entered Indea before their enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrarie to Gods commaundement, vndertake the enterprise of themselues; and ranne headlone and without aduice into the mountaines of Idamaa. There the Canaanites and the Amalekites being joyned and attending their advantage, fet on them, brake them. and of their numbers flaughtered the greatest part: and following their victorie and pursuite, consumed them all the way of their flight even vnto Hormah; the Amalekites in reuenge of their former loffe, and ouerthrow at Raphidim: the Canaanites to prevent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which power, to full affemblie of those two Nations (affisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings joyned together for their common safetie) it pleased God to forwarne Me. les, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For hee commaunded him to returne by those painefull passages of the Desarts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the bancks of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came backe to passeouer Iordan, there were consumed 38. yeeres; and the whole number of the fixe hundreth and odde thousand, which came out of Agypt (Moles, Johna and Caleb excepted) were dead in the Wildernesse, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholy worne out, and the promifed Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000, and to more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land vpon the returne of the discouerers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermaunded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatrie of worshipping Molech, and the Host of heaven. For although Moses doth not Amos c. J. v. 15. mention it, yet Amos doth, and so doth the Martyr Stephen, as also that the Ifra. AEL C.7. V. 42. elites worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times it is prooued out of sunv.16.0 cap.21. dry other places. ₩.3.& C.23.V.4

Now after the broken companies were returned to the Campe at Cades, Moles, according to the commaundement received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recouer the shoares of the Red Sea. And so from 30 Cades or Rithma he remooned to Remmonparez, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence he went on to Librah, taking that name of the Frankincense there found. From Librah hee cross the valley, and fate downe at Resa, neere the footc of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at Ceelata; where one of the Hebrewes, for gathering broken wood on the Sabbath, was stoned to death. After which, Moses alwaies keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountaines (those which bound the Desart of Sin, and those of Pharan) cross the same from Ceelata, and marched Eastward to the mountaine of Sapher, or Sepher: this making the Twentieth mansion. From thence he passed on to Harada; then to Maceloth; 40 and then to Thahah; & To to Thara or Thare: the foure & twentieth mansion. Where while Moles rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutinic of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; who for their contempt of God and his Ministers, were some of them swallowed vp aliue, and by the earth opening her mouth deuoured; others, euen two hundred and fiftie which offered incense with Korah, were consumed with fire from heaven; & 14700. of their partie, which murmured against Moles. stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest maruailes and judgements of God, that hath beene shewed in all the time of Moses his government, or before. For among fo great a multitude, those lay-men who would have vsurped Ecclesia-Ricall authoritie, were suddenly swallowed vp aliue into the earth with their fami- 50 lies and goods; even while they fought to overthrow the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the gouernment both of his Church and Common weale of his people. And the better to affure the people, and out of his great mercie to confirme them, it pleafed him in this place also to approoue by miracle the former election of his servant Aaron, by the twelue rods given in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which Moles received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and drie Wands, and on every rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and Aarons on that of Leui; it pleased God, that the rod of Aaron received by his power a vegetable Spirit, and having laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the arke one night, had on it both Buddes, Blossomes, and ripe Al-

From Tharab the whole Armie removed to Methra; and thence to E/mona; and thence to Moleroth, (or Majurit after S. Hierome) and from Moleroth to beneincan; and fo to Gadgad, which Hierome calleth Gadgada; thence to letabata, the thirtieth Mansion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, Adrichomius maketh a River, which falleth into the Red Sea, betweene Madian and Asiong aber.

Now although it be very probable, that at Asiongaber, where Salomon furnished his Fleetes for the East India: there was store of fresh water; and though Herodotus Horda. maketh mention of a great River in Arabia the stonie, which he calleth Corys, from whence (faith hee) the inhabitants conucigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of Arabia relieued the Armie of Camby (es: yet is Adrichomius greatly deceined as many times he is, in finding these springs at Gadgad, or 20 Ietabata, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at Punon, that those Springs are spoken of, which in Deut, the 10.0.7. is also called Ietabata, or lotbath, a Land of running waters, and which by all probabilitie fall into the Riuer Zared, the next adioyning. And that these Springs should fall into the Red Sea, at Assongaber, or Eloth, I cannot belieue, for the way is very long. And this I finde in Belonius, that there are diucrs Torrents of fresh water in those sandie parts of Arabia: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recouer the bankes of the Red Sea.

From Ietabata, Moles directed his journey towards the Red Sea, and incamped at Hebrona, and from thence to Estiongaber: which Citie in Iosephus time had the name of Berenice; and in Hieroms Esta. From thence keeping the Sea, and Eloth on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded : Estiongaber Deut. 2. being the farthest place towards the South-East, that Moses trauailed in that passage.

It seemeth that Estiongaber or Asiongaber, Eloth and Madian were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of Edom. For it is said, That the Lord spake unto Mos Es Numacao, v. 13 and A AR O N in the Mount Hor; neere the coast of the Land of Edom; so as the Mount Her was at this time in the South border of Idumea. And if Estongaber, and the other places neere the Red Sea, had at this present been subject to the Idumeans, Moses would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the Idumeans obtained those places: for it is said; And they arose out of Midian, and came 1. King. 11.18. to Paran, and tooke men with them; which were those companies that followed yong Adad of Idumes, into Egypt, when he fled from Ioab. Likewise it is said of Salomon, that he made a Nauie of ships in Estiongaber besides Eloth, in the Land of Edom.

### ò. V.

Of Moses arrival at Zin Kades: and the accidents while they abode there.



Rom Estiongaber he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderneffe of Zin, which is Kadefh: or in Beroth, of the children of Lacan; where they fate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth yeere after they lest Agypt. For at the next Mansion Aaron died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeare: the nine and thir-

Num.20.1.

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Num.20.7.

tieth yeere taking end at Esiongaber. And at this Citie of Cades (for foit was thought to be) or necre it, died Miriam or Mary, Moses sister, whose Sepulchre was to bee feene in Saint Hieromes time, as himfelfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine Hor, all the people murmured most violently against Moles, by reason of the scarcitie of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen: by beeing denoured and swallowed up by the earth; by the sudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the love or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they mur-10 mured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and cashing ungratefully on Moles all their miladuentures; yea, though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Delarts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeere, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And beeing, as it were, in the fight of the Land promised, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trutted his promifes, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded Moles to firike a Rockeadioyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselues and their cattell were satisfied. Neuerthelesse, because God perceiued a kinde of diffidence bothin 20 Moses and Aaron, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly defires might inuite them. But it pleased Him to ende the trausiles of Aaron at the Mountaine Hor, beeing the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of Hor, Aaron was despoiled of the Garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on Eleazar his Sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, Moses and Eleazar descended the Mountaine; but God received Aaron on the top thereof, and hee was no more

Of this Mountaine called Hor, otherwise Mosera, as in Deuter. 10. vers. 6. those Horites tooke name, which the Idumeans had formerly vanquished. Some there are 20 which make Mosera, which was the seuen and twentieth Mansion; and Mosera which they write Moleroth for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Manfion, and is also called Hor, to be two distinct places: because Moses in passing from Cadesbarne towards Estiongaber, incamped at Molera, after he departed from Helmana, and before hee came to Beniascan. And this Mosera, which is also called Hor, he came vnto after heeleft Cades, where Miriam, Moses fister died; the first beeing the feuen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansson. But for Hor, which is also called Mosera, it should have beene written, Hor iuxta Mosera; Hor neere Mosera: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, divided into divers tops, as Sinai and Horeb are : Whereof the West part Moses calleth Mosera, and the East 40 part Horeb. By the West part Moles encamped, as he past towards the Red Sea, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards Moab: as in the description of Moses his passage through Arabia, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from Cades, before they came to Hor, because Hor belonged to Edom, that Moses sent Messengers to the Prince of Idumaa, praying him that hee might passe with the people of Israel through his Territorie into the Land of Canaan, which bordered it. For it was the neerest way of all other from the Citie of Kadesh, where Moses then encamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the Riuers of Zared, Arnon, and Iordan, hee might have runne into many hazzards 50 in the passage of those Rivers, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commaunded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of Idumea hereunto, Moses remembred him, that hee was of the same race and familie with Ifrael: calling him by the name of Brother, because both the

Edomites and Israelites were the Sonnes of one Father, to wit, Isaat; inferring thereby, that hee had more reason to fauour and respect them, than hee had to alfilt the Canaanites; against whome Elau his Ancester had made warre, and drinen out the Horites ( who were of their ancient races descended of Cham ) out of the Region of Seir, calling it by his owne name Edom, or Edumea. Hee also making a short repetition of Gods bleshings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promifes; affured Edom, or the King thereof, that hee would no way offend his people, or waste his Countrey, but that hee would restraine his Armie within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatfoeuer hee vsed, yea, euen for the water, which themselues or their Cattell should drinke. For Moles was commaunded by God, not to prouoke the children of Elau. But the King of Edumea knowing the strength of his owne Countrey, the Denka 4. fame beeing neere Canaan, rampard with high and sharpe mountaines: and withall suspecting; as a naturall wise man, that 600000. Arangers being once entred his Countrey, it would rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly resused them pasfage, and delinered this answere to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to en- Num. 20,20. ter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible meane. 216 And not knowing whether fuch a deniall might fatisfic or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his Countrie together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written; Then E D o M came out against bim (to wit, M o s E s) with Nums. 20. 20 much people, and with a mighty power. Whereupon Moles confidering, that the ende of his enterprise was not the conquest of Seir or Edumea, and that the Land promifed was that of Canaan: like vnto himfelfe who was of a naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of warre that the world had, hee refused to aduenture the Armie of Ifrael against a Nation, which being ouer-come, gaue but a passage to inuade others; and which by reason of the scate of their mountainous Countrey, could not but haue endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of Ifrael, and rendred them leffe able, if not altogether powerleffe, to have conque-

Of their compassing Idumas, and travailing to Arnon, the border

δ. V I.

red the rest.

Etherefore leaving the way of Idumaa, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Desarts of Moab. Which when Arad King of the Canaanites understood, and that Moses had blanched the way of Edumea; and knowing that it was Canaan, and not Edom, which Israel aimed at , beethought it fafest, rather to finde his enemies in his

neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victorie, had Mofes beene enforst first to haue made his way by the sword through Idames, and thereby though victorious, greatly haue leffened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than Irad hoped for, yet being resoluted to make triall, what courage the Israelites brought with them out of Ægype, before they came neerer his ownehome, leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Defart, hee fet vpon some part of the Armie; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many heards of Cattell that they 30 draue with them, could not encampe so neere together, but that some quarter or other was euer-more subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance vnexpected, he flew some few of the Israelites, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this Canaanite, or his Predecessour, which Dd 2

Nuw.33.

CHAP.3. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

Num. 14.45.

Num.33.40.

iovned his forces with the Amalekites, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous Israelites, which without direction from God by Moses would have entred Canaen from Cadesbarne. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Armie were of the Canganites, because in the first of Deuteron.44. the Amorites are named alone without the Amalekites, and are faid to have beaten the I/raelites at that time. And this Arad, if hee were the same that had a victory ouer Ifrael, neere Cadesbarne, or if it were his Predecessour that then prevailed, this man finding that Moles was returned from the Red Sea, and in his way towards Canaan, and that the South part of Canaan was first to bee inuaded, and in danger of beeing conquered, not knowing of Moles purpose to compasse Moab, determined while he was yet in the Desart to trie 10 the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth Chapter of 2 umbers, that the Ifraelites vtterly destroyed the Canaanites and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the Israelites. But it is to be vndcrstood, to have beene done in the future, to wit, in the time of Iolua. For had Moles at this time entred Canaan in the pursuit of Arad. hee would not have fallen backe agains into the Defarts of Zin and Month, and haue fetcht a wearifome and needelesse compasse, by the Riuers of Zared and

Neither is their coniecture to bee valued at any thing, which affirme, that Arad did not inhabite any part of Canaan it selfe, but that his Territorie lay with-20 out it, and neere the Mountaine Hor. For Hor and Zin Cades were the South borders of Edom, and not of Canaan. And it was in the South of the Land of Canaan, that Arad dwelt: which South part of Canaan was the North part of

Againe, Horma (for so farre the Ifraelites after their victory pursued the Canaanites ) is seated in the South of Indea. There is also a Citie of that name in Simeon. But there is no fuch place to the South of Edom. And were there no other argument, but the mutinie which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prooue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in Iosua his time, and not at the instant of Arads assault. For had the Israelites at this time 20 fackt the Cities of Arad, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water, and bread. But it was in the time of Io/ua, that the Israelites tooke their reuenge, and after they had past Iordan: Iofua then gouerning them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this Arad by the name of his Citic so called; and with him the King of Horma: to which place the Ifraelites pursued the Canaanites. And hee nameth them amongst those Kings, which hee vanquished, and putto

Now after this affault and surprise by Arad, Moses finding that all entrance on that side was defended, hee led the people Eastward to compasse Idumea and the 40 Dead Sea, and to make his entrance by Arnon and the Plaines of Moab, at that time in the possession of the Amorites. But the Israelites, to whom the very name of a Desart was terrible, began againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose venome inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set vp.

From the Mount Hor, Moles leaving the ordinarie way which lyeth betweene the Red Sea, and Cælosyria, encamped at Zalmona: and thence hee removued to Phunon, where hee erected the Brazen Serpent; making these iourneys by the 50 edge of Edumaa, but without it. For Phunon was sometime a principall Citie of the Edomites. Now where it is written in Numbers 21. Verfe 4. That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the Ifraelites turned backe towards the Red Sea;

neither did they march (according to Fonse ca) per viam, que habet à lateremare rubrum; By the way that sided the Red Sea, but in decide they cross, and went athwart the common way from Galaad, Trachonitis, and the Countries of Moab, to the Red Sea, that is, to Eliongaber; Eloth, and Midian: which way, as it lay North and South. To Ilrael to shunne the border of Edom, and to take the vimoit East part of Moab, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North as before.

From Phunon he went to Oboth; where they entred the Territory of Moab, adjoyning to the Land of Suph, a Countrey bordering on the Dead Sea; and from thence to Abarim, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of Moab; From thence they recovered Dibon Gad, or the River of Zared, which rifeth in the mountaines of Arabia, and runneth towards the Desd Sea, not farre from Petra the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having paft that River, they lodged at Dibon Gad, and from thence they kept the way to Diblathaim, one of the Cities of Moab; which Hieremie the Prophet 6.48.v.22. calleth the Houle of Diblathaim, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by Nabushadnessar. From thence they came to the River of Arron, and incamped in the mountaines of Abarim: though in the 22. of Numbers, Moles doth not remember 20 Helmon diblathaim, but speaketh of his remooue from the River of Zared, immediately to the other side of Arnon; calling Arnon the border of Moab, betweene them and the Amerites: speaking, as hee found the state of the Countrie at that time. For Arnon was not anciently the border of Moab, but was lately conquered from the Moabites, by Schon, King of the Amorites: even from the Predecessour of Balac Peor then raigning. From Diblathaim, Mofes fent Messengers to Sehon, King of the Amorites, to defire a passage through his Countrie: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he vndertooke. And though Edom had refused him as Schon did, yet hee had no warrant from God to enforce him. Moses also in sending messengers to Schon, observed 30 the same precept, which he left to his posteritie, and successors, for a law of the war. namely in Deut. 20. v. 10. in these words, When thou commest neere unto a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein bee tributaries unto thee, and serue thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt Smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword. Which ordinance all Commanders of Armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

### d. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Storie, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture which are loft.

Ow concerning the Warre betweene Ifrael and Schon, Moses seemeth Num.c.21.v.14 to referre a great part of this Storie to that Booke, entituled, Liber bellorum Domini, The booke of Gods battailes: and therefore passets our ma-en y encounters, and other things memorable, with greater breuity in this place. His wordes after the Geneua translation are these. Where-

fore it shall be spoken in the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon. The Vulgar copie differeth not in sense from this: But Numari. the Greeke Septuagint varie. For the Greeke writes it to this effect; For thus it is faid " Of the coun-50 in the boooke: the Warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of Arnon, trie of Suph see Innius for the Red Sea, which is in the Genenan and Vulgar Edition, names the Region 5.4. †.2. of \* Suph, a Countrie bordering the Dead Sea towards the East, as he coniectureth. & of the force The Text hee readeth thus. Ideired diei solet in recensione bellerum I E H O Væ, contra of the Word Suph, aliochap; VAHEBUM in Regione SUPH: & contraflumina, flumina Arnonis; Therefore is it 18.6.3.

Num.21.26.

spoten in repeating of the battailes of IEHOVAH, against VAHEB in the Countrie of S VPH: and against the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon. In which words he vnderstands. that amongst the Warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the Ifraelites. there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the Warre of Sehon against Vaheb, the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Countrie neere Arnon, out of the possession of the Moabites. For this Vaheb was the immediate Predecessour of Balae, who lived with Moles: though it be written that this Balac was the sonne of Zippor, and not of Vabeb. For it seemes (as it is plaine in the succession of the Edomites) that these Kingdomes were elective, and not succeffiue. And as Iuntes in this translation understandeth no special Booke of the bat-10 tailes of the Lord: so others, as Vatablus in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any speciall Booke bee meant; and if any; whether it bee not a prediction of Warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the booke of Iudges. Siracides c.46. tells vs plainely, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by I o sva. Who was there (faith he) before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a booke as this there was; wherein the seuerall victories by Israel obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Ifraelites, were particularly and largely 20 written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the bookes of Henoch, how soeuer they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of Thaddaus, and cited by Origen wei apxin, and by Tertullian.

That worke also of the Patriarch Abraham, of Formation, which others bestow on Rabbi Achiba, is no where found. The bookes remembred by Iosua e. 10.v.12. and in the second of Samuele. 1. v. 18. called the Booke of lasher, or Instorum, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the middest of the Heauens is recor-20 ded, and how they stood still till Ifrael had auenged themselues of their enemies; out of which also Danid tooke the precept, of teaching the children of Inda, to exercise

their bowes against their enemics.

Some thinke this to be the booke of eternall Predestination, in which the instare written, according to the 69. Pfalme, v.28. where it is faid, Let them be put out of the booke of life , neither let them bee written with the righteous. HIEROME thinkes, that Dauid by this booke understood those of Samuel; Rabbi Salomon, that the bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the iust Abraham, of Ifaac, Iacob, and Moses, are written; others, that it was the booke of Exodus; others, as Theodoretus, that it was a Commentary vpon 10 sua, by an vnknowne Author.

The booke of Chozai, concerning Manasse, remembred in the second of Chron. 33. v.18.6 16. Of this booke, also lost, Hierome conceiues that the Prophet Isay was

the Author.

Hieron.inannot.

in Paralip.

The same mischance came as well to the Story of Salomon, written by Ahia Silonites, who met with Ieroboam, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of Israel from the sonne of Salomon: as to the bookes of Nathan the Prophet, and to those of Icedo the Seer, remembred in the second of Chron c. g.v.29. with these haue the bookes of Shemaiah and of Iddo, remembred in the second of Chron. 12. v. 15. perished: and that of lebu the sonne of Hanani, of the acts of leboffaphat, cited in the fecond of Chron. 6.20.2.34. Alfothat booke of Salomons which the Hebrewes write 50 Ha/cirim, of 5000. verses, of which that part called Canticum Canticorum onely remaineth, I. Kings 4.32. and with this divers other of Salomons workes have perished, as his booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beafts, Fishes, &c. 1. King. 4.33. with the rest remembred by Origen, Josephus, Hierome, Cedrenus, Ciccus Afoulanus, Picus Mirandula, and others.

Of these and other bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith Nebuchadnessar burnt the Temple of Hierusalem. But let vs returne thither where we left.

Of Moses his sparing theissue of Lot; and of the Giants in those parts; and of SEHON and OG.



CHAP.5. S.8.

Hen Moles had past Arnon, hee incamped on the other side thereof at Abarim, opposite to the Citic of Nebo, leaving the Citic of Midian on his left hand, and attempting nothing upon the Moabites on that side. For Moab did at this time inhabite on the South side of Arnon, hauing lost all his ancient and best Territorie, which was now in the possessi-

on of Sehon the Amorite. For Moses was commanded by God not to molest Moab, Deut. 2. 19.65 neither to prouoke them to battaile, God having given that Land to the children of Lot; the same which was anciently possess by the Emims, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called Anakims, or the sonnes of Anas.

God also commanded Moses to spare the Ammonites, because they likewise were descended of Lot: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the Ammonites called Zamzummims. For it feemeth that all that part, especially to the East of lordan, even to the Defart of Arabia, aswell on the West, as on the East side of the Mountaines of Gilead, were inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the Israelites did not at any time passe those Mountaines to the East of Basan, but left their Countrie to them, as in the discription following is made manifest. We finde also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of Canaan, and the Land it selfe, had among them many families of Giant-like men. For the Anakims dwelt in Hebron, which sometimes was called the Citie of Arbah, which Arbah in Iolua is called the Father of the Anakims; and the greatest man of the Anakims.

There had also beene Giants in the Land of the Mosbites, called Emims : and their chiefe Citie was Areer or Ar, neere the River of Arnon. To the Giants of the Rephaims, the Ammonites gaue the name of Zamzummims; which were of the same ancient Canainites : and their chiefe Citie was Rabba, afterward Philadelphia. They were alfo called Zuzims, which is as much to fay, as Viri robufti, horrendig, Gigantes; Strong men, and fearefull Giants, who inhabited other Cities of Ham, or Hom, in the same Province, and not farre to the North of Aroer.

Now Moses having past Arnon, and being incamped at Abarim; and having (as before) fent to Sehon, as hee had done to Edom, to pray a passage through his Countrie, was denied it. For sehon being made proude by his former conquest vpon Vaheb the Moabite, which Nation the Amorites esteemed but as strangers and vsurpers, (themselves being of the sonnes of Canaan, and the Moabites of Lot) refused to grant Israel any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter Moses with as much speede as he could, because Moses incamped in the Countrie of his new conquests, to wit, the Plaines of Moab; the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which Moles wasted with the multitude of his people, and cattell. Towards him therefore hasting himselfe, they encountred each other ar lahaz: where Schon with his children and people were broken and discomfitted: and the victorie so pursued by Moses, as few or none of the Amorites escaped. Hee also slaughtered all the Women and

50 Children of the Amorites, which hee found in Effebon, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of Canaan, as those of Basan also were: and descended of Emoreus or Amoreus : for Moses calleth the Basanites also Amorites. Deut. 1.38. And although Israel might now have taken a ready way and passage into Iudea: being at this time, and after this victorie at the bankes of Iordan: yet hee knew it to bee

CHAP.S. S.10. of the Historie of the World.

perilous to leaue fo great a part of that Nation of the Amorites on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of Bafan or Traconitis: and therefore he led on his Armieto inuade Og: a person of exceeding itrength and stature: and the only man of markeremaining of the ancient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced : lying betweene the mountaine of Hermon (which mountaine faith Moses, the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites Shenir) and the River of Iordan. And it befell vnto the King of Bafan ( who attended Mofes comming at Edrei) as it did vnto Sihon: for he and his sonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and posselt. After this, Moses with-drawing himselfe backe againe to the moun. taines of Abarim, left the presequation of that warre unto Jair the sonne of Manasse: 10 who conquering the East parts of Basan, to wit, the Kingdome of Argob, euen vnto the Nations of the Gessuri and Machati, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his owne name Hauoth lair: of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of Manaffe possest the North part as farre as Edrei, but the East part that belonged to sibon the Amorite, with the mountaines of Gilead adioyning, was given to Reuben and

Q. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of Moses bis death.



Fter these victories, and while Israel sojourned in the valley of Moab. the Madianites and Moabites (ouer both which Nations it feemeth that Balae King of the Moabites then commanded in chiefe) fought, according to the aduice of Balsam, both by alluring the Hebrewes to the loue of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serue

their Idols, to divide them both in Loue and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their owne interest against them, as also to beate them out of Moab, and the Countries adioyning. The Ifraelites as they had ever beene inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these cuill courses, and thereby drew on 20 themselues the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: befides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the Hebrewes, were by his commandement put to the fword, or other violent deaths : after this, when that Phiness the sonne of Eleazar had pierced the bodies of Zimri, a Prince of the Simeonites, together with Cosbia Daughter of one of the chiefe of the Midianites, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appealed. For such was the loue and kindnesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of Phineas in prosequuting of Zimri (who being a chiefe among the Hebrewes became an Idolater) as hee forgane the rest of Ifrael, and staied his hand for his sake.

NHm.26.7.51.

Num.25.v.9.

In this valley it was that Moses caused the people to be numbred the third time: 40 and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his last enterprise, he appointd 1 2000, to bee chosen out, to inuade the Cities of Midian, who together with the Moabites practifed with Balaam to curse Ifrael: and after that fought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the service of Beth-Peor: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatric. Ouer which companies of 12000. Moses gaue the charge to Phineas, the sonne of Eleazar the high Priest: who slew the five Princes of the Midianites, which were, or had lately beene, the vassalls of Sehon, as appeareth by Iosuah. These five Princes of the Midianites flaine by Eleazar, were at this time but the vaffalls of Sekon the Amorite, to wit, Eui, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, the Dukes of Sehon, faith Iosua. Hee flew also all the 50 men, male-children, and women: fauing such as had not yet vsed the companie of men, but those they saued and dispersithem among the children of Israel to serue

Cap.13.21.

Dest.31.0,2.

Num. 31. v.S.

lof.c.13.0.21.

And Moses having now lived 120. yeeres, making both his owne weakenesse of

body knowne to the people, and his vnabilitie to travaile; and also that he was fore- Peut.31.7/2. warned of his ende by the spirit of God: from whom hee received a new comandement to ascend the Mountaines of Abarim, and thereon to render up his life: Hee hastned to settle the Government in Io/uz: whom hee perswaded with most lively arguments to profequate the conquest begunne, assuring him of Gods fauour and affiltance therein. And so having spent these his later dayes after the Conquest of Ogand Schon, King of the Amorites, in the repetition and exposition of the Law (or an iteration of the Law, according to S. Augustine) vling both arguments, prayers, rab. fact. Script. and threats vnto the people: which hee often repeated vnto them; thereby to conin firme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and service, of the all-powerfull God: Hee Deut 33. bleffed the twelue Tribes, that of Simeon excepted, with feuerall and most comfortable bleffings: praifing the great neffe and goodneffe of him, vnto whom in his prayers hee commended them: Hee also commanded the Priests to lay up the booke of the Law, by the fide of the Arke of God: The last that he indited was that Propheticall Song, beginning: Hearken yee Heauens and Iwill speake, and let the earth heare Deut. 32.2. the word of my mouth: and being called by God from the labours and forrowes of this Deut.34, v.6. life, vnto that rest which neuer afterward bath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land of Most, ouer against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his Sepulchre to this day. which happened in the veere of the World 2554.

Observations out of the Storie of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the escenting of



26

Ow let vs a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sundrie of the great euents, which have beene mentioned in this Storie of the life of Moses, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And so we shall find

that the feare which Pharao had of the increase of the Hibrewes, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the forrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the Egyptian Nation : which numbers when he sought by cruell and vigodly policies to cut off and leffen, as when hee commanded all the male-children of the Hebrewes to be flaine, God (whose providence cannot bee resi-Red, nor his purposes preuented by all the foolish and saluage craft of mortall men) moved compassion in the heart of Pharao's owne Daughter, to preserve that child which afterward became the most wife, and of all men the most gentle and milde, 40 the most excellently learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the Conductor and deliverer of his oppressed Brethren, and the overthrow of Pharao, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he fought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under and burie them in the dust. The griefe which Moses conceived of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the Hebrewes in his owne presence, moved him to take revenge of the Egyptian that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatning him to difcouer the flaughter of the Agyptian, mooued him to flie into Midian: the contention betweene the sheepe-heards of that place, and Iethro's Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of 50 those Sisters: and in that solitarie life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre from the presse of the world, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heards-man, God found him out in that Desart, wherein hee first suffered him to live many yeeres, the better to know the wayes and passages through which hee purposed that hee should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: promised: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his Will and divine Pleasure for his returne into Egypt. The like may be said of all things else, which Moles afterward by Gods direction performed in the Storie of Israel before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may sceme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeeres after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

# CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their comming out of Ægypt; and of the men of re-nowne in other Nations, about the times of Moses and losva, with the summe 20 of the Historie of losva.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to have Warre, were diners wayes, as it were, prepared to be their

N like manner if we looke to the qualitie of the Nations, with whom the I/raelites, after their comming out of Egypt, had to doc, either in the Wilderneffe, or afterward: we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmitie: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of Canaan, or at lest of Ham : and the rest (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Ismaelites ) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: 40 whereas the Ifraelites still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and

partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversitie in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Israelites: and so to serue for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of Syria bounded by the mountaines of Libanus, and Ziden on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of Arnon on the East : by the way of Agypt, and the Red Sea on the South: and by the Mediterran Sca on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of Cham, the other from Sem: but those of 50 Sem, were but as firaneers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with \* one familie, to wit, that of Abraham, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the Canaanites, the ancient Lords and Possessor those Territories: by processe of time divided into severall families and names: whereof fome

" It seemeth alfo that Hus the Sonne of Nachor, & Buz his Brother, planted themfelucs in the Eastfide of Iordan, about Bafan:where they finde the Land of Hus:inwhich both leb dwelt, as one of the iffue of Hus the Sonne of libu, his friend, which is called a Buzit. See hereafter Cha.

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fome of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the Anakims, Zamzummims, or Zuzei, Emims, Horites, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabite the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the Zidonians, Iebusites, Amerites, Heuites, Hetites, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of Canaan, and after whom the Countrie in generall was still called.

As for the Hebrewes which descended of Shem by Abraham, they were of another familie, and strangers in that Countrie respecially the Israeletes, and this was some cause that the Canaanites did not affect them, or induce them: no more them to the Philistims ded, who descended also of Chamby Mizraim. For though Abraham himselfe being a stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the Amorites inhabiting the West part of Iordan : yet now even they which descending from Abraham, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the Ifraelites: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the rest of the iffue of Cham, with whom they dayly contracted affinitie: than of their olde petigree from Abraham.

True it is that these Nations descended of Abraham, or of his kindred, who had Dem. coll. v.s. lincked themselues and matched with the Canaanites and others, had so farre possest themselues of the borders of those Regions, as they began to bee equall in strength 20 to the bordering Canaanites, if not superiour. For of Lot came those two great families of the Moabites, and Ammonites: of Efaithe Idumaans: of Madian the Madianites : of Ismael, the cldeft son of Abraham, came the Ismaelites, with whom are joyned as of the same nation, the Amalekites, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of Edom, because E/au had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason conuinceth it to have been otherwise. For the Israelites were forbidden to prouoke the Edomites, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwife At Deut.c. 11. v.g. malek was cursed, and endlesse warre decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere. Chap. 8. d. 3. Of Ismaels eldest Sonne Nabeth sprung the Arabians of Petrea, called Nabathai. Now even as Abraham besought God to bleffe Ismael, so it Gen. 17. pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betweene Havilath vpon Tigris, and Sur which is the West part of the Defart of Arabia Petraa. Yet howsoe-

the entrance of the Ifraelites into Canaan, was in respect of feare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these samilies beforenamed, were not so vnited, in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for Dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood a-part or united, they were taught by the care of ther owne presernation, to joyne themselves together against Israel: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutedly as the Canaanites did. For the Edumaans only denied the Hebrewes a passage: which the Moabites durst not denic: because their Countrie lay more open; and because themselves had lately beene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the Amerites: and as for the Ammonites, their Countrie lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of Sehon and Og Kings of the Amorites, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the Ammonites was strong, by reafon of the mountaines which divided it from Bafan. Againe, that which moved the Num.c. 21.12.24

uer the strength of these later named nations, which descended from Abraham, were

great: yet it is not vnlikely, but that some reason which moved them not to favour

30 Moabites in their owner eason not much to interrupt I/rael, in the conquest of Sehon the Amorite, and of Og his Confederate, was that the Moabites might hope after such time as the Amorites were beaten by Moles, that themselves might recover againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betweene the mountaines of Arabia and Iordan: But as soone as Sehon was slaine, and that the King of Moab.

Month Balac, perceived that Moles allotted that valley to the Tribes of Gad and Ruben, the began to practife with Balaam against Ifrael, and by the Daughters of Mi dian; as aforesaide, to allure them to Idolatrie; and thus at length the Moabites by specialloccasion were more and more stirred up to enmitte against Ifrael. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from Abrahams kindred, wee may note how in the beginning, betweene the Authors of their Petigrees, God permitted fome enmities to be as it were presages of future quarrells, which in the posteritie might bee the eafter incenfed, by the memorie of oldegrudges: and withall by forme diffaine from the elder in nature to the yonger. For the ismaelites being descended from the eldest forme of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldest some of Mane, Tacob he ing but a fecond fonne, of a fecond brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houles being naturall men, might scorne to give place, much lesse to subiect themselves, to their inferiours, as they tooke it, and for a more aggravation the iffues of E/au Princes of Edumea, might keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by Iacobs taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his Fathers bleffings also by him; and that Iacob after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised into Seir or Iduman.

So also in the posteritie of Ismael, it might remaine as a seede or pretence of enmitie.that their fore-father was by the infligation of Sara, cast out into the Defart, with his Mother Hagar : and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angel 20 to relieue them. Ismaelalso had an Agyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: 1 and Amales was also an Horite by his Mother : which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Edumeans also, or Edomites, were by their Maternall line descended of the Canaanites. For Efau tooketwo Wives of that Nation : one of them was A. dath, the Daughter of Elou, the Hittite, and the other Aholibamah, the grand childof Zibeon the Heuite, Lord of Seir, before the same was conquered by Esau, and called after his name, Edom, or Edumaa.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those families of the Ismaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in processe of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the 30 conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those Wives of the Canaanites which they had married : onely a few of the Kenites and those Madianites, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof Iethro was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euer-lining God.

> Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the Israelites.



F the Kings of the Canaanites, descended of Cham, (for Melchizedek 40 may be thought to be of a better Petigree) wee finde foure named by Moses: and one and thirtie remembred by Iosua, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territorie adioyning, and no other

Dominion. These Cananites in a generall consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of Chamby Canaan, as the Hittites, Iebusites, Amorites, Gergesites, Heuites, &c. and so heere wee understand this name in speaking of the Kings of the Canaanites: and so also we call the Countrie of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God had appointed that the seuen principal! Families should bee rooted out: and that his owne people should inherite their Lands and 50 Cities. But if wee consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by Iordan, on the East, and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrie, and in the choisest places thereof, those Canaanites which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited. The

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.6. S.2.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was Hamor or Hemor, of Gen. 24. the Heuites, whom Simeon and Leui flew, together with his Sonne Sichem, in reuenge of their Sisters rauishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of Canaan towards the South, neighbouring Edom and the Dead Sea; the same which surprised Ifrael, as they incamped in the Wildernesse in the edge of Edu- Num.21.1.

The third named was Sehon King of Effebon, who before Moses arrivall had beaten the Moabites out of the West part of Arabia Petres or Nabathea, and thrust them Numatica 10 ouer Arnon intake Defarts, the same whom Moses ouer-threw in the plaines of Moab: at which time he tooke Essebon, and all the Cities of the Amorites.

Presently after which victorie, og was also slaine by Israel, who commaunded the North part of that Valley betweene the Mountaines Traconi or Galaad and Iordan, Numarias. who was alfoa King of the Amorites.

The fift was Adonizedek King of the Iebusites, and of Hierusalem, with whom Io-Ganameth foure other Kings.

Hoham, King of Hebron. Piram, King of Jarmuth. lapia, King of Lackis: and

Deber, King of Eglon, who were all Amorites ouerthrowne in battell: and hanged 10fua. 10. 20 by Iofua. After this overthrow Iofua nameth Iabin, King of Hazor, and

Tobab, King of Madon: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this Idin feemed to have fome Dominion over the rest, for it is said in the Text, For Issue, I.v.o. HAZOR before-times was the head of all those Kingdomes.

After these Adonibezek that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands, and feete, of 70. Kings, inforcing them to gather Ind. 1. Tofebblib. crummes vnder his Table: who, after Iuda and Simeon had vsed the same exequition 5,049,2. vpon himfelfe, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this King was carried to Hierusalem where he died.

The last King named is Tabin the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt Hazor, 20 burnt by Iofus. For at such time as he imploied Sifara against Ifrael, whom hee oppresit twentie yeeres, after the death of Ehud, He inhabited Hazor. This Iabin, Barac Iud. 4. (incouraged by Debora ) ouerthrew; and his Captaine Silara had by Iael, the Wife of Heber the Kenite, a naile driuen into his head while hee flept in her Tent: Isbin Ind. 4.

himselfe perishing afterward in that warre. The Madianites had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the Moa- 10[eph.l.5.c.6. bites : and they held a corner of Land in Nabathea: to the South-cast of the Dead Sea. They descended from Madian, Abrahams sonne, by Cethura. Raguel surnamed Gethegleus or lethres, faith lofephus, called lethro in Exodus, Kenis in the first of ludges, Exod.3. the sonne of Dathan, the grand-child of Iexanis, or Ioksham, the great grand-child of Abraham by Cethura, was Priest or Prince of the Madianites by the Red Sca: whose cedron.pag.34

Daughter, or Necce, Moles married and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This tethro if hee were not the same with Hobab, must be his Father : and this Hobab had seuen Daughters. Hee guided Moses in the Wildernesse: and became one Ind. 1. of the Israelites: of him descended the Kenites so called of his Father Raguels surname, of which Kenites was Heber, which had peace with Iabin the second, even now re-

At fuch time as Saul inuaded the Amalekites, he knowing the good affection of the Kenites to Ifrael, gaue them warning to separate themselves: and yet the Kenites had 1.Sam.15.6. 50 strong seates, and lived in the mountaines of the Defarts.

The Kings of the Canaanites, and Madianites, and the Amalekites, as many as I finde named were thefe.

I. Hemor

Gen 25

Gen. 27.

Gen.33.14.

Εe

20

I. Homer the Heuite of Sichem 2. Arad of the South parts Schon of Ellebon Og of Balan. Adonizedek the lebusite, King of Hierusalem Hoham of Hebron Piram of Jarmuth 8. Iapia of Lachie 9. Debir of Eglon 10. labin of Hazor

12. Adonibezek of Bezek and

II. Iobab of Modon

201.11.

" Thefe fine

tions of the

Madianites : flaine by Phi-

nehas and the

12000. Which

hee led against them. Num.31.

Thefe foure

laft were like-

wife at one

time, flaine in

the pursuite of

Gedeens victo-

& cap.8.v.12.

Ind. 6.7.

first were all ar

one time kings

of feuerall por-

70f. 10.

13. Iabin the second King of Hazor.

Of the MADIANITES thefe.

\* Eui or Euis. Rekamor Recem who built Petra the Metropolis of Petras fo called by the Greekes: and by Efai.cap 16.verf. 1. and Selah, which is as much as Petra: and so also it is called 2. Reg. 14.7. where it is also called loktheel.

Zur Hur and Reba T Oreb Zeb Zebah Salmunna.

After the death of Barac, Iudge of Israel, the foure last named of these Madianite Kings, vexed Ifrael feuen yeeres: till they being put to flight by Gideon, two of them rie.lud.c.7.0.25 to wit, Oreb and Zeb, were taken and flaine by the Ephramits, at the passage of Iordan, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of Iudges it is written at large. Afterward in the pursute of the rest Gedeon himselfe laid hands vpon Zebah and Salmana, or Salmunna, and exequi- 20 ted them, being prisoners, in which expedition of Gedeon there perished 120000. of the Madianites and their Confederates. Of the Idumaans, Moabites, and Ammonites, I will speake heereafter in the description of their Territories.

### d. 111. of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

Gen.17.20.

E F the Kings of the Amalekites and Ismaelites, I finde few that are named, and though of the Ismaelites there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according to 40 the promise of God made unto Abraham) yet the Amalekites, who together with the Midianites were numbred among them, were more re-

nowned in Mosestime than the rest of the Ismaelites. So also were they when Saul gouerned Ifrael. For Saul pursued them from Sur vnto Hauilah, to wit, over a great part of Arabia Petraa, and the Defart. The reason to me seemeth to beethis: That the twelue Princes which came of Ismael, were content to leave those barren Desarts of Arabia Petraa, called Sur, Paran, and Sin, to the iffue of Abraham by Cetura, that joyned with them (for so seeme the Amalekites to have beene, and so were the Madianites:) themselves taking possession of a better soile in Arabia the Happie, and about the Mountaines of Galaad in Arabia Petrea. For Nabaioth the eldest of those twelve Princes planted that part of Arabia Petrea, which was very fruitfull though adiouning to the Defart, in which Mofes wandred, afterward called Nabathea: the fame which neighboureth Iudea on the East side. They also peopled a Prouince in Arabia the Happie, whereof the people were in after-times called Napathei (B) changcdinto(P).

CHAP.6. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Kedar, the second of Ismaels Sonnes, gave his owne name to the East part of Basan, or Batanea, which was afterward posselt by Manasse, so much thereof as lay within the Mountaines Traconi, or Gilead. Which Nation Lampridius calleth Kedarens and Plinie Cedraans.

Adbeel fate downe in the Defart Arabia, neere the Mountaines which divide it from the Happie: and gaue name to the Adubens, which Ptolomie calleth Agu-

Miblam was the Parent of the Masamancules, neere the Mountaine Zamath, in the same Arabia the Happie.

The Rasbens were of Mishma: who loyned to the Orchens, neere the Arabian gulfe. where Ptolomie fetteth Zagmais.

Of Duma were the Dumeans, betweene the Adubens and Raabens: where the Citie Dumeth sometimes stood.

Of Massa the Massani, and of Hadar, or Chadar the Athrite, who bordered the Nanatheans in the same Happie Arabia.

Thema begat the Themaneans, among the Arabian Mountaines, where also the Ciric of Thema is seared.

Of letur the Ituraans, or Chamathens: of whom Tohu was King in Dauids

Of Naphri the Nubeian Arabians: inhabiting Syriz Zoba: ouer whom Adadezer Plin.1.6.c.28. commanded, while Danid ruled Israel.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of Ismaels sonnes, was the Ancestor of the Cadmoneans: who were afterward called Asta: because they worshipped the fire with the Baby- Innius.

The Amalekites gave their Kings the name of sigag, as the significant the name of Pharaoh to theirs, and the ancient Syrians Adad to theirs, and the Arabian Nabatheans, Aretas, as Names of Honour.

The Amalekites were the first that fought with Moses, after he past the Red Sea: Exod.17. when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterward they joyned with the Canaanites, and beate the Ifraelites neere Cades- Num. 14. barne. After the Government of Othoriel, they toyned them with the Monbites: after Barac with the Madianites: and invaded Ifrael. God commanded that as soone as ifrael had rest; they should roote out the name of the Amilekites: which Saul exequuted in part, when hee wasted them from the border of Agypt, to the border of Chaldas: from Hanilah to Shur.

In Davids time they tooke Siklag in Simeon: but David followed them, and surprised , Sameso. them, recovering his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after David became King, they 2, Sam. 8, 12. againe vexed him, but to their owne loffe.

In Ezekias time as many of them as joyned to Edumaa were wasted and displanted x.chron.a. 40 by the children of Simeon.

### ò. IIII.

Of the instauration of civilitie in Europe about these times, and of PROMETHEVS



Here lived at this time, and in the same age together with Moles, mas ny men exceeding famous, aswell in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the world was selected and Civilitie (bred and to-written Law of the living God, so did Art and Civilitie (bred and to-flered farre off in the East, and in Egypt) beginne at this time to diflearning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the

couer a paffage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece, neighbouring Asia and Iudea. For if Pelasgus belides his bodily strength, was chosen King of Arcadia, because he taught those people to crect them simple Cottages, to defend them from raine

CHAP. 6. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

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Acornes, who before lived for the most part, by Hearbs and Rootes: we may there. by judge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how falfly those Nations haue vaunted of that their antiquities accompanied not onely with civill learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge, And it was in this age of the World, as both Aug.1.18.c.s.de Eufebius and S. Augustine have observed, that Prometheus flourished : Quem proptered ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientia Doctor fuisse perhibetur : Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of Wisedome: and fo Theophrastus expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to PROMETHEVS. Adinuenta Sapientia pertinere; To have reference to wife inventions : and Afchylus affir. 10 meth. That by the stealing of Impiters fire was meant, that the knowledge of Prome. theus reached to the Scarres, and other celestial bodies. Againe, it is written of him.

and storme; and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of

In c.8.lib. 18.de

that hee had the art so to vie this fire, as thereby hee gaue life to Images of Wood. Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom hee lived had nothing elfe worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of Prometheus, being bound on the top of the Hill Caucasus, his entrailes the while deuoured by an Engle, was meant the inward care and restlesse desire hee had to inuestigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heauenly bodies, for so it is sayde: Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, vt serene calo quam longissme aftra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret; That hee ascended Cau-20 casus, to the end that hee might in a cleere skie discerne a farre off the settings and rijings of the Starres: though Diedorus Siculus expound it otherwise, and others

dinerfly.

Of this mans knowledge Æschylvs gives this testimonie.

AR agebant omnia Vt fors ferebat: donec ipserepperi Signorum obitus , ortufa, qui mortalibus Sunt vtiles : & multitudinem artium His repperi : componere inde literas ; Matremá, Musarum auxi ego Memoriam Perutilem cunttis. &c.

But Fortune gouern'd all their works, till when I first found out how Starres did set and rise: A profitable art to mortall men: And others of like vie I did deuise: As letters to compose in learned wise I first did teach : and first did amplifie The Mother of the Muses Memorie.

Aug.lib. 18.4.3. Be Ciuit. Dei.

Africanus makes Prometheus farre more ancient, and but 94. yeeres after Ogyges. Porphyrius sayes that hee lived at once with Inachus, who lived with

There lived also at once with Moses, that famous Atlas, brother to Promethem, both being the Sonnes of Ispetus, of whom though it bee saide, that they were borne before Moses dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more an- 50 cient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among Men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these Somnes of lapetus, Alchylus findes two other, to wir, Oceanus, and Hesperus, who being famous in the West, gauename to the Euening, and so to the

enening Starre. Also besides this Atlas of Libya or Mauritania, there were others. which bare the fame name : but of the Libyan, and the brother of Prometheus, it was that those Mountaines which crosse Africa, to the South of Marocco, Sus, and Hea, with the Sea adioyning tooke name, which memoric Plato in Criticas bellowes on Atlas, the Sonne of Neptune.

Cicero in the fifth of his Tusculan questions, affirmeth that all things written of prometheus and Atlas, were but by those names to expresse diume knowledge. Nes verò ATLAS sustinere cœlum, nec PROMETHEVS as fixus Caucaso, nec fiellatus CE-PHEVS sumVxore traderetur, nisi diuina cognitio nomen corum ad errorem fabula tra-10 duxiffet; Neither should ATLAs bee faid to beare up heaven, nor PROMETHEVS to be taftened to Caucasus, nor CEPHEVS with his Wife to bee fellefied; unleffe their divine

knowledge had raised upon then names these erroneous fables.

Orpheus sometime exprest Time by Prometheus, sometime hee tooke him for Saturne; as Rhea conius alme Promethen. But that the floric of Promethens was not altogether a fiction; and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them Eulebius and S. Augustine have not doubted, For the great judgement which Atlas had in Astronomie, faith S. Augustine, were his Libas. cap. 8. de Daughters called by the names of conficliations, Pleiades and Finades; Others attri- civil. Dei. bute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which archas the some of 20 Orchomenus challengeth the invention. Of this Areas Areadia in Peloponnesus tooke name, and therefore did the Arcadians vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone. Et Luna gens prior illa fuit : which is to bee understood, saith Watalie Comes, orid de fallat. before there had been eany observation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there bee that beflow the finding out thereof vpon Endymion: others (as Xenagor as) on Typhon: yet Ifacius Tzetzes, a curious searcher of antiquities, gaue it Atlas of Libra: who belides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequalled and incomparable firength: from whom Thales the Milesian, as it is saide, had the ground of his Philosophie.

v. of DEVCALION and PHAETON.



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Nd in this age of the World, and while Moses yet lived, Deucalion raigned in Theffalie, Crotopus then ruling the Argines. This Deucalion clem. Alex, strom was the Sonne of Prometheus, faith Herodotus, Apollonius, Hesiodus, and lib.z. Strabo. Hesiodus gauc him Pandora for Mother; the rest Clymene: Homer Strabo.lib.g. in the fifteenth of his Odyfees makes Deucalion the Sonne of Minos: but

40 he must needes have meant some other Deucalion; for else either Vlysses was mistaken, or Homer, who put the tale into his mouth. For Vlyfes after his returne from Troy fained himselfe to beethe brother of Idomeneus, who was sonne to this later Deucalion, the sonne of Minos: but this Minos lived but one age before Troy was taken: (for Idomeneus ferued in that Warre) and this Deucalion the Sonne of Prometheus, who lived at once with Moses, was long before. In the first Deucalions time happened that great in undation in Thessalie. by which in effect every soulc, in those parts, perished, but Deucalion, Pyrrha his Wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this floud in Thessalie, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villanie: and as the impietic of men is the forcible attractine of Gods vengeance, 50 so did all that Nation for their foule sinnes perish by waters: as in the time of Noah, the corruption and crueltie of all mankinde drew on them that generall destruction by the floud Vniucrfall. Only Deucalion, and Pyrrha his wife, whom God spared, were both of them escemed to bee louers of Vertue, of Iustice and of Religion. Of whom ouid:

August.de Cinit.

ex Eufebio &

Hieronymo.

Non illa melior quisquam, nec amantior aqui Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior vlla dearum.

No man was better, nor more iust than hee: Norany Woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that Prometheus fore-told his sonne Deucalion of this over-flowing; and aduised him to prouide for his safetie: who hecreupon prepared himselfea kindeof Vessell, which Lucian in his Dialogue of Timon calls Cibotium; and others Larnax. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out 10 of the Doue, to discouer the Waters fall and decrease, I should verily thinke that this Storie had beene but an imitation of Noahs floud deuised by the Greekes, did not the times fo much differ, and S. Augustine with others of the Fathers and reuerent Writers approue this storic of Deucalion. Among other his children Deucalion had these two of note, Hellen of whom Greece had first the name of Hellas, and Melantho, on whom Neptane is faid to have begot Delphus, which gave name to Delphos, forenowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of Apollo therein founded.

And that which was no leffe strange and maruallous than this floud, was that great burning and conflagaration which about this time also happened vnder Phaeton; not onely in £thiopia, but in Istria, a Region in Italie, and about Cuma, and the 20 Mountaines of Velunius : of both which the Greekes, after their manner, haue inuented many strange fables.

## è. VI. of HERMES TRISMEGISTYS.

Vt of all other which this age brought foorth among the Heathen, Mercurius was the most famous, and renowned; the same which was also called Trismezistus, or Ter maximus; and of the Greekes Hermes.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set

them in their owne times, both S. Augustine and Lastantius findeit difficult. For that Mercurie which was esteemed the God of Thecues, the God of Wreftlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that Mercurie, of whose many

workes some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certaine of the Greekes reckon fiue Mercuries. Of which, two were famous in Agypt, and there worshipped; one, the Sonne of Nilus, whose name the Agyptians feared to vtter, as the lewes did their Tetragrammaton; the other, that Mercurie, which flew Argus in Greece, and flying 40 into Agypt, is said to haue deliuered literature to the Agyptians, and to haue given them Lawes. But Diodorus affirmeth, that Orpheus, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of Agypt into Greece: which Platoalfo confirmeth, faying; That letters were not found out by that Mercurie which flew Argus, but by that ancient Mercurie, otherwise Theuet; whom Philo Biblius writeth Taautus; the Agyptians Thoyth; the Alexandrians That; and the Greekes (as before) Hermes, Andto this Taautus, Sanconiatho, who lived about the Warre of Troy, gives the invention of letters. But S. Augustine making two Mercuries, which were both Egyptians, calls neither of them the sonne of Nilus, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slaine Argus. For he findsthis Mercurie, the flayer of Argus, to be the grand-child of that 50 Atlas, which lived while Moses was yet yong. And yet L. Viues vpon S. Augustine feemes to understand them to bee the same with those, whom Cicero, Alexandrinus, and the rest haue remembred. But that coniecture of theirs, that any Gracian Mercurie brought letters into Egypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there bee

Led. Vines out of Cicero.in Aug de Ciuit. Dei.l.8.

Euseb.l.t.c.6. de Руар.Енапу.

any truth in prophane antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the Greekes had, was transported out of Agypt or Phanicia; and not out of Grecce, nor by any Gracian into Agypt. For they all confesse, that Cadmus brought letters first into Baotia. either out of Egypt, or out of Phanicia: it being true, that betweene Mercurius. that lined at once with Moses, and Cadmus, there were these descents cast; Crotopus King of the Argines, with whom Mofes lined, and in whose time about his tenth veere Moses died; after Crotopus, Sthenelus who raigned eleuen yeeres; after him Danaus fiftie yeeres; after him Lynceus : in whose time, and after him in the time of Minos King of Crete, this Cadmus arrived in Baotia. And therefore it cannot be true. that any Mercurius about Moles his time, flying out of Greece for the flaughter of Areus, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of those two Mercuries of Agypt, whom S. Augustine remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand child, come out of Greece. Eupolemus and Artapanus note, that Moses found out Letters and taught the vie of them to the lewes; of whom the Phanicians their Neighbours received them; and the Greekes of the Phanicians by Cadmus. But this invention was also ascribed to Moses, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the Iewes and the Phanicians had them first from him. For cuery Nation gaue vnto those menthe honour of first Inuentors, from whom they received the profit. Ficinus makes that Mercurie, vpon part of whose 20 workes he Commenteth, to have beene foure descents after Moses; which he hath out of Virgil, who calls Atlas, that lived with Moles, the maternall grand-father of Virgil Ab. 4.40 the first famous Mercurie, whom others, as Diodorus, call the Counsailer and Instru-neid. ther of that renowned Isis, wife of Osiris. But Ficinus gineth no reason for his opini- Ficin.in Presat. on herein. But that the elder Mercurie instructed Isis, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, and Pamand. Merthat such an inscription was found on a piller creeted on the Tombe of Iss. Lod. Viues vpon the fixe and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Booke of S. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, conceineth, that this Mercurie, whose workes are extant, was not the first which was entituled, Ter maximus, but his Nephew or grand-child. \* Sancho-niatho. See Enniaton, an ancient Phænician, who lived (hortly after Moses, hath other fancies of this fib. de prap.E-30 Mercurie; affirming that hee was the Scribe of Saturne, and called by the Phanicians, unng. lib.i.e. 6. Taustus; and by the Egyptians Thost, or Thoyt. It may bee, that the many yeeres vines in Hb. 8.c. which he is said to haue lived, to wit, three hundred yeeres, gave occasion to some 26 Aug. de Cinit. Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which have collected the grounds of the Egyptian Philosophic and Divinitie, he is found more ancient than Mofes: because the Inventor of the Egyptian Wisedome, wherein

it is faid, that Moses was excellently learned. It is true, that although this Mercurie or Hermes doth in his Divinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approuing of Images, which Moles of all things most detested; yet who soeuer shall read him with an even judge-40 ment, will rather resoluc, that these workes which are now extant, were by the Greekes and Agyptian Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of Hermes written, or by his heart and Spirit deuised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrarie in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt ( Moses excepted) there was neuer any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reuerend and divine, vnto almightie God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises, now among vs; the one converted by Apuleius, the other by that learned Ficinus, had

beene found in all things like themselues: I thinke it had not beene perilous to hauc 50 thought with Eupolemus, that this Hermes was Moles himselfe; and that the Ægyptian Theologie hecreafter written, was devised by the first, and more ancient Mercurie, which others have thought to have beene Ioseph, the sonne of Iacob: whom, after the exposition of Pharaohs dreames, they called Saphanet phane, which is as much to fay, as ab (conditorum repertor; A finder out of hidden things. But these are ouer-ven-

L.I.C.6.fel.4.

turous opinions. For what this man was, it is knowne to God. Enuie and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of whom, wholoeuer he were, Lastantius writeth in this fort : Hic scripsit libros, & anidem multos, ad cognitionem diuinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Maicstatem summi ac singularis Dei afferit, if demg, nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; Hee hath written many Bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Maiestie of the most High and one God , calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we doe. The same Father also feareth not to number him among the Sybils and Prophets. And so contrary are these hisacknowledgements to those Idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Gracians, as for my selfe I am perswaded, to that what soener is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth: Deusomnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita. Dotentia & lux, & mens, & Spiritus ; & omnia in ipfa, & fub ipfo funt. Verbum cnim ex eius elle prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c. God (faith hee) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde. and Spirit; and all things are in him and under him. For his Word out of him (elfe proceeding being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing. And he was therefore (faith Suidas) called Ter maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate unum esse Deum afferens; Because he spake of the Trinitie, affirming that there is one Godin Trinitie. Hieruinam (faith Ficinvs) pravidit 20 prisca Religionis, his ortum noua fidei, his aduentum Christi, his futurum iudicium, resurre-In Pref, Mercu. Etionem (Reuli, beatorum gloriam, Supplicia peccatorum; This MERCVRY foresaw the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the commine of Christ, the future judgement, the resurrection, the glory of the Blessed, and the torment or as fliction of the wicked or damned.

To this I will only adde his two last speeches reported by Calcidius the Platonist, and by Volateran out of SVYDAS. Hactenus filipulsus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto : cumá, post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: N am ad illam optimam beatamá, Ciustatem regredior: ad quam vninersi cines mortis conditone venturi sunt. Ibi nama lolus Deus est 29 Jummus Princeps: qui ciues suos replet suauitate mirifica: ad quam hac, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potins dicenda quam vita; Hitherto, O Sonne, being driven from my Country, I have lived a stranger and banished man; but now I am repairing home-ward againe in safety. And when I shall after a few dayes (or in a short time ) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and bloud depart from you, see that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) (hall repaire. Therein is the onely God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with a sweetnesse more then marueilous: in regard whereof this being which others call a life, is rather to bee accounted a death then a life. The other and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense but 40 not in words with Svy DAs. O calum magni Dei sapiens opus, teg, O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuersum constituit mundum, adiuro per vnigenitum cius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei; Iadiure thee O heauen, thou wife worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first uttered, when hee framed the whole world, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Haue mercie voon mee.

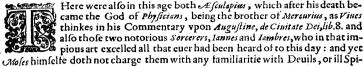
But Suydis hath his innocation in these words: Obtestor te calum magni Deisapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum sirmauit, obtestor te per unigenitum Scrmonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto; Ibefeech thee O beauen, wife worke of the great God, Ibefeech thee O voyce of the Father, 50 which he pake first when he established all the World, I befeech thee by the only begotten Word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.

ò. VII.

Of IANNES and IAMBRES, and some other that lined about thole times.

rits: words indeed that feldome came out of his mouth; how-cuer by the Septuagint

they are called Sophiste or Venifici and Incantatores, Sophists, poisoners, and Inchan-



Here were also in this age both Asculaping, which after his death became the God of Physicians, being the brother of Mercurius, as Viues Inlies thinkes in his Commentary vpon Augustine, de Civitate Dei, lib. 8. and Dei, 6, 46. also those two notorious Sorcevers, Jannes and Jambres, who in that impious art excelled all that euer had been heard of to this day; and yet came the God of Phylicians, being the brother of Mercurius, as Vines L. Vines in lib.

ters: by Hierome, Sapientes & malefici, Wilemen, and euill doers: and fo by Vatablus, who alfovseth the word Magi. The Greeke it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat

of what they did to natural Magick: calling them papuanes, workers by drugges. The Exed.g. 11.

Geneuan Sorgerers and Inchanters: IVNIVS Sapientes, Prastigiatores & Magic. Magicians and Wisemen here by him are taken in one sense; and Prestigiators are such as dazell mens eyes, and make them feeme to fee what they fee not: as false colours, and to falle (hapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (religion and superstition having one face and countenance) so did the workes and workings of Moles, and of Pharaos Sorcerers appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to bee one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the Deuill changeth himselfe into an Angel of light: and imitateth in all he can the wayes and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary every worke which furmounteth the wisedome of most men, is not to bee condemned as performed by the helpe or ministerie of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to naturall things, are such as where hee also bestoweth the know-30 ledge to vinderstand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to passe, which seeme altogether impossible, and aboue nature or arte: which two speculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the Cabalifts distinguished by these names; Opus de Beresith, & opus de mercana: the one they call Sapientiam natura. The Wisedome of nature: the other Sapientiam divinitatis; The Wisedome of divinity: the one Istob practifed in breeding the pied Lambs in Mesopotamia, the other Moses exercised in his miracles wrought in Agypt, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he vsed to his glory, that gaue

them: affuming to himselse nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also S. Au-

other famous men lived in the world, who after their deaths for their eminent ver-

tues and inventions, were numbred among the Gods: as Dionylius otherwise Liber

Pater, who taught the Gracians the vsc of the Vine in Attica: at which time also there

were inflituted Musicall playes to Apollo Delphicus: thereby to regaine his fauour,

who brought barrennesse and scarcitic vpon that part of Greece, because they relisted

not the attempts of Danaus, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire so did Erictho-

nius institute the like games to Minerua: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a

40 guffine noteth, that from the time that Mofes left Agypt, to the death of Iofua, diners

In this age also Xanibus ravished Europa: and begat on her Radamanthus, Sarpedon, 50 and Mines, which three are also given to Inpiter by other Historians. To these Saint Augustine addeth Hercules; the same to whom the twelve labours are ascribed, na- Lib.de Cinit. Des tiue of Tyrinthia a Citie of Peloponnesus: ( or as others say, onely nursed and brought cap.12. vp there) who came into Italy, and destroyed many Monsters there, being neither that Hercules, which Eusebins surnameth Delphin, samous in Phanicia; nor that Her-

present of Oyle, in memory of her that first prest it out of the Olive.

Phileft, 1.2.

cules, according to Philostratus, which came to Gades, whom he calleth an Agyptian; Manifestum fit, non Thebanum HERCVLEM, sed Ægyptium ad Gades peruenisse, er ibi finem statuisse terra ( saith PHILOSTRATUS; ) It is manifest that it was the Agyptian HERCVLES, and not the Theban, which travailed as farre as the freights of Gades. and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while Moles wandered in the Defarts, Dardanus built Dardania.

But who focuer they were, or how worthy focuer they were that lived in the dayes and age of Moses, there was never any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater things; whom he fauoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) hee so often appeared; neuerany to man more familiar and conversant with Angels; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in Ifrael. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posteritie by letters, the trueth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuerfall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detectation of idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed it.

Syracides calleth Moles the beloued of God and Men, whose remembrance is bleffed. He made him (faith the same Author) like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the light of Kings, shewed him his glorie, caused him to heare his voyce, sanctified him with faith sulnesse and meekenesse, and chose him 20 out of all men.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by Clearchus the Peripatetick : by Megastenes, and Numenius the Pythagorian. The long lives which the Patriarchs enioved before the floud, remembred by Moses, Estieus, Hieronymus Agyptius, Heestans, Elanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Alexander the Historian, confirme. The vniuerfall floud which God reucaled vnto Moses, Berosus, Nicolaus Damascenus, and others have testified. The building of the Tower of Babel, and confusion of tongues. Abydenus, Estieus, and Sybilla have approved. Berosus also honoureth Abraham. Hecateus wrote a Booke of him. Dama/cenus before cited, speaketh of Abrahams passage from Damascus into Canaan, agreeing with the bookes of Moses. Eupolemon writeth 30 the very same of Abraham, which Moses did. For beginning with the building of Babel, and the ouerthrow thereof by divine power, hee faith that Abraham, bornein the tenth generation, in the Citie called Camerina, or Vrien, excelled all men in wifedome: and by whom the Aftrologic of the Chaldeans was invented. Is institute pietateg, sua ( faith Eusebius out of the same Anthor) sic Deo gratus fuit, vt divino pracepto in Phanicem venerit, ibig habitauerit; For his inflice and piety bee was fo pleasing vnto God, as by his commandement he came into Phanicia, and dwelt there. Likewise Diodorus Sisulus in his second Booke and fifth Chapter speaketh reuerently of Moses: There are many other among prophane Authors, which confirme the Bookes of Moles, as Eusebius hath gathered in the ninth of his Preparation to the Gospel, Chapter the third 40 and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Laftly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of Strabe, who writeth of Moses in these wordes. Mose senim affirmabat, docebat g. Egyptios non recte fentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt : itemá, Afros & Gracos, qui Dijs hominum figuram af finxerunt : id verò solumesse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cœlum & mundum, & verum omnium naturam appellamus : cuius profecto imaginem, nemo sanamentis, alicuius earum rerum, que penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac fine aliqua figura colendum: Mos Es affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amille which attributed unto God the Images of beasts and cattell: Also that the Africans and Greekes greatly 50 erred in gining unto their Gods the shape of men: whereas that onely is God indeede, which containeth both us, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heaven, the world, and the nature of all things, whose image, doubtlesse, no wife man will dare to fashion out unto the likenesse of those things, which are amongst us: That therefore (all denising of Idols cast aside ) a worth

Strabo Li6.

Temple and place of prayer was to bee erested vuto bim, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the Agyptian wisedome, for which the Martyr Stephen commended Moles, saying, That Moses was learned in all the wisedome of the Agyptians, and was mighty in his workes and words; the same is collected (how truly I know not) by Diodorus , Diogenes Laertius, Iamblicus, Philo Iudaus, and Eusebius Casariensis , and divided into foure parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Divinc, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is diftinguished into Geometrie, Astronomie, Arithmetike, and Musicke; the ancient Agyptians excelled all others. For Geometry which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was viefull vato them: because it confifting of infallible principles, directed them certainely in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of Nihus, were yeerely overflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in

For the second part, to wit, Astronomie, the site of the Countrey being a leuell and spacious Plaine, free and cleere from cloudes, yeelded them delight with ease, in obferning and contemplating the rifings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmeticke also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in Geometrie and Astronomie, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of Musicke they made no other account, nor defired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serue and magnisse their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisedome, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from Peripateticall Philosophie; teaching, that Materia prima is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and living creatures have their beeing; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Starres have a certaine fouent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceede and bee from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets have their proper soules,&c.

The Dinine part of this wisedome, which is called Theologie, teacheth and belee-20 ueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first originall in Agypt; partly by meanes of the temperatenesse of that Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offenline, and partly through the fertilitie, that Nilus gineth in those places; That the soule is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of Osiris and Iss, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not knowne; that many of the Gods have been in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits bestowed on mankinde, haue beene Deisied; that those beastes, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: because vnder those Ensignes they preuailed ouer their enemies. Moreover, the Egyptian Divines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to bee concealed from the vulgar fort, were ob-

Clemens distributeth the whole summe of this later Egyptian learning into three clem. Strom. 1.5. leuerall forts, viz. Epistolar, which is vsed in writing common Epistles; Sacerdotall, which is peculiar to their Priests; and Sacred; which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kindes: the one proper, which it expressed by letters Alphabeticall in ob-30 scure and figurative wordes; as for example, where it is written: The Ibis by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Divine beauty; the other symbolicall, or by signatures, which is three-fold, viz. Imitative, Tropicall, and Ænygmaticall: Imitative, which designeth things by cha-

d. VIII. 50

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racters, like to the things fignified, as by a Circle the Sunne; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropicall or transferent, which applies the diners formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to fignific the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of men. So with the Egyptian Divines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird Ibis signifieth the Moone: by the forme of a Man. Prudence and Skilfulnesse: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse. Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudencie: by a Fish, Hatred is to be vnderstood: A. nygmaticallisa composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense. the monstrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their 10 Temples and Altars, to fignifie, that to men all divine things are Ænygmaticall and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile. (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth that the Sunne nourisheth Meteors in the Ayre, aswell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Eare, fignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing and Gouerning all things. The Scythians are thought to have been delighted with this kinde of writing. For Pherecides Syrius reporteth, That when Darius sending letters, threatned Idanthura, King of the Scythians, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdome, vnlesse he would acknowledge subjection: Idanthura returned to him a Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which orontopagas, Tribune of 10 the Souldiers, interpreted to lignifie, that by the Mouse, their dwellings: by the Frog , their waters: by the Bird, their aire: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their lands: were signified to be ready to bee delivered to Darius, as their Soueraigne Lord. But Xyphodres made another construction, viz. that the King meant, That except Darius with his Men did hasten away, as a Bird through the avre, or creepe into holes as a Mouse, or runne into the waters which they had passedas a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either bessaine, or being made Captines, Till his grounds. The same Historie is with little difference reported by

Herodotus. The fourth and last part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containeespecially 20 the Lawes, which (according to Laertius) Mercurius Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus deuised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of Pimander and Asclepius, hath written so manythings of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (faith Sixtus Senensis ) of the Trinitie, and of the comming of Christ, as of the last and fearefull day of indgement: that (as faith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) hee is not onely to

be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Booke's of Mysteries of the Egyptians, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, Seleucus and Menatus, affirmeth that this Mercurie was not only the Inventor of the Agyptian Philosophie, but of all other learning, called the Wisedome of the Agyptians before remembred: and that he wrote of that 40 subiect 36525. Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aercall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the Agyptian language converted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall Greeke, they seemed to have been first written in that Tongue. Clemens Alexandrinus writeth, that among the Bookes of Hermes, to wit, of the Wifedome of the Agyptians, there were extant in his time 26. of Physicke fixe bookes; of the orders of Priests ten; and of Astrologie foure.

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He also commanded Renben, Gad, and the halfe Tribe of Manaffe, to prepare 10/1.12. themselnes (according to their Couenant made with Moses) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Defarts of Arabia, from the Mount Sinai to this place, those of the Tribe of Inda had performed. For these Tribes being alreadie prouided of their habitations, and the

Countrie and Cities of the Amorites, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with iustice & equalitie, that Reuben, Gad, and the halfe of Manasse should also affill their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession. On the banks of Iordan they refled themselves from the fixth day to the ninth;

and on the tenth day of the first Moneth Nifan, or March, they past ouer to the o-40 ther fide, taking with them twelve stones from the drie ground in the middest of the River: which, for a memorie of that miracle by God wrought, they fet vp at Gilgal, on the East side of the Citie of Ierico, where they incamped the first night. At which place Iofus gaue commandement, that all borne in the last fortieth yeere in the De- 10f.4.19. farts should bee circumcised, which ceremonie to that day had beene omitted. Of 10,5,2. the neglect whereof S. Angustine giueth for cause, The peoples contempt of their Ang. 9.3. in 10st superiours. Thomas excuseth it in this fort; That the Ifraelites knew not the certaine Thom.part.3. time of their remouing from one place to another: Damafeen, That it was not need-quefl. 70. art. full by circumcifion to diffinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they lived by themsclues, and a-part from all Nations.

On the four eteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of Ifrael celebrated the Passeouer now the third time; first, at their leaving Egypt; secondly, at Mount 10s. 5.10. Sinai; and now at Gilgal. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrie, and having, as it were, surfeited on Man, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

And

ABriefe of the Historie of Iosva; and of the space betweene him and Othoniel: and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to Ios v A: and of the breach of



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Fter the death of Moles, and in the one and fortieth yeere of the Egresfion in the first moneth called N ifan, or March, lofua the sonne of Wun, of the Tribe of Ephraim, being filled with the Spirit of wisedome, tooke on him the Gouernment of Ifrael: God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the River of Iordan, and to possesse, and

divide among the Israelites the Land promised.

The beginning of lofus rule S. Augustine dates with the raigne of Amintas, the Lib.18.de Civit. eighteenth King in Assyria; with Corax the fixteenth King in Sicyonia, when Danaus

governed the Argines; and Ericthonius, Athens.

Isluaimitating in all things his Predecessor, sent over Isrdan certaine discoverers 10,2.1. to view the feat and strength of Ierico, the next Citie vnto him on the other side of the River, which hee was to passe ouer. Which discoverers being saved, and sent backe by Rahab, a Woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tauerne or Vitling-house, made Iofua know, that the Inhabitants of Ierico, and those of the Countrie about it, hearing of the approch of Ifrael, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the re- 10f. 2.11. 10 turne of the Spies, which was the fixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Egreffion, Iofua remooned from Sittim in the Plaines of Most, and drew downehis 10/3.1. Armie to the banks of the River Iordan; and gave them commandment to put themselves in order to follow the arke of God, when the Leuites tooke it vp, and 10,3.3. mooued towards the River; giving them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby affure themselves of his favour and presence who is Lord of all the world, when the Riuer of Iordan should be cut off and divided, and the waters 10.3.13. comming from about should stand still in a heape, whereby those below towards the Dead fea wanting supply, they might passe ouer into the land of Canaan with dry feet.

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And as Moses beganne to distribute those Regions beyond Iordan, to wit, the Lands of the Amorites, which Og of Basan, and Sihon held, so did Iosua performe the reft; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, hee gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three seuerall times; first, by Moses to Gad, Ruben, and the halfe Tribe of Manalle. of the Lands ouer Iordan; Secondly, by Iosua, to the Tribe of Iuda, Ephraim, and the other halfe Tribe of Manaffe, about the fifth yeere of his government; proued in the 14. of Iofus. v. 10. and a third division was made to the other seven Tribes at

Shilo, where Iosua scated the Tabernacle of the Congregation.

The victories of Iosua against the Kings of the Canaanites, are so particularly set to downe in his owne bookes, as I shall not neede to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose Storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or Reguir of the Cansanites, had not so much vnderstanding, as to vnite themselves together against the Ifraelites; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose. Gouernours God hath taken away all wisdome and fore-fight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the inuaders. to themselves, and to their ownedefences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe haue beene quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so far as their owne Territories and Cities. Butafter such time as lerico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities confumed; fine of those 31. Kings (all which at length 20 perished in that warre) ioyned themselues together, first attempting the Gibeonites. who had rendred themselues to Iolua. Onely fine (the rest looking on to see the succeffe) namely, the King of the lebusites, in lebus, or Hierusalem, the Kings of Hebron, larmoth, Lachis, and Eglon, address themselves for refistance: whose Armie being by Iosua surprised and broken, themselves despairing to scape by flight, and hopelesseof mercy by submission, creeping into a Caue vnder ground, were thence by Iosua drawne forth and hanged. In the prosequation of which victorie hee also tooke Makkedath, and Libnah, and Lachis. To the reliefe whereof Horam King of Gezar haltened, and perilhed. After which lofus possest himselfe of Eglon, Hebron, and Debir, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the Canaanites, guided by the ouer-late counsailes of necessitie, united themselues, to make one groffe strength and body of an Armie: which Isbin, King of Hazor, practifed and gathered together, by Iofuz discouered, as the same rested neere the Lake of Meron, hee vsed such disgence, as hee came on them vnawares; and obtaining an absolute victoric ouer them, he prolequited the same to the vttermost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which hee burnt Hazor only, referning the rest

for I/rael to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that Io (ua shewed himselfe a skilfull man of Warre, for that in 40 those ancient times he ysed the stratageme of an ambush in taking of Ai; and in that he broke the Armies of the first fluc Kings of the Amorites, which attempted Gibeon, by surprise. For he marched all night from his camp at Gilgal, and set on them early the next day, when they suspected no enemie at hand: as hee did also at Merom, when he overthrew labin, and his confederates. After which, making the best pro-

fit of his victoric, he affaulted the great Citie of Hazor.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the River Iordan at the Springs, so as the Armie of Ifrael past it with a drie foote; the fall of lerico by the found of the Hornes; the showres of Haile-stones, which fell voon the Amorites in their flight from Gibeon, whereby 50 more of them perished, than by the sword of Ifrael: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was fo much the more lengthened, as the Ifraelites had time to execute all those, which fled after the ouerthrow: a wonder

of wonders, and a worke onely proper to the all-powerfull God.

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Fourthly, out of the passage betweene losus and the Gibeonites, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is fo plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all cualion, it admitteth no diftinction, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnesse, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called Aquiuocation. For, notwithstanding that these Gibeonites were a people of the Heuites, expresly and by 10/9.7. name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and not with itanding that they were liers, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and as it were, deride Iofus, and the Princes of Ifrael, by faining to bee fent as Embassadours from a farre Countrie, in which trauaile their clothes were worne: their bread mouldie, which they answed to have beene warme for newneffe when they first set out; their barrells and bottles of wine broken; their shoes patcht; and their facks rent and ragged : Yet Iosua having sworne vnto them by the Lord God of Iosa from the If rael, hee durft not, though vrged by the murmure of the people, to lay violent very handes on them; but hee spared both their Lives, and the Cities of their inhe-

Now if ever man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made. lofua had it. For first, the commandement which her received from God to roote out this Nation among the reft preceded by farre the peace which hee had granted them. Secondly, he might justly have put these men to the sword, and have sackt their Cities; if there bee any cuasion from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witnesse. For it was not to the Gibeonites that hee gaue peace, because hee knew them to bee a people hated of God. Hee told them, that if they 10/9.7. were of the Heuites, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that hee gave faith, and to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of Ifrael had done in Agypt and ouer Iordan, fought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, 10,6,9,verf.14. which Israel made with these craftie Cansanites, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place. That the Israelites accepted their tale, that is, belowed 20 what they had faid, and counfailed not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, thefe men who wereknowne Idolaters, and ferued those Puppers of the Heathen, men of an Apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witnesse of the true God, in whome they believed not. I say therefore, that if euer man might have ferued himfelfe by any cuasion or distinction, Josua might iustly have done it. For hec needed not in this case the helpe of Aquinocation, or Mentall Referuation. For what hee sware, hee sware in good Faith; but hee fware nothing, nor made any promise at all to the Gibeonites. And yet, to the

pers of the Deuill. For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which swearcth to a Man, to a Societic, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the liuing Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that wee therein neglect: wee therein professe that wee scare him not, and that we fet him at nought and defie him. If hee that without Refervation of honour giueth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point 50 of Honour give the lie to the King himfelfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the presence of God, promi-

end that the faithlesse subtilitie of man should borrow nothing in the future from

his example, who knowing well, that the promifes hee made in the name of God,

inuiolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom hee had sworne it, were worship-

40 were made to the liuing God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and

feth in his name, and makes him a witnesse of the Couenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake those Contracts

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which have beene made in former times, and confirmed by publique faith. For though it were 400. yeeres after Iofua, that Saul, euen out of denotion, flaughtered some of those people descended of the Gibeonites: yet God who forgat not what the Predecessours and Fore-fathers of Saul & the Israelites had sworne in his name. afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appealed. till seuen of Sauls sonnes were deliucred to the Gibeonites grieued, and by them hanged vp.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equiuocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the living God. and to referve in silence a contrarie intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the 10 faith of Subiccts to Kings, of Servants to their Masters, of Vassalls to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not onely be made vncertaine, but all the chaines, whereby freemen are tied in the world, be torne afunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot paffe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies : it is by oath that warres take ende, which weapons cannot ende. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth affure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witnesse, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poore enasions, which play 20 with the seucritie of Gods Commaundements in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answere, That he breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoeuer hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The Christians in the Holie Land when they were at the greatest, and had brought the Caliph of Egypt to pay them tribute, did not only lose it againe, but were some after beaten out of the Holie Landit selfe: by reason (laith William of Tyre, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storic) that Almerick the fiftieth King after Godfrer brake faith with the Caliph Elhadech, and his Vicegerent, The Soldan Sanar; who becing sodainely inuaded by Almerick, drew in the Turke Syracon to their aide: whose Nephew Seladine, after he had made Egypt his owne, beat the Christians out of 30 the Holie Land; neither would the woodden Croffe (the very Croffe, fay they that Christ died on) give them victorie over Seladine, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had for sworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And it it be a direction from the holy Ghost, That hee that speakethlies, shall be destroied, and that the mouth which ottereth them, slaieth the soule: how much more perilous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to fwearea lie? It was Eugenius the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of Hungarie after his great victoric ouer Amurath the Turke, and when the faid King had compelled him to peace, the most advantagious that ever was made for the Christians, to breake his faith, and to prouoke the Turke to renew the warre. 40 And though the faid King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet he lost the battaile with 30000. Christians, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against Insidels, Turkes, or Christians of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-daies, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkeable; That it pleased God to leave so many Cities of the Canaanites vnconquered by Ifrael, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatrie, and as it is said in the Scriptures, To bee Thornes in their eies to proue them, 10/1.23. Indig. 1. o Indig. and to teach them to make Warre. For these Cities hereafter named did not onely 50 remaine in the Canaanites possession all the time of Iosua; but soone after his death, the Children of Dan were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforst to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardest accesse. And those of Iuda were not able to bee Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is writ-

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ten in the Judges, The Canaanites had Chariots of yron. And those principall Cities Indianage which stood on the Sca-side, adioyning vnto Iuda, were still held by the remainder of the Anakims, or Philistims : as Azzab, Gath, Aldod; out of one of which Cities came lof. 11. 10.19. Goliath, remembred in Samuel.

Neither did the children of Manaffe over Iordan expell the Gefburites, nor the Manchathites: which inhabited the North parts of Basan, afterward Traconitis.

Nor the Nepthalims possesse themselves of Beth/hems/h: nor of Bethanah, but they 19/13.2.13. intorst those Canaanites to pay them tribute. Neither did Asher expell the Zido. nians, nor those of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzib; Heblah, Aphike, and Rehob, nor in- Ind 1.0.31. 10 force them to tribute.

No more could Zabulon enjoy Kitron, and Nabalol, but received tribute from them. Also the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Ephraims: and among the chil- 14,16.10.10. dren of Manaffe, on the West of Iordan, the Canaanites held Bethfhean, Tacnach, Dor, 16- 1110,2,0,27. leam, and Meggado; yea Hierusalemit selfe did the Iebusites defend about foure hundred veeres, euen till Danids time.

Now Iofualized one hundred and ten yeeres, eighteene of which he gouerned Israel, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to coniecture diversly of the continuance. losephus gives him five and twentie yeeres, Seder Ollam Rabbithe Authors of the He-20 brew Chronologie eight and twentie: And Masseus fixe and twentie: Maimonius cited by Maßrus, fourteene: Ioannes Lucidus, seuenteene: Caietanus, ten: Eusebius giueth him seuen and twentie : and so doth S. Augustine : Melanethon, two and thirtie : Codoman, fine and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeeres from the delinerance of Israel out of Egypt, vnto the building of the Temple, it is necessarie that wee allow to losus onely eighteene of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwife, which to mee seemes the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approoued opinion.

The same necessitie of retaining precisely 480. yeeres from the departure out of Egypt vnto the building of the Temple, convinceth of errour, such as have infer-30 ted yeeres betweene losus and Othoniel, of whom Eusebius findes eight yeere, to Euseb.Prap.Ewhich Arius Montanus adhereth; and for which hee gineth his reason in his foure "ang. and twentieth and last Chapters vpon Iosua: Bunting reckons it nine yeere: Bucholzer and Reusner but one, Codoman twentie, and Nicephorus no lesse than three and thirtie : whereas following the fure direction of these 480. yeeres, there can be no void yeeres found betweene Tofus and Othoniel, vnleffe they be taken out of those eighteen aferibed vnto Iosua by the account alreadic specified. The prayses and acts of Iosua are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of Ecclefiafticus, where among many other things it is faid of him, Who was there before him like to him, for hee fought the battells of the Lord?

40 That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of Arius Montanus, because it is said in the last Chapter ver. 26. And I o s v A wrote these wordes in the booke of the law of God: which seemeth rather to have been meant by the conenant which Iosua made with Israel in Sichem, where they all promised to serue and obey the Lord: which promise Iosua caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were Caietan and Abulensis: Theodoret doth likewise conceine that the booke of Iofus was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled Liber Iustorum; 1.10.13. remembred by Iolus himselfe, and others, that it was the worke of Samuel: for whereas Montanus groundeth his opinion vpon these wordes of the 26. verse, And I o s v a wrote these wordes, &c. this place bath nothing in it to proue it, for when the 50 people had answered I o s v A; The Lordour God will we ferue, and his voice will we obey, 5.1aft.v.24.v.26

it followeth that Io/ua made a couenant with the people, and wrote the fame in the booke of the Law of God.

There lived at once with Iolus, Ericthonius in Attica, who taught that Nation to yoke beafts together, thereby to till the ground with more case and speede: And

of the Historie of the World. CHAP. 7. S.2.

about the same time the fiftie Daughters of Danâus (as it is said) slew the sistie Sonnes of Egyptus, all but Lynceus who succeeded Danaus, if the tale be true. There lined also with Iofus, Phanix and Cadmus, and neere the end of Iofus life, Iuniter is faid to have ravished Europa the Daughter of Phanix, (afterward marryed to Aller Lib. 18.c. 12. De rius King of Creta) and begat on her Mines, Radamanthus, and Sarpedon. But S. Augustine reports this rauishment to be committed by Xanthus, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sonnes of Iupiter. But it may be doubted whether Minos Homer, Odys & was Father to Deucalion, and Deucalion to Idomeneus, who was an old man at the war of Tro), and Sarpedon was in person a young or strong man at the same Trojan warre. And so doth Nestor reckon vp in the Councell of the Greekes, Theseus and Perithous 10 for men of antiquitic, and of ages past: Minos being yet more ancient than anv of thefe. But hercof elsewhere.

Hom, Iliad, I.

### CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel, that were planted in the borders of Phænicia, with sundrie Stories depending vpon those places.

The Proame to the description of the whole Land of Canaan, with an exposition of the name of Syria.



HE Storie of the Indges ought to follow that of Islua, after whome the Common-wealth of the Iewes was gouerned by Kings, of which fo many of them as ruled the tenne Tribes, shall be remembred when wee come to the description of Samaria: but because the Land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Storie past, with that which followeth, hath beene aded. I thinke it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a Geographicall description 40 of those Regions: that all things therein performed

by the places knowne, may the better bee understood, and conceined. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I have bestowed oneuery Tribe his proper portion: and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength, were by the Iewes obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leave vnconquered: by whom he might correct and scourge them, when vngrateful for his many graces, they at fundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. Dinina bonitas (faith Avgvstine) tdeo maxime irafeiturin hoc faculo, ne irafeatur in futuro: & mifericor diter temporalem adhibet seueritatem, ne aternam iuste inferat ultionem; The dinine goodnesse is especially therefore 50 angrie in this world, that it may not be angric in the world to come, and doth mercifully ve temporall feueritie, that it may not iufly bring upon us eternall vengeance.

To the Cities heerein described, I have added a short Storie of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdomes and common-weales: and to helpe my selfe herein, Thaue perused divers of the best Authors vpon this subject: among whom, because I finde fo great disagreement in many particulars, I hauerather in such cases aduentured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their olde patternes.

And because Canaan, with Palastina of the Philistims, and the Lands of Og and sihon Kings of Balan, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small Provinces of Syria: it shall be necessarie, first to divide and bound the generall, and so to descend to this

particular, now called the holy Land.

Syrra, now Soria, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently ta- Ptol. Asia tab. 4 ken, imbraced all those Regions from the Euxine Sea, to the Red Sea : and therefore to were the Cappadorians, which looke into Pontus, called Leucosyrians, or white Syrians. Ptol. 5. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of Cilicis, which is the North border, vnto Idumea towards the South, Tigris towards the Sunne riling, and the Mediterran Sca Westward: it then containeth besides Babylonia, Chaldea, Arabia the Desart, and Arabia Petras, that Region also which the Greekes call Mefopotamio, the Hebrewes Syria of the two Rivers, to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, for fo Aram-Nahairaijm is expounded: also Padan Aram: that is, Ingum Syrie, because the two Riners goe along in it

Edella, sometime Rages, now Rage, was the Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Aurogalles. Syria taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as Calefreia which the Latines 20 call Syria Cana, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of Lybanus, and Anti-lybanus, in which the famous Cities of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many others were feated. Then Damascena or Syria Lybanica, taking name of the Citie Damascus, and the Mountaines of Lybanus, the Regall seate of the Adades, the first Kings of Syria. Adioyning toit was the Province of Sophene, or Syria Soba, 1. K. 11. Choba, or Zobal: Over which Adadezer commanded in Salomons time. Then Place Herod, in Polym. nicia and the people Syraphanices: and lastly Syria Palestina bordering Egypt: of Dion.L.27. which Ptolomie maketh Inde 1alfo a part: and to that Prouince which Mofes calleth Ptol. Affe, tab. 4. Seir and Edom, Pomponius Mela giueth the name of Syria Indes.

# Q. II. Of the bounds of the Land of Cansan, and of the promises touching this Land.

Vt that Land which was anciently Canaan, taketh a part of Phanicia, and stretcheth from behinde Lybanus to the great Defarts betweene I-& dumen and Egypt: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the Weft, and Cathe Mountaines of Hermon; Galaad, and Arnon towards the East: the fame Hills which Strabo calleth Traconi or Traconite, and Ptolomie Hip- Strab. L. 10. 40 pus. The name of Canaan it had from Canaan the Sonne of C H A M, & lingua appella-

ta fuit CANAAN; The language was also called CANAAN, saith Montanus: and after Hebreaosthe Hebrewes: who tooke name from Heber, the Sonne of Sale, according caleb.f.62. to S. Augustine. But Arias Montanus not so well allowing of this derivation, makes

it a common name to all those of Noahs Sonnes, which past ouer Emphrates towards the West Sea. For the word Heber, saith hee, is as much as transiens or transmittens, of going or passing ouer. And because the children of Abraham had for a long time no certaineabiding: therefore as he thinks, they were by the Egyptians called Hebrai, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of C. Sigonius, and of Eusebius long Euseb. Prep. E. before them both. It had also the name of Indaa from Inda; and then afterwards in- uang 17.6.3. 50 tituled The holy Land, because therein our Sautour Christ was borne and buried. Now this part of Syria was againe divided into foure; namely, into Edom, (other-

wise Seir, or Edumaa) Galilee, Samaria, and Iudas. Galilee is double, the superior called Gentium, and the inferiour: and that Galilee and Indea are diffinguished, it is plaine in Math. 2. the Euangelists, though both of them belong to Phanicia.

Now

Iehn 4.

Now besides these provinces of Phanicia, and Palastina (both which the River of Jordan boundeth; fauing that Phanicia stretcheth a little more Easterly towards Damascus) that part also to the East of Iordan, and within the Mountaines of Hermon Gilead and Arnon, otherwise Traconi, fell to the possession of halfe Manasse, Gad, and Ruben, and therefore are accounted a part of Canaan also: aswell because anciently possess by the Amorites, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the Israelites, which Eastermost parts are againe divided into Basan or Basanea, into Gilead. Meab, Midian, Ammon, and the Territories of the Machati, Geffuri, Argobe, Hus. They are knowne to the later Cosmographers by the name of Arabia in generall: and by the names of Traconitis, Pieria, Batanea, &c. of which I will speake in their pro- 10

The second Booke of the first part CHAP. 7. S.I.

But where Moses describeth the Land of Canaan in the tenth of Genesis, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to Manasse, Gad, and Ruben, for these be his words, Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou commest to Gerar until Azzah (which is Gaza) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then it followeth in the Text; And as then goeft unto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboijm, euen unto Lasha: by which words Moses setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterran. But in Deuteronemie it seemeth to be farre more large: For it is therein written; All the places whereon the soale of your feet shall tread, shall be yours : your coast shall be from the wildernesse and 20 from Libanon, and from the River Perah, vato the vitermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this description agreeth with the former: onely Libanon is put for Zidon: and the Wilderneffe for Gerar and Azzab, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if Perah bee taken for Eyphrates: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer Arabia Petraa, and the Defart as farre as the border of Babylon: which the Ifraelites neuer possest: nor arany time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore Vadianus doth conceive that by the River Perah, was meant lordan, and not Euphrates: taking light from this place of Iosva: Behold, I have divided unto you by lot thefe Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Iordan with all the Nations that I have destroit 20 ed, suen unto the great Sea Wellward.

And though it bee true that David greatly enlarged the Territoric of the holy

Vadian. Epitom.

Deut.II.24.

Land: yet as Vadianus well noteth, if Perab in the former place be taken for Euphratium cap. Pale. tes, then was it put per gentes in amicitiam receptas. For Dauted did not at any time enter so farre to the East as Affria, or Babylonia. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cauill, as touching the promise of God to the Israelites unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and service, it pleased him not onely to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subject them vnto those Idolatrous Na-40 tions, whose false and foolish Gods themselves also served and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the Hebrewes claimed the inheritance of Canaan, and the lasting injoying thereof, to wit, as long as the heavens were about the earth, was tied to those conditions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent; which the Israelites neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankinde could or can expect; who know that all forts of comforts from the mercifull goodnesse of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to bee attended, than while wee perseuer in his lone, seruice, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleuenth of Deuteronomie, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition iouned to the prosperity of Ifrael. For thereinit is written; Therefore shall yee 50 keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and goe in, and possesse the Land, whither yee goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your dayes

The like condition was also annexed to the enioping of the land conquered, and

in the Land which the Lord (ware unto your Fathers, &c.

the possession thereof, so long as the heavens were about the earth. For if yee keepe Dent. 11. dilivently, faith he, all these commandements, which I command you to doe, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and yee hall possessed Nations, and mightier than you. And heere, though it bee manifelt, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerfull Majestie, to the Idolatrie of the Heathen, the conditionall promifes of God were absolutely void, as depending vpon obedience unperformed:yet I cannot millike that expolition of Melanethon: For faith he oftendit promissonem pracipuam non esse de hoc Politico regno; He sheweth that his chiefe proto mile unot of a civil Kingdome. To which agrees that answere, which S. Hierome made to a certaine Heretique in his Epistle ad Dardanum, who accused S. Hierome that he ouerthrew the reputation of the Iewes Storie, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, and adillam duntaxat viuentium terram que in calis est; (that is) Onely to that Land of the luing which is in Heauen. Quoniam tota Iudaorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, vt vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, latitudinem vero 40.8 in his etiam regiones, loca, vrbes & oppida sunt piurima, nunquam à ludeis occupata, sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Countrie of the lewes is fo narrow in compasse, that it scarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles in breadth, and in these are Countries, Places, Cities, and many Townes, which the 10 lewes neuer poffeft, but were only granted by divine promife. In like manner the same Father speaketh vpon Esay touching the bleffings promised vnto Hierusalem: where hec hath these words: De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palastina Regione Cap.49.14. petendam: qua totius Prouincia deterrima est : & saxosis montibus asperatur & penuriam patitur sitis: ita vt calestibus vtatur plunys, & raritatem fontium esternarum extructione Gletur : sed in Dei manibus ad quam dicitur festinauerunt structores tui ; From whence, faith he, we learne, that Hierusalem is not to be sought in that Region of Palastina, which is the worst of the whole Prouince, and ragged with craggic Mountaines, and (uffereth the pepurie of thirle: so as it preserveth raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of Wells by building Cesternes, but this Hierusalem is in Gods hands, to which it is said, Thy builders have haste-30 ned, so farre S. Hierome, where also to preuent mistaking, hee thus expoundeth himselfe. Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terra sudaa, vt Harcticus Sycophantamentitur: aut quo auferam historia veritatem : qua fundamentum est intelligentia spiritualis, sed ve decutiam supercilium Indeorum : qui Synagoga angustias latitudini Ecclessa preserunt. Si enim occidentem tantum seguuntur literam, & non spiritum viuificantem : ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; Neither (faith he) fay I this to disgrace the land of Indea (as the Hereticall sycophant doth believe) or to take away the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of spiritual understanding, but to beate downe the pride of the lewes : which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther then the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew 40 the Land of promise, slowing with milke and honnie.

By this it may also be gathered, how socuer it be vnlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place, Deut. 11. 24. had his truth in the literall fense, that Euphrates or Perath. which is made the East bound, should be taken only in a spirituall sense) yet neuertheleffe that Hieroms opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perath were not to be vnderflood for Euphrates: and that the promise it selfe was never so large: much leffe the plantation and conquest of I/rael.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Asher, Nephralim, and Zabulon, held the Northermost part, and were seated in Phanicia, I will begin with these three, taking Asher for the first: of which Tribe yet before 50 I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the divers fancies of Translators, are diversly expressed, so that to the viskilfull they may seemediners, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversitie (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Edi-

Deut.II.

tions of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions have; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omirted divers consonants, otherwise than the latter thinke sit.

### S. III. THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

#### The bounds of the Tribe of Asher,



He Alberites descended of Alber the Sonne of Iacob by Zeloha, the hand-maid of Les, were increased while they abode in £gypt, to the number of 41500 and odde persons, all men aboue twentie yeeres of number of 41500 and odde persons, all men aboue twentie yeeres of age, and able to beare armes at the time, when they were mustered by Moles at Mount Sinai: all which number perifhing in the Defarts, 20

there remained of their issues, besides women and children 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the River of Arnon, into the Plaines of Most, and after the Conquest of Canaan, had for their portion that part of Phanicia, from Ziden and the fields of Libanus, vnto Ptolomau Acon along ft the Sea-coaft : containing thirtie English miles or thereabout : and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelve miles: though Antoninus makes it somewhat larger. This part of Canaan was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oile, and Wheate, besides the Ballamum, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that Prophecie. As ser pinguis panis: concerning Affer, his bread shall be fat: And he shall give plea-Sures for a King.

#### t. II.

#### Of Zidon.

Inflitt.1.18.

Ant.Itin.

Gen.4.9.

Gen. 10. lofeph.

He first Citic seated on the North border of the Territoric of Asser. was Zidon, which Iosua calleth the great Zidon, both for strength and magnitude. The Greekes and Q. Curtius make Agenor the founder thereof: and Institute deriues the name from the abundance of Fish found on those shores: whereof it hath been called Zidona. But that it was farre more ancient, Moses, Iosua, and Iosephus witnesse, 40 the fame being founded by Zidon the eldeft of Canaan's Sonnes : and fo strong it was in Issuas time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the Afferites, or any of their Successors master it: but it continued all the time of the Indges and Kings, euen vnto the comming of Chrift, a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Efa.13. Hier. 47 Prophet's Efay, Hieremie, Ezekiel, and Zacharie, it was often affliced both by the enc-Ezek. 28. 6 32. mies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is scated on the very wash of the Phanician Sea, which is a part of the Mediterran or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of Berythus, and the River Leant is: and to the South Sarepta, or Sarphat: which standeth betweene it and Tyre, 50 the distance betweene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, Zidon and Tyre, Falefi. Seig. f. 19. is fourteene thou fand paces, faith Seiglerus: but Vadianus makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth Weißinburie in his description of the holy Land, and both from Strabo: which two hundred furlongs make fine and twentie miles. This difference

of distance as well betweene these two knowne Cities, as all the rest, make it over disficult to deuise any new scale to the Map, and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till Agenors time there is no memorie: The Storie which Zeno the Philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time confumed and loft. It seemeth to bee more ancient than Tyre: which was also built by the Zidonians. For as Strabo noteth, Homer speaking of Zidon, neglecteth the memorie of Strab.l.16. Tre: because it was but a member of Zidon, and a Citie subsect to the Kings thereof: though it bee true that in after-times it contended with Zidon for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and strong: From Zidon had Salomon and Zoto robabel, their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone; for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all forts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanicall Arts and Trades: the Prophet Zacharie calling them the wife Zidonians. The Zacharies. Ciric was both by nature and art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadellon the North-side, standing vpon an vnaccessible Rocke, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South side by the Port of Egypt, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other Colonies besides that

Strabo and Plinie give the Zidonians the invention of & Glasse, which they vied to Plin.1.5.e.9. 20 make of those sands which are taken out of the River Belus, falling into the Mediter-that even in ran Sea, neere Ptolomais or Acon: and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter of Information the those cleare Glaffes which they make at Murana: of which S. Hierome and Plinie. Z1- practiced glaffe DON insignis artifex vitri: ZIDON vitarijs officinis Nobilis; ZIDON a famous Glasse- making, where

maker or a skilfull worker in Glaffe-houfes.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the Canasnites) worshippers of which ad verbii Rad and Afteroth: which Idols though common to the other of the iffue of Canaan combiliones as (as Pineda gathers out of 1. Sam. 31. 10. and Iud. 10.6.) yet especially and peculiar- quarum, reades ly were accounted the Gods of the Zidonians: as appeares 1. Kings 11.5. in the florie of Salomons Idolatrie: where Aftaroth is called the God of the Zidonians: and I. feems, because 30 Reg. 16.33 in the storic of Achab, the chiefe worshipper of Baal, where it is said that thele Fornaces hee marrying Iezabel the Daughter of the King of the Zidonians, worthipped their was store of was Bad. Divers Bads and divers Aftaroths in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it ter, either for appeares by the plurall names of Baalim and Aftaroth, I. Sam. 12.10. and elfewhere: the mouing of the believes by for cuen the name Aftaroth, as I am informed by a skilfull Hebritian, is plurall: the the forceof the fingular being Aftoreth: whence Iud. 2.13 the Septuagint reade endreson with desuprus: water, or for other necessaries They worshipped the Astarties. The occasion of this their multiplying of their Baals, vies, But there and Aforeths, may be diverfly vnderstood : either in respect of the diversitie of the are others that formes of the Images, or of the worship in diners places, or of the stories depending falt pits and o vpon them: which (as fables vie to bee) were doubtleffe in divers Cities divers. An- ther agains for guftine quaft. 16. in Iudg. thinkes Baal and Aftarte to bee Iupiter and Juno. For the Car- hot baths. thaginians (which were Tyrians) call Iuno by some such name as Aslarte. Tullic, lib. 3. Aslarte (or A-40 de Nat. Deorum, making divers Goddesses of the name of Venus, expounds the fourth flatte) seemeth to be Affarte: whom hee makes to bee borne of Tyrus and Syria, and to have beene a ficepe, for the wife of Adonis: as also Macrob. 2. Saturn.cap. 21. Saies that Adonis was with great Deut. 7. 13. the veneration commonly worshipped of the Affrians: and Hierome vpon Ezek. 8.44. word in the plus rallnumber finotes that Thammuz (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is gnifieth sheeps the name of Adonic among the Syrians. So that it may feeme that in the worthip of and this may Affarte, or Venus, they did bewaile her husband Adonis : as also the Gracians did in confirme Aitheir longs of A DONIS. Mourne for A DONIS the faire, dead is A DONIS the faire, that Allarie was 10 Howbeitothers in that place of Ezekiel not without good probabilitie, expound the Iuno: for the mourning for Thammuz, to be the mourning for Ofinis in the facrifices of Is: whose husband Iulosse of her husband Ofiris, was as famous in the Agyptian Idolatrie, as with the piter Hammon Gracians, Venus loffe of Adonis. And to this agreeth that which Plutarch hath, de Ifi- was a Ramme, 

of Tree into places remote: as vnto Thebes, and Sephyra, Cities of Baotia in Grecce. Herod. 1.

30

seeme to be the same with Ezekiels Thammuz. But howsoever these Zidonians were thus anciently foliered with the milke of Idolatrie: yet they were more apt to receiue the Doctrine and Gospell of Christ after his Ascension, than the Iewes: who had beene taught by Moles, and the Prophets so many yeeres, whereof our Saujour Mathin v. 20. in Matthew and Luke. We bee to thee Corazin, Gr. for if the great works which were done in thee, had beene done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, fre, but I (av vnto you, it hall be easter for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgement than for

It received a christian Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of Twe. But in the yeere of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the Sa-10 racens: and continued in their possession till Baldwinus the first, then King of Hieru-Tyr. II. Bell. falem, in the years IIII, by the helpe of the Danes and Norwaies, who came with a Fleete to visite the holy Land, and tooke Port at Joppa, it was againe recovered. Vitriac.c. 27. the commandement thereof being given to Eustace Gremer, a Noble man of that Countrie. And againe in the yeare 1250. it was reedified and strengthred by Lodg. wicke the French King: while hee spent foure yeere in the Warre of the holy Land. Laftly, in the year 1280, it was reconquered by the Saracens: and is now in poffer. fion of the Turke, and bath the name of Zai.

t. III.

Of Sarcpia, with a briefe Historic of Tyre in the same coast.

Arepta, or after the Hebrew, Sarphath, is the next Citic Southward from Ziden. Doctweene it and the River called Naar, or Fons hortorum Libani ( of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards Tyre, a Citie very famous for the excellent Winegrowing neere it : of which Sidonius.

> Vina mihi non funt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna, Queq. Sareptano palmite mi fa bibas.

I have no wine of Gaza, nor Falerna wine, Nor any for thy drinking of Sarepta's vine.

This Citic had also a Bishop of the Diocesse of Tyre: after it came to the Saracens

and Turkes, as the reft: and is now called Saphet, faith Postellus.

Not farre from Sarepta was fituate that sometime famous Citie of Tyre, whose fleets of ships commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the Mediterran Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the Tyrians erected Vtica, Leptis, and Carthage in Affrica, of which VIRGIL. Vrbs antiqua fuit Tyry te- 40 nuere Coloni Carthago. And Carthage was therefore called Punica quasi Phanicum, a Colonie Of the Phanicians. In Spaine they founded Gades, now Caliz. In Italie, Nola: in Afia the leffe, Dromos Achillis, which Citie the Scholiast of Apollonius placeth neere the River Phyllis, in Bithyma.

It had anciently the name of Zor, or Tzor; and so it is written in Iosua the 19.12king name from the situation; because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end. The Latines, as it seemes, knew it by the name of Sarra; for Virgil calleth the purple of Tyre, oftrum Sarranum, by which name Invenal and Silius remember it. The Zidonians built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient Tyre: and because it was a Colonie of the Zidonians, the Prophet Esay calleth it the Daughter of Zidon; which Trogus also 50 confirmeth, though Berofus by affinitie of name makes Thiras the Sonne of Taphet to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Prophet Efay also witnesseth, Is not this your glorious Citie whose antiquitie is of ancient

daies: ) vet, that Thir as the sonne of Japhet set himselfe in the bosome of the Canaanites who built Zidon, and peopled all that Region: I fee nothing to perlwade

CHAP. 7. S. 2. +. 3. of the Historie of the World.

But that new Tyre in after-times for enowned, feemeth to bee the worke of Age- julin 1.18. nor : and of this opinion was Curtius : and Iofephus, and Eufebius make this Citie el. Curt. 4. der than Salomons Temple 240. yeeres: Cedrenus 361. who also addeth that Tyrus 10feph.au. lit. 8. the Wife of Agenor gaue it her name : but of Agenor I will speake more at large in capa. the storie of their Kings.

For strength and for the commoditic of the harbour, and the better to receive 10 Trade from all places, it was in this new crection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the continent : and therefore Ezekiel placeth it in the middest of the Sca, as Ezek, 28,2.27. some reade, or asothers in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence hee calleth it ross. situate at the entrie of the Sea, as also the same Prophet calleth it the Mart of the people Esting. 3. for many lles : and Es AY a Mart of the Nations: and fo Proude, Wealthic, and Magnificent was this Citie, as the Prophet E/ay calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and 27.8. their Chapmen the Nobles of the world.

Itexcelled both in learning, and in manu-facture : especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, faith Iulius Pollux, was first found out by Hercules Dogge, who passing alongst the Sca-coatt, and cating of the Fish Con-20 chilis or Purpura: the haire of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idolls that Zidon did : saving that Hercules became their Patron in after times? For Alexander Macedon, when the Tyrians presented him with a crowne of gold. and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a facrifice to Hercules, the Defender of their Citie and the Ancester of the Macedonians Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that Hercules his Temple was in the Mountaine of old Tyre: where he might performe that ceremonie: but this availed not. For Alexander was not fo fuperlitious, as ambitious, hee desired to enter the Towne, which being denied, he as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour wearie, gathered together as many 20 ships as he could; and brought from Libanus so great a number of Cedars, and so many waightie Stones, from the old Citic of Tyre adioyning, as not with tlanding that his materialls were often walkt away with the strength of the Sca, and the Tides, yet he neuer refted, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Iland: and having once approched their Walls, hee over topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence ( having filled the body of force with the violent mouing Spirit of resolution ) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the fword that refifted, after which he caused 2000 more to bee hung vp in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which exequation vpon cold bloud hee performed (as some Authors affirme) vpon the iffues of those flaues which had formerly flaine all their Masters, taking their Wines, Children, Riches, and power of Gouernement to themselves. This victorie of Alexander over the Tyrians, Inserbus remembreth: 10sepani. Inde. and how Sanaballat revolted from Darius, and came to Alexander with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last Satrapa or Provinciall Governour, which Parius leated in Samaria: the same who having married his Daughter to Maneffe, brother to laddus the high Priest of Hierusalem, Obtained of Alexander that a Temple might bee built on the Mountaines Garizim over Samaria: that the forces of the Iewes being divided. Alexander might the better hold them in obedience. The Honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his sonne-in-law Manasse, whom the Ieres oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile : but while Alexander belieged De bell face 50 Gaza, Sanaballat, whom Guil. Tyrins calleth Sanabula, died.

Long before this desolation of Tyre, by the crucktie of Alexander, it was attempted by Salmanaffer the Affyrian King: when the growing pride of the Affyrians, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of Syria, became envious of the beautie, riches, and power of that Citie. Hee besieged it both on the Land-side,

Cap. 23.

Cap. 23.

Virgil. 1.

Plin.l.5.c.19.

Mercelin.l.22.

Iofep.Ant.lib.9. cap.14. Et cont. Ap. 1.Guil.Tyrius.de Bell. Sacr. 13.4. Iosep. Ant. lib.9.

and with three-score ships of Warre held the Port; to the end that neither any vi-Etualls nor any supply of men might enter it: but the Tyrians with twelve faile seattered that fleete, and tooke 500. prisoners of the Assirians: notwithstanding, the Affrican continued his resolution and lay before it by his Lieutenants fine yeeres. but with ill successe. And this siege Menander Ephesius, cited by losephus, madereport of in his Chronicles, as hee found the Storic among the Annalls of the Trians (which the faid Menander converted into Greeke) adding that Elulaus, whom Trius calleth Heliseus, was then King of Tyre, having governed the same sixe and twentie yeeres. Soone after this repulse of Salmanaffar, and about 200. yeeres before the victoric of Alexander, Nabuchodonofor at fuch time as hee defiroyed Hierufalem with to the Temple, came before this Citie: who indeed gaue to Alexander the example of that despairefull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For Nabuchodonofor had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the firength of the Sea, the same cawley and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

E28.29-18. Efai.23.656.

Against Nabuchodonofor, for many yeeres, the Tyrians defended themselves: for folong did these Babylonians continue beforeit, As euery head was made bald, and euery (houlder made bare, faith Ezekiel, who with the Prophet Esay had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeeres siege or more, the Tyrians despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number 20 of thips, abandoned their Citie, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained: and with their wives, children, and portable riches failed thence into cyprus, Carthage, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tribuearies, or Confederates: fo as the Babylonians finding nothing therein, either to fatisfie fo many labours and perills, or any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne ) to make Nabuchedonosor victorious ouer the Egyptians: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Armie. Whereupon Saint Hierome noteth, that God leaueth not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable 20 worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinessereserned for his Sernants and Saints: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repaieth them with many worldly gitts and temporall bleffings.

Zgek.29.v.19.

Now of this enterprise of Nabuchodonofors against Tyre, prophane Historians have not beene filent. For both Diocles, and Philostratus (as Iosephus citeth them) the one in his second Booke, the other in his Phanician Histories remember it.

Iosep.ant.l.10.

After these two great Vastations by the Kings of Babylon and Macedon: this Citie of Tyre repaired and recovered it selfe againe : and continued in great glorie about 300. yeeres, even to the comming of our Sautour Christ: and after him flourishedin the Christian Faith neere 600. yeeres: the Archbishop whereof gaue place to none 40 but to the Patriarke of Hierusalem only : who within his owne Diocesse had fourteene GuliTyr, bell, fac. great Cities, with their Bilhops and Suffragans: namely Caipha, otherwise Porphiria, Acon Or Ptolomais, Sarepta, Zidon, Cafarea Philippi, Berytus, Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosia, Archis, Aradus, Antaradus (or Tortosa) and Maraclea. But in the yeere 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of Phanicia and Palastina, subjected to the cruell and faithlesse Saracen. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyrannicit suffered with the other Palestine Cities 488. yeeres.

Gul.Tyr.11.Bell.

In the yeere 1112. it was attempted by Baldwine King of Hierusalem; but in vaine : yet in the yeere 1124. by Guaremonde, Patriarke of Hierufalem, Vicegerentto Baldwine the second, with the affistance of the Venetians, and their flecte of Gallies, 50 it was againe recovered, and subjected to the Kings of Hierusalem, and so it remained 165. yeeres.

Finally, in the yeere 1189. Saladine having first taken Hierusalem, removed his whole Armic and fate downe before Tyre: drawing his fleete of ships and Gallies

from Alexandria into the port, this Citie as then onely remaining in the Christian

The citizens finding themselues reduced into great famine, and many other miferies, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleete, and fallying out resolutedly vpon his armic, flew so great numbers of them, and followed their victorie with such furie, as that the Saracens for saking their Trenches and Tents, remoued in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeeres after which victorie the bodie of that famous Fredericke Barbaroffa ( who by the lamentable accident of following the Christians enemies over a River vintoordables to perished by the weight of his armor therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedrallchurch of Tyre, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of Origen, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeeres before therein buried but in the yeere 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the Turks.

> †. IIII. Of Ptolomais or Acon.

10 T He third Citic alongst the coast of the Sea, which the Assertes could not obtaine, on the South bound of Affer was Acho, which was the ancient name thereof after Hierome, though other good Authors affirme that it tooke name from Acon the brother of Ptolomie. Plinie calleth it Ace : and otherwise the Colonie of Claudins. Plinibs sang. It had also the name of Coth or Cod, and by Zeiglerus it is called Hactipos.

Butlastly, it was intituled Ptolomais after the name of one of the Agyptian Ptolomies : which Citicalfo as it is 1. Mac. 11. another of the Piolomies, infidelioufly wre- Ptolemens Phifled from his sonne in law Alexander, which called himselfe the sonne of Antiochus lometer. Epiphanes: the same Alexander having married Cleopatra daughter of the said Ptolomie not long before. Therein also was Ionathan Macchabaus treacherously surprized to and flaine, as it is 1. Macc. 12.48. by the perfidiousnesse of Tryphon, whom soone af- 1. Maccab. 1.10. ter Antiochus pursued as it is in the Storie ensuing : and by like reason about the

fame time was the aforesaid Alexander in the warre against Demetrins one of the fonnes of Antiochus the great with whom Ptolomie loyned, querthrowne and treacherously murthered by Zabdiel the Arabian: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented vnto his father in law Ptolomie: who enjoyed not the glory of his vi-

floric and treason about three dayes, for God strucke him by death.

For the beautie and strength of this Citie, this Alexander made it his regall seate; two parts of the same being invironed by the Sea, and the Port for safetie and capacitie not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This Citic is distant from Hieto rusalem some source and thirtie miles: source miles to the North from the Mountaine Carmel, and as much to the South from Castrum Lamberti: from Tyre, Antoni- Ant. Itin. nus makethit two and thirtie Italian miles. In the middeft of the Citie there was a Tower of great strength sometime the Temple of Bel-zebub: and therefore called the Castle of Flies, on the toppe whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, Herold. like unto that called Pharus in Agypt : to giuc comfort in the night to those flips, which came neere and sought that part. It had in it a Bishops scate, of the Diocesse of Tyre, after it became Christian: but in the yeere 636. (a fatall yeere to the Chriflians in those parts) it was forced and taken by Haomarus the Saracen. In the yeere 1104.it was regained by Baldwine the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of Genea: to G.Tyr. bell. fact. 50 whom a third of the reuenew was given in recompence. Againe, in the yeere of Herseldib.t. our Lord God, one thousand one hundred source score and seven Saladine King of bellder sing. Egypt, and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the years of Christ, one thousand one of the same. hundred nineticand one, by Richard King of England, and Philip King of France it was repossessed and redeliuered to the Christians. Lastly, in the yeare 1291. it

1.M.uc.11.18.

was by the furie of the Sararens belieged with an Armie of 150000. entred, fackt. and vtterly demolished: though in some fort afterward reedified, and it is now Turkish.

# †. V. Of the Caftle of St. George.

Broch.

F Ine miles from Ptolomais towards the East, is the Castle of St. George seated, in which he was horne the Valleyediantin Lands of St. George seated, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the same name. And though 10 for the credit of S. Georges killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his owne beliefe: Of the place & yet I cannot but thinks, that if the Kings of England had not some probable record memorieor his death, See of that his memorable act, among many others: it was ftrange that the Order full of Honour, which Edward the third founded, and which his Successours Roially have continued, should have borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarcitie of Saints in those dayes, as that the English were driven to make such an erection voon a Fable, or Person sained. The place is described by Adrichomius in his description of Affer, to have beene in the fields of Libanus : betweene the River Adanis, and Zidon : his owne wordes are thefe: Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur. non longe à Beryto, memorant inclytum Christi Militem D. GEORGIVM; Regis filiam 20 ab immanisimo Dracone asseruasse : eamg, maltata bestia parenti restituisse. In cuius rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum suit adificata; In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadecia, not farre from Berytus, men fay that the fameus Knight of Christ Saint GEORGE, didrescue the Kings Daughter from a buge Dragon: and bauing killed the beast, delinered the Virgin to her Parent. In memorie of which deede a Church was after built there: Thus farre Adrichousius. His Authors he citeth Lodonicus Roman. Patric. Nauigationum, l. 1. c. 3. and Bridenbach Itin. 5. The Valley under this Castle sometime called Affer, was afterward called the Valley of S. George. If this authoritic fuffice not, we may rather make the Storic allegoricall, figuring the victoric of christ, than accept of George the Arrian Bishop, mentioned by Am. Marcellinus.

## t. VI. of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

B Etweene Ptolomais and Tyre along fi the Sea coast, was the strong Citic of Acziba, or Achazib, which S. Hierome calleth Achziph, and Iosephus Ecdippos, Plinie Ecdippa, one of those which defended it selfe against the Afferites. Belforrest findes Acziba and Sandalium, or the Castle of Alexander to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

c. 11. Plind.5.c.19.

The twelve searchers of the Land which Moles sent from Cadesbarne, travailed Hieron. de Lois as farre to the North as Roob, or Recheb, in the Tribe of Affer, which Recheb, as al-Hebr. 10, 10 Berothe which by Ezekielcap. 47. v. 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged in Davids time to the King Hadarhezer, as it may bee gathered out of the second of Samuel the 8. cap. and 8. verse, and cap. 10. vers. 6. and it defended it selfe against the Afferites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achzich, Ptolomau, Alab, Helbah, and Aphek did.

This Aphek it was, whose Wall falling downe, slew seuen and twentie thousand of Benhadads Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had beene slaughtered by the Israelites, under the conduct of Abab. Here Iunius finds that the Philistims incamped a little before the battaile at Gilboa, though in his Note vpon the first of Samuel, the 50 1.Kings 20.39. 9. and 1. he takes Aphek there mentioned (at which battaile the Arke was taken) to haue beene in Iuda. Of which 10f. 15. and 53. and in the second of Kings 13. 17. hee reades, Fortiter, for, in Aphek. Where others convert it, Percutiens Syrosin

### CHAP.7.S.3. +.7. of the Historie of the World.

The next place alongst the coast is Sandalium, first called Schandalium of Schander, which we call Alexander, for Alexander Macedon built it, when hee befreged Tyre: and fer it on a point of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sea, betweene Acziba and Trre: which Cattle Baldwine the first rebuilt and fortified; in the yeere of Christ 1157. when he vndertooke the recouerie of Tyre.

Not much about a mile from this Callle, there ariseth that most plentifull spring of water, which Salomon remembreth, called the Well of living waters: from whence cantal not only all the fields and plaines about Tyre are made fruitfull by large pipes hence drawne: but the same Spring, which bath not about a bow-thot of ground to trato vaile till it recover the Sea, driveth fixe great Mills in that short passage, saith Hints

Within the Land, and to the East of Acziba, and Sandalium, flandeth Hofa: and 10/12:40. beyond it, under the Mountaines of Tyre, the Citie of Achlaph, or Axab, or after S. Hierome Acifap, a Citie of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by lofus, at the waters of Merom.

# †. VII. Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.

FArther into the Land towards Iordan, was seated the Castle of Thoron, which Hugo de Sancio Abdemare built on the Easter-most Hills of Tyre, in the yeere 1107. thereby to restraine the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre apainft the Christians: the place adjoyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleafant. From this Castle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the Storie of the Warres for the recoverie of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their Nobilitie. It had initacurious Chappell, dedicated to the bleffed Virgin, in which Humphrey of Thoron, Constable to Baldwine the third, King of Hierusalem, lieth buried : There were fine Castles besides this within the Territorie of Affer: whereof source are seated almost of equal distance from each other : to wit, Castrum Lamperti, Montfort, Indin (or Saron ) Castrum Regium, and Belfort: The first necre the Sea under the Hills of Saren: the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, fland more within the Land, and belonged to the Brother-hood and Fellowship of the Teutonici, or Dutch Knights (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians atfuch time as the Saracens possess the best part of the vpper Galilee ) the chiefe of which Order was in Ptolomais Acon. The first Fortresse was for beautic and strength called Belfort, seated in the high ground vpon the River Naar, neere the Citic Rama: of which in this Tribe Iof. 19.29 for which the Vulgar reades Horma: making the articlea part of the word, and miliaking the vowells: from the liege of this Callle of Herold, 12,16.4. 10 Belfort, the great Saladine King of Syria and Egypt, was by the Christians Armie rai- Continuation of fed, and with great loffe and dishonour repulsed.

To the East of Belfort, is the firong Citic of Alab ( or Achlab) which S. Hierome calleth Chalab, one of those that defended themselves against Affer, as Roob (or Re-

chob) not farre thence did. Towards the South from Rook they place Gabala ( which Herod , furnamed the Ascalonite rebuilt) making it of the Territoric of Chabol, Qued Syrorum lingua disti- 10/ep.ant. 13.21. wee fignificat (faith weishenburg) so called, because Hiram of Tyre was ill pleased with \$ 15.10. those twentie Cities, seated hereabout, which Salomon presented vnto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others thinke so this Chabol or Cabul, containing a circuit of those twentic Cities given to Hiram, to Inn. annot. in have beene without the compasse of the holy Land: though bordering After on the 1. Reg. 9.11. North fide : as it is faid, I. Reg. 9. II. that they were in Regione limitis : that is , in limite Regionis, in the border of the Countrie: for it was not lawfull, say they, to give to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the Israelites: how soener, that af-Gg3

2.5am.10.6.

Cap. 26.

\* See Kadesh in Nephthalim.

Iosephus Antiq.

a Of which Iosephus in vita

Iosephant.lib.x

lof. 21. 30.

12. cap.8.

Matth. 15.

ter Hiram had refused them, they were peopled by the Ifraelites, it appeares 2. Chron. 8. 14. And it seemes they were conquered by David from the Syri Rechobai, whose Citic Roob, or Rechob, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Gir. cala, and Gadara: of which Gadara is rather to be placed ouer lordan: Gifcala was made famous by John the Sonne of Leui, who from a meane estate gathering together foure hundred Theenes, greatly troubled all the upper Galilee: at fuch time as the Romans attempted the conquest of Judea: by whose practice losephus, who then commanded in the upper Galilee, was greatly indangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This John betraying in all hee could to the Citie of Gifeala (whereof he was native) to the Roman State : and finding a refistance in the Citic, gaue opportunitie, during the contention, to the Tyrians and Ga. darims, to surprize it : who at the same time for stit, and burnt it to the ground : but being by Io/ephus authoritie rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to Tetus by composition. They finde also the Cities of Cana Major, and \* Cades: ( or Cedeffa) of the first was that Syro-phanician, whose Daughter Christ delivered of the euil Spirit. Neere the other, they say, it was that Ionathas Machabaus ouer-threw the Armie of De-Marc. 7. Maccab. 11.73.

There are besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of Affer, divers others: as on the South border, and necre the Sea, Messall or Misheall: within the Land Be- 20 fara, b Bethdagen, and Bethemee, standing on the South border betweene Asher and Zabulon: on the North fide loyning to Syro-phanicia, is the Citie of Hethalon, or Chethwhich 10f.19.27 lon, the vemost of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is Chali, and then e Enoch supposed to bee built by Cain, and named of his Sonne Enoch, but without probabilitie, as I have formerly proved: there are others also besides these. as Ammon or Chammon, of which lof. 19.28. where allo wee reade of Nehiel, Rams. Alameles, and Beton : the Cities of Alcath, or Chelcath, Habdon, and Rechob, and Milheal. which we have already mentioned, were by the Afferites given to the Leuites. Ofothere held by the Canaanites, mention is made, Indg. 1. 30. to which out of Iolia wee may adde Ebron, Amhad, and others, on which no florie dependeth; and therefore I 20 will not peffer the description with them.

> t. VIII. Of the Rivers and Mountaines of Affer.

Asia.Tab.4.

Plin.l.g.

Afic.Tab.4. Poft Orthofian eft Tripolis.

He rivers to the North of Affer, are Adonis, afterward Canis, to which Ziegler ioyneth Lycus, Ptolomie, Leontis: both which fall into the Sea neere Berytus: which River of Leonis, Montanus drawes neere vnto Zidon: finding his head notwithflauding, where Ptolomie doth, betweene Zidon and Tyre. It hath also a River called 40 fons hortorum Libani, which Adrichome out of Brochard intituleth Eleutherus: for which hee also citeth Plinie; and the first of Machabees the 11. Chap. but neither of those authorities proue Eleutherus to be in Affer : for this River falleth into the Sea at the Ile of Aradus : not farre from Balanaa, witnesse Ptolomie : and therefore Pinetus callethit Valania, and Postellus Velana: which River boundeth Phanicia on the North fide: to which Strabe also agreeth: but this principall River of Affer, Arias Montanus calleth Gabatus. Christianus Schrot out of the mouth and Papers of Peter Laicstan (which Laicstan in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) National Hambiguous, either calleth the maine River Fons horterum Libani: and one of the streames which runfor a Valley or neth into it from the North fide, Naar, and another from the South-well, Chabill: 50 for a River: but of the Citic adioyning of the same name: for Eleutherus it cannot be. There is also anis alway a Val- other River described by Adrichome, named Iepthael, which I finde in no other Auley, as in Gebins thor, and for which he citeth the ninetcenth of 10/44, but the word & Ghe which is non and Geste- added there to Iepthael, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley

the Vulgar, the Geneua, and Arius Montanus turne it. There is also found in offer, 1060, 100 2, 1801. the River of Belus, remembred by Iosephus and Tacitus, which is also called Pagidas, judges. faith \* Plinie: out of the fands of this River are made the best Glasse, which some- \* L.S.G.I.J.in timethe Zidonians practifed: and now the Venetians at Murana. Arias Montanus 10/11a,c.19,v.16 makes Belus to be a branch of Chedumin, which it cannot be: for Belus is knowne to It is called Shrflow from out the Lake Cendenia, as all Cosmographers both Ancient and Moderne, name many and the later Trauailers into those parts witnesse. It is true that the River of Chi- vaderstand an fon taketh water from Chedumim : but not in that fashion which Montanus hath de- 10(13.3, which feribed it: neither doth it finde the Sea at Ptolomais Acon ; according to Montanus: running by Pe-10 but farther to the South betweene Caiphas and Sicaminum, witnesse Ziegler, Adricho- tra of Arabia,

Besides these Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of & divideth A. lining waters adioyning to Tyre : and a Maserephot, or after S. Hierome, Maserephot- gypt from the main, whose Well filled by the floud of the Sca adioyning, (they say) the Inhabi- whereabout tants by feething the water make falt thereof, as at W antwich.

The Mountaines which bound Affer on the North, are those of Anti-libanus, which city Iuwhich with Libanus bound Calefyria: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea nins taketh of Phanicia and Syria, extend themselves farre into the Land Eastward: soure han- Shieber in that dreth stadia or furlongs, according to Strabo: for that length he giveth to the Valley buthowsoever no of Culefyria: which those Mountaines inclose: but Plinie gives them 1500, furlongs whether this in length from the West ( where they beginne at Theipsophon, or Deifacies, necre be a River of a Tripolis) to the Mountaines of Arabia beyond Damascus: where Anti-libanus turneth city, it appears towards the South. These ledges where they beginne to part Traconitis and Basan, that this name is found, both from the Defart Arabia, are called Hermon : which Mofes also nameth Sion , the Pha- in the North micians Syrion, and the Amerites Sanir, neither is this any one Mountaine apart; but bound of the a continuation of Hills: which running farther Southerly, is in the Scriptures called holy Land, 10/2 Galaad or Gilead: the same being ftill a part of Libanus, as the Prophet Hieremie pro- South bound, ueth: Galaad tu mibi caput Libani: noting that this Galaad is the highest of those Hils 10/13.3. of Libanus. Strabo knowes them by the name of Traconita: and Ptolomie by Hip-ginall Note 2-30 pm. Arias Montanus calleth these Mountaines bordering Affer, Libanus, for Anti- bone in the selibanus, contrary to all other Cosmographers, but hee giveth no reason of his opi-

They take the name of Libanus from their white tops, because according to Ta- Strab.Lio. citus, the highest of them are couered with Snowall the Summer, the Hebrew word Deut.4.48. Libanon (faith Weiffenburg) fignifieth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of Strabilio. the Frankincense which those trees yeeld: because also is also the Greeke word Sueton.

Niger out of Aphrodiseus affirmeth, that on Libanus, there falleth a kinde of honie Nig. pag. 503. dew, which is by the Sunne congcaled into hard fugar, which the Inhabitants call 40 Sacchar, from whence came the Latine word Saccarum.

The Rivers which Libanus bestoweth on the neighbour Regions are, Chrysorrhous, Iordan, Elentherus, Leontes, Lycus, Adonis, Fons hortorum Libani, and others.

Therest of the Mountaines of Affer, are those Hils about Tyre, and the Hills of Saron, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with Libanus : for from Nebo, or the Mountaine of Abarsm, in Reuben, Moses beheld Libanus three-score miles distant.

**8. IIII.** 

# S. IIII. THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis,

He next Portion of the Land of Canaan bordering Asher, was the vpper Galilee : the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of Nephtalim, the Sonne of Iacob by Billa, the hand-maide of Rachel: who while they abode in Agypt, were increased to the number of 52400. persons. able to beare armes, numbred at Mount Sinai: all which leaving their

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bodies in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their Sonnes 45400. besides, Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty yeeres of age. The Land of Mephtalim tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of Iordan, and the Hills of Libanus adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of Galilee, bounded on the West 20 by Alber, and on the East and South-cast by Iordan.

On the North-side of Libanus, and adioyning to this Territory of Nephralim, did the Amorites (or Emorites) also inhabite, in which Tract and under Libanus, was the Citic of Heliopolis: which the heighth of the Mountaines adioyning shadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. Post E L Lvs calls it Balbec; NIGER, Marbech; and LEONCLAVIVS, Beallebeca.

Of this name of Heliopolis, there are two great Cities in Agost: the first called On, by the Hebrewes, and the Chaldean Paraphrast, otherwise Bethsemes, or after the Latines, Solis oppidum, or Domus Solis; The Citie of the Sunne : into which, faith Vlpian, Severus the Roman Emperour fent a Colonie: the other Gestelius nameth Dealmarach: 30 and of this name Stephanus also findeth a Citie in Thrace, and Glyces in Phrygia.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to Nephtalim, Chalcis, and Abila. Chalcis, of whom the Region towards Palmyrena hath the name of Chaleidica, ouer which bel-Mitsfaim, at Herod, Agrippa, and Berenice the Queene commanded.

Abila alfo gave name to the Region adioyning, of which Lyfanius the Sonne of Herod the elder, became Tetrarch or Gouernour: whereof Ptolomie gaue it the additifame Tribe of on of Lylany, and called it Abila Lylany. Volaterran names it Aphila nof which hee notes that one Diogenes, a famous Sopbifter, was natiue, who by Volaterran is intituled Aphilem, not Abilems. After that this Citic of Abila or Aphila, had received the Chrifian Faith, Priscillinus became Bishop thereof: slaine afterward by our Brittish Maxi-40 mus at Treuer. For diftinction of this Citie (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same ) it is to be remembred that in the Tribe of a Manafes, joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of Nephtalim, there is another Citic of the fame name, fauing that it is written with an (E) for an (I) and called Abela, remembred in the 30. Chapter of the second of Samuel. The same Tosephus calls Abelmachen, and Hierome Bethmacha. In the place of Samuel for distinction sake it is written, Abel Beth-Mahaca, (for belike it was the Towne of Mahaca, the Wife of Macir, the Sonne of Manafe, the Father of Gilead) in the Chronicles it is called Abel-Maym. This Citie Ioab besieged : because Sebathe sonne of Bichri, who rebelled against David, fled thereinto for succour: but a certaine wise woman of the Citic perswading the people to cast Seba 50 his head ouer the wall, Joab retired his Armic. The same Citie was afterward taken by the King of Damascus, Benadad: and after a while by Teglatphalasar.

The word Abel may bee expounded, either to signisse bewayling, or a plaine ground, and therefore no maruell, that many Townes ( with some addition for di-

fination (ake) were thus called: for even of bewailing many places tooke name, as Bothim, Judg. 2.4. and so doubtleffe \* Abel-Mifraim, Gen. 50. 11. and yet Innius in his \* And Abel note youn Num. 23.40. thinkes that Abel-Sittim was fo called, rather by reason of Magnum. the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of Meab, and lo perhaps Abel- Meholah 1.5am.6.18. in the Tribe of Ephraim: the Towne of Elisha the Prophet: also Abel-Vinearum of 1. Meg. 19.15. the Ammonites, whither lephta pursued them.

#### t. II. Of Hazor.

Nthis Tribe of Nephtalim, was that famous Citic of Iabin, in Iolua's time called Afor (or after the Chaldaan Paraphraft, Hafzor) by lofethus, Afora by Junius, \*Chatzor: \* Of two or which Laicflan names Hefron; the Regall Citie, and Metropolis of Canaen: feated in ther Cities of the West part of Nephtalim, towards Afber. In this Citie was that great Rendenois, Inda, See chap, and affembly of those foure and twenty Kings against Iosua: who being all ouer- 9.5 1. of a and assembly of those foure and twenty Kings against 10 juna; who being an out-throwne, slaine, and scattered, this their powerfull Citie was by 10 fun taken and imm. See that burnt to duft. But in processe of time the same being rebuilt by the Canaanites a fe- which tollowes cond King Isbin, 127. yeeres after the death of this first Isbin, inuaded the Israelites: inthis place of and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he preuailed against them, and Tribe of Weeh. held them in a miserable servitude twentie yeeres: till Debora the Prophetesse ouer- talim, called threw Sifera, Iabins Lieutenant, and his Armie, necre the Mountaine Tabor. This we reade, Iof. Citic Salomen restored at such time as he also recdified Gezar, burnt by Pharao of A- 19.3 . to which gpt, with 2 Megido, Bethoron, and other Cities; but about 260. yeeres after, it fell we may adde charlor Hennan, into the hands of Teglat phalasar, King of the Assirians. It is now, saith Adrichomius, in the vitercalled Antiopia: it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis. There is another Ci. most Northtie of this name in the Territory of Beniamin, feated on the confines of Ascalen, cal- [6, ouer larden. led the new Hazor, b faith Hierome.

Ex.47.Num.34. 8. alfo in Sime-

on Chatfar-Susima, of which, 1 Chron.4.31 which also is called Chatfar-Susi, and Chatfar-Gadda: and lastly, Chatfar-Shuleb, another O Cine of Simeon. fol.19.3. 2 1.King.9. b Hieron.loc. Hebr.l.E. Out of Nebem. 11.33. asit feemes.

#### t. III. Of Cafaria Philippi.

T Here was also on the border, and within the Territory of Nephtalim, that renowned Citic of Lais, or Laijsch, as Junius writes it, or Leschen; which Citic the Jud. 18.27. children of Dan (being ftraitned in their Territorie vnder Iuda) inuaded and ma- 10/19-47. flered; and gave it the name of their owne Parent Dan : and by that name it is writn tenin Gen. the fourteenth, at which place Abraham surprized Chedorlaomer and his confederates, and followed his victoric as farre as Sobah, formerly remembred in the diuffion of Syria, otherwise called Sophena. And after the post from of the Danites, in had the joynt name of Leschem-Dan. Weissenburg writes it Lacis, the Genera Laish, lose PHV s. Dana : BENIAMIN, Balina; BREITENBACH, Belena: but the now Inde 18. Inhabitants know it by the name of Belina to this day: witheffe Neubrigenfis, Tyrius, Volaterranus, Brochard the Monke, and Poliellus: who also taketh this Citie to bee the Tame, which in Natthern the 15. v. 39. in the Vulgar is called Magedan, for which chap.8.10. the Greeke Text hath Magdala in that place, and in S. Marke speaking of the same florie, Dalmanutha. At such time as the children of Dan obtained this place, it seeo meth that it was either a free Citie of the alliance and confederacie of the Zidonians. orelectuble the Kings thereof; for it is written in the eighteenth of Judges, Verf. 3. And there was none to helpe, because Lais was farre from Zidon; and they had no businesse with other men, for it was about thirty English miles from the Mediterran Sea, and from Zidon.

Guil.Tyr.Bell. facri.l.g.c. 15. Theodor 4.Hif. Ecclesiaft. Mela.l.3.c.9.

Iuftin,Geftel.in Iosep.in plurib. locis. Eufeb.8.De-Vola.1.11.f.243. in Ephraim called Abel Mechola, and a fourth in Reuben called Abel-Sittim, also Athe Foord of Iordan, and (as it fcems)in the Reuben, of ali which in that which follows: to which also we may adde Abel Magnum. the name as fome thinke of

necre the border of the Philiftims, or according to ogreat stone in the border. I.Sam.6.18. Ioseph.ant.l.7. cap.10. 2.Sam.10. 1.King.15. 2.King.15.

a Citie, other-

wife called

Betbibemes.

P. 30.1.5.6.15.

Hezaliticiss

after in the former part o Manaffe. Of Diocafarea. Lee Sephoris in

Niceph.l.6.c.15.

a Iosephius in the Icmifb war 18 faith, that Philip the Tetrarch caft chaffe into a fountaine caldia North-east from Cafaria, gaine at Paniii this Fountaine receiue their

In after times when these Regions became subject to the State of Rome, it had the name of Paneas, from a Fountaine adjoyning so called: and therefore Ptologie calls it Calaria Panie. Hegesippus calls it Parnium, faith Weissenburg: but he had read it in a corrupt copie: for in Hegefippus set out by Badius, it is written Paneum without an (R): and at such time as Phelip the some of the elder Herod, brother to Herod, Tetrareh of Galilee became Gouernour of Traconitis, sometime Basan; this Citie was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memorie to his owne name, and to \* Of another flatter Tiberius Cafar, he called it \* Cafaria Philippi: and fo it became the Metropolis. Cefaria (or Ce- and head Citie of Traconitis: and one of the first Cities of Decapolis. And being by Jarea ) called Cafarea Paicfli- Agrippa in the succeeding age greatly adorned: by him in honour of Nero, it was calna. See here- led Neronia, or Neroniada. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memorie of his impictie: fo in S. Hieromes time the Citizens remembred their former Paneas, and forecalled it, with the Territorie adioyning by the ancient name. Of this Citie was that woman whorn Christ healed of a bloudie iffue, by touching the homme of his Garment with a conftant Faith: who afterward, as shee was a woman of great wealth and abilitie, being mindfull of Gods goodnesse, and no lesse Enfeb hift. Eccl. gratefull for the same, as Eufebius and Nicephorus report, caused two Statues to bee cast in pure Copper: the one representing Christ, as neere as it could be emoulded: the other made like her felfe, kneeling at his feete, and holding vp her hands towardes him. These shee mounted vpontwo great Bases or Pedestals of the same Metall, 20 which shee placed by a Fountaine neere her owne house: both which (saith Eusebiw) remained in their first perfection, even to his owne time: which himselfe had feene, who lived in the Raigne of Conftantine the Great. But in the yeere after Christ 363, that Monster Iulius Apostata, caused that worthie Monument to be cast downe, and defaced: fetting vp the like of his owne in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from heaven broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts, sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by Sozomenus Salaminius, in his fifth booke, and twentieth Chapter.

This Citie built by the Danites, was neere the joyning together of those two Ri- 20 uers which arise from the springs of Ior and Dan, the two a apparant Fountainesof Iordin: in a fovle exceeding fruitfull, and pleasant; for, as it is written, Judg. 18. It is a place which doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this Citic, it was that S. Peter acknowledged Christ to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was or Dan, where- answered, Tues PETRVS, & Superhanc Petram, Go. After this Citic received the by it is conie- Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate: and it ranne the same fortune first Spring of with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the Saracens, and Christians: vnder Torian is from Fulch the fourth, King of Hierusalem, and after the death of Godfry of Bullion, the King of Damascus wrested it from the Christians; and shortly after by them againe it was recovered. Laftly, now it remaineth with all that part of the world subjected to 40 the Turke.

#### t. IIII.

#### Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Mong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, Capharnaum is not the least: so often remembred by the Euangelists. This Citie had the honour of Christs presence three yeeres: who for that time was as a Citizen therof, in which he first preached and taught the Doctrine of our saluation: according to that notable Prophecie 50 of Elay 9. The people that walked in darknesse, have seene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the Shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

Capharnaum was feated on Iordan, euen where it entreth into the Sea of Galilee: in an excellent and rich soile: of whose destruction Christ himselfe prophecied inCHAP. 7. S. 4. 1.4. of the Historie of the World.

these words. And thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt he brought downe to Hell, &c. which shewed the pride and greatnesse of that Citie: for it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis, and the Metropolis of Galilee. And although there were some markes of this Cities magnificence in S. Hieromes time, as himselfe confesseth: it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne: yet those that have since, and long fince feene it, as Brochard, Breidenbech, and Salimac affirme, that it then confifted but of fixe poore Fisher-mens houses.

The Region of ten principall Cities called Decapolitana or Decapolis, is in this defeription often mentioned, and in S. Matthew, Marke, and Linke, also remembred; Math. 4. but I finde no agreement among the Cosmographers, what proper limits it had: and Lukes. fo Plinie himselle consesset, for Marius Niger speaking from others, bounds it on Niger, comment, the North by the mountaine Casius in Casiois: and endeth it to the South at Agypt and Arabia; by which description it imbraceth Phanicia, a part of Calefyria, all Palasti-

Plinie alfo makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he num- Plin.15.6.18. breth foure of them to be lituated towards Arabia: to wit, first these three, Damaleus, Opotos, Raphana, then Philadelphia (which was first called \_imana, faith Stephanus, or Opotos a Citie Oppos, Raphana, then Philadelphia (Which was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Amona rather, because it was the chiefe Citie of the Cammonites, known in the Cammonites in the Ca by the name of Rabbah, before Pto. Phi. adelphus gaucit this later and new name.) leftria watered Then Scythopolis, fometime Nifa, built (as is faid) by Bacchus, in memoric of his by Chryforhous Nurse, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of Beth fan, for the fixth he Plin. 1.5. fetteth Gadara (not that Gadara in Cale/grea, which was also called Antiothand Seleucis:) but it is Gadara in Basan, which Plime in this place meaneth, leated on a high hill, necrethe River of Hieromaix. This River Ortelius takes to bee the River Iaboc: which boundeth Gad and Manaffeh ouer tordan : but he mistaketh it ; for Hieromaix falleth into the Sca of Galilee, betweene Hippos and Gerasa, whereas 1aboc entreth the same Sea betweene Ephron and Phanuel. For the seventh he nameth \* Hippos, or \* Plinie hath Hippondion, a Citic fo called of a Colonie of Horsemen there garrifond by Herod, on the which Volater-East side of the Galilean Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of Manasse ouer Ior- ran reads Hip-30 dan. For the eighth Rella, which is also called Butis, and Berenice, seated in the South pidion, Ortelius border of the Region ouer Iordan, called Perca. For the ninth Gelasa, which Iosephus two Cities. takes to be Gerafa: and Gerafa is found in Calefyria by Iofephus, Hegesippus, and Stephanus: but by Ptolomie (whom I rather follow) in Phanicia. The tenth and last, Plinie nameth Canatha, and to doth Suetonius and Stephanus, which Volaterran calls Gamala, but Hegesippus rightly Camala, a Citic in the Region of Basan over Iordan, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a Camell. But the collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of Brochard, Breidenbach, and Saligniae, which make them to bee thefe; Cafaria Philippi, and Afor, before remembred, Cedes Nephtalim, Sephet, Corazin, Capharnaum, 40 Bethsaida, Istapata, Tiberias, and Scythopoles, or Bethsan. For all other Authors disagree herein and giue no reason for their opinion. One place of the Euangelist Saint Matthew makes it manifest that this Region called Decapolitana, was all that Tract betweene Zidon, and the Sea of Galilee. For thus it is written: And he departed againe Matth 4: from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middest of the coasts of Decapolis: so that it was bounded by Damascus and Libanus on the North: by the Phanician Sca, betweene Zidon and Ptolomais on the West: by the Hills of Gelbo and Beth an on the South: and by the Mountaines Tracones, otherwise Hermon, Sanir, and Galaad, on the East: which is from East to West the whole bredth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, necrethe fame distance which may 50 be each way fortie English miles.

a Zeigler, in Neptal.

Vt to looke backe againe towards Libanus, there is feated neere the foote there. B of the Citie of \* Hammath or Chammath, of which (as they say) the Countrey gint write it admath, Hierome Emath, 10sephus Amath, 10se 19.035. adioyning taketh name: the same which sofephus Chammath, Hierome Emath, 10sephus Amath, 10sephus Amath, 10sephus Amath, 10sephus Chammath, 2010.32.chammath. Dor, in the first of chron 6. calleth Amathitis, and Amathensis: 2 Iasobus Zeigler, 76. Chammon , 2. King. 14.8. Chammath tebude , as lunius Itur.ea. Itur.ea Regio tenet horealia tribus N epthais per reads it, whereas allo for further diffinction there is added (in Ifrael) to note that it was of old belonging to montem Libanum vsg. Trachones. The Countrey of 10 Iudes, though leated in Ifrael, that is, in the Kingdome of Iudes, though leated in Ifrael, that is, in the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, the other Chamath, being in Syria Soba. Tribe of Wephthili, along the Mount Libanus to Trachones But herein following Strabo, who calls

Trachonitis Itures, he mistakes the scate of this Region : and so doth Mercator, For indeed were Itures (which Hegesippus calls Perea, and G. Tyrius, Baccar) the same with Tracomitis, yet Traconitis it selfe is farre more to the East than Hammath in Wephtalim: for Traconitis lieth betweene Cefaria Philippi, and the Mountaines Trachones; which the Hebrewes call Gilead: and this Hammath or Chammath is scated under Casaria, towards the Sca West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding Emath or Hamath the great in Calefyria, beyond the Mountaines Trachones, 20

in his Com-

other in Nephikalim, though Matt Berealdus rejecting Hierome, rather follow the opinion of Zeigler aboue menther one or other of their is either Antiochia or Epiphania, howbeit that the fame Citie which Iosua 19.35. is called Chammath, and placed in Wephthalim, was also called Chamath (whence the word Hamath and Emath, were framed) it may bee gathered partly because the other Hamath, 2. Chron. 8.3. for distinction is called Chamath T/oba, as this (as it may feeme by Iof. 21.32.) was Chamath Dor, and Chamath Inda, as wee have noted, 2. Reg. 24. Secondly, because Num. 34 8. and also Exchiel 47, 10. Chameth in the North side of the holy Land, is placed too neer the West corner, to bee that Chamath-I faba: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make Mofesto name neuer a place Eastward along all the bredth of the holy Land, vntill we come to Hermen (for fo they expound Mount Hor, Num. 34.7.) and beyond Hermon Eastward in this North fide, they make him to name divers Townes, first chamath, then Tfedad, then Ziphron, and laftly, Chatfar benan, athing most vnlikely : feeing Ifiael had little or nothing Eastward beyond Hermon. Theretore wee must needes expound Hor to be one of the Hills neere Sidon, and to those Townes, as they are named to lie in order on the North fide of A-Sher, Nephthalim, and Manasses: and in like manner those in Ezekiel: first, Cheston, then Chamath, and so in order, Berotha, Sibraim, Tjedad, Chauran, Chatfar-henan. c Of which, 10f. 19.35. d Which Rehab, or Rechob, in 10fua 19.28. is placed in After towards Zidon, in the confines

the other Hamath or Emath (being farre removed and beyond the forenamed mountaines, which inclose all those Lands which Israel ever had polletion of ) is that Emath, which is also called Burea, witnesse Stella and Laichan ; and not that in Neph-Stella and Peter talim, where f Ionathas Macchabass attended the Armie of Demetrius, who fled from

their Tables of him, and remoued by night.

For though Traconitis be comprehended within Itures (and therefore it is faid to be finitima Galilea Gentium) yet it hath beginning over the mountaines Traconis, and fo it stretcheth into the plaines of the Territory of Iturea; whence Philip the brother of Herode was Tetrarch or President both of Ituraa and Trachonitis: both which

which b Hierome vpon Amos calls Antiochia, with Hammath or Hamath the lefferin ment in Apper cap. 6. ver, 2. where there is mention of Phanicia, and Nephtalim, which hee calleth Epipha-Hamath the great, as it leemes, for diffunction from the nia: for this Hammath, or in our translation Hamath, (and not that which is commonly called Emath. tioned, as indeede it cannot easily bee infified, that ei- which 2. Chron. 8.2. is fet farre from the North border of Canaan in Syria Soba ) is remembred in Numbers 34. v.8. and Numbers 13. v.22. and in Ezekiel 47.16. In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of promise, these being the wordes: From Mount Hor you shall point (that is, direct or drawa 20 line ) untill it come to Hamath: In the second place, thus : So they went up , and fearched out the Land from the Wilderneffe of Sin, unto Rehob to goe to Hamath: Then in EZEKIEL: The West part also shall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come ouer against Hamath: that is, the coast of the Sea shall beethe West border from the Southermost part of the holy Land, till you come directly ouer against Hamath Northward: from whence if a line bee drawne to the Sea, it will touch the walls of Zidon: which is 40 the Northwest corner of the holy Land. Now that this Hamath or Hammath, which Moles also made the confine of the holy Land is that of Nephthalim, both the reference which it bath to the West Sca, and the Citie of d Rehob adiovning prooucit:

CHAP. 7. S.4. t. 6. of the Historie of the World.

are ouer Iordan towards the East. But Chamath in Nephialim, is on the well fide of \* Thatit doth lordan towards the Mediterran Sea. The Countrie Iturea was so called of Iethur one of the sonnes of Ismael, it is planame of Iture

ced in the bounds of Calefyria and Arabia \* the Defart.

The people of Iturai were valiant and warrelike men and excellent Archers. Of whom Vireil:

Ituraos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eughthe Ituraans bowes were made.

This Citic Chamath or Hamath in Nephtalim seemes to have beene as ancient as garens, against the other in Iturea, both built by Amatheus the eleventh sonne of Cinian. Whether benites and Gain the time of David, this, or the other had Tohu for King, it is not certaine; for Ha- dises made war, math or Emath beyond the Mountaines, and Hammath in Nephtalim were both try they posses neighbours to Damascus: of whose subjugation Tohu rejoyced, because Hadadeser in the time of whom the Damasceni came to helpe, was his enemie. This Tobu fearing the strength their fore-faand prosperitie of Dauid, hearing of his approach towards his territorie, bought his there had done peace with many rich prefents, and with many ancient vessells of gold, filuer and in the time of Scullatter his

But it feemeth that David in such great successe would not have had peace with Amalekits, chia Tobu, if he had bin King of any place in Nephtalim, and therefore it is probable that herefocusions where the countries of th heruledin Tloba: which Citie Salomon after his Fathers death made himselse Ma- trie is placed at fler of, as a part of the lands (\* in the larger and conditionall promife) allotted by the Eaft of Gi-God to the children of Ifrael.

But this Hammath of Nephtalim, in the end, and after divers mutations and chan-pomife exges both of name and fortune, being as it hath beene said, possessed by Antiochus E- prest Dout. 1.7. piphanes, it was called Epiphania.

While Saint Hierome lined, it remained a Citie well peopled, knowne to the Syri- one of the 30 ans by the name Amathe, and to the Greekes by Epiphania.

Icd in the Araplace of the 1. among the Ha-

tes is named for bounds; ice cap. Hieron.de Locis

#### t. VI.

#### Of Reblatha and Rama, and divers other Townes.

Nthe border of Hamath or Emath towards Iordan standeth the Citie Reblatha, or Ribla, watered from the fountaine Daphnis: which falleth into the lake of Meron. Hercunto was Zedekias brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of Iericho: 40 and delivered to IV abuchodono for : who to be avenged of Zedekia's infidelity, beyond the proportion of pietie, first caused the Princes his children to be flaine in his presence : and to the end that this miserable spectacle might bee the last that ever hea should behold in this world, and so the most remembered, hee commaunded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in yron chaines, hee was led a flaue to Babylon, in which estate he ended his life. Of which seldome exampled ca- Hierem. 32.34. lamitic, though not in expresse words, Hieremie the Prophet fore-told him in Hiern- Excl. 5.1 falem not long before: But Exeksel thus directly, speaking in the person of God, I will a Or Redish. bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldaans, yet shall hee not see it, though hee shall die 10.19.37.20.10

There are besides these before remembred, many other strong Cities in 2Vephta- b 1.Chron.6.72 lim, as that which is called \* Cedes: there are two other of the same name, one in b I- which lefth. 19. fathar, another in Inda, of which Iof. 15.23. and therefore to diffinguish it, it is K. Shion. knowne by the addition of e Nephtalim, as Iudg. 4. It is scated on a high hill, whence e Sometime lof. 20. 7. Kedeshin Galilaa in monte Nephtali: losephus calics it Cedesis, and in Saint Hie- leag. chro.6.76.

the holy Land. f Ioseph.Ant.

Inf. 12 22.

2. Rev. 15.29.

iamin, and in

there were of

(which is as

folis) as that in

1uda. 2. King. 14

this name.

romes time it was called Cidiffus. Belforest greatly mistakes this Cedes, and confounds it with Cades in the Defart of Pharan.

After the King thereof among other of the Canaanites perished by the hand of Ia. fua, it was made a Citic of refuge, and given to the Leuites. Herein was Barac borne. who ouerthrew the Armie of the second Isbin of Hazor, at the Mount Tabor. It was () See in Bensometime possest by Teglatphalassar, when hee wasted all Nephtalim: afterward by Ephraim. the Romans, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the Decapolitan Region: When it had imbraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the Saracens and Turkes, and by them it much as domus

From Cedes some soure Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth Sephet, o. therwise Zephet, which was also one of the ten Decapolitan Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many yeeres the inexpugnable Fortresse of the Christians, and afterripes ouer-came Amassa of ward of the Saracens; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritimate neere it. Touching Rama of Nephtalim, feated North-ward neere Sepket: this is to be noted; that there are () divers places of this name in Palestine, all situate on Hills : and therefore called Rama (Rama Hebraia excelsum; Rama with the Hebrewes is high.) Also that for this Rama Iof. 19. 26. they reade Arama, making the Article (which it hath in the Hebrew, as being a name of divers Townes) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they 20 reade Arama. From Sephet towards the West they place \* Bethsemes, of which 10/.19. 28. which desended it selse against Nephtalim, Ind. 1.33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of Sephet towards the East was Bethanath, who also kept their Citie from the Nephtalims.

Adioyning to which standeth Carthan 2 or Kiriathaijm a Citie of the Leuites, not " Ind. 1.21.
a Soitappears farre from the Mountaine out of which the springs of Capharnaum arise, called Mons Christi; a place by our Sauiour often frequented : as also then when calling his Disciples together, hee made choise of twelue, which he called and ordained to bee his Aposlles or Messengers: of which place or the acts therein done, there is often men-

tion in the b Enangelists. Adiouning to these are Magdalel, a place of strength, and Masaleth, of which we reade that it was forced by Bacchides in the time of the d Macchabees: also (according to Adrichomius) one of the two Berothaes of Nephtalim. For Adrichomius maketh two though I derie of this name in this Tribe, one neere Chamath in the North border, of which Ezek. 47.6. another (vpon a weake coniccture out of Iosep.ant.1.5.c.2.) he therefore placeth there was ano there in this tract neere the waters of Merom; because the Kings that joyned with Iabinaimin Ruben, of gainst lofus, which incamped at the waters of Merom, lof. 11.5. are by lofethus said to have incamped at the Citic Berotha in Galilee, not farre from Cedesa Superior, which is also in Galilee: all which may be true of that Berotha of which Ezek. seeing it is in that Galilee which is called the vpper Galilee or Galilee of the Gentiles. The lame 40 Adrichemius placeth the Region of Berim necre Abela ( of which Abela or Abel beth Mahacah we have spoken alreadie) this he doth vpon a coniecture touching the place 2. Sam. 20. 14. where some reade Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnialoca Berim: but the better reading is, & omnes Berim, that is, with all the Berai: for Shebah being of Benia-Arabie delecte: min (in which Tribe also there is a Citic called Berotha or Beeroth ) drew the men of Berathai vna ci. that Citie after him.

To the North of Berotha of Wephtalim standeth Sebarim under Libanus, remembred by Ezek. 47. and Arofeth gentium, necre the waters of Merom or Samachonitis, the Citie of Sifara Lieutenant of the Armie of the second Jabin: from whence not tarre off towards the Sea of Galilee, is Edrai, or Edrehi, a ftrong Citie: besides many 50 others whereof I finde no particular storic of importance: as Ser in Iosuac. 19. v. 35. called Triddim-Tzer, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, Affedim and Ser. Then Adama which they call Edama: also Hion which they call which of which in the Bookes of Kings. Then the ftrong Citie of

cimereth after called Gennezareth, whence we reade of the Land and Lake of Genne-Marc. 6.53. gareth, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of Tiberias. In the body of the Luc. 5.1. Land they place Galgala to the South border: of which \* Mac. 19.2. also divers o- \* This place there named, 10(19.43) reuca or Chukkok: Horem & Azanoth-tabor (which they place of the Maccab. towards the East parts) and out of the same place of Iosua: Irrzon, Lakkum Iepnaell, Galzala or Gil-Heleb, and \* Receasth, which two last they place neere C. efaria Philippi: To these they gal in Nephibaaddeout of Iosua, Nekeb, and Adami: for which two Junius readeth Fossa Adamai, li, but may well be understood making it no Towne but a Ditch cast by some of Adamath, as it seemes; or at least of of oil gal in the the cuffodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To thefe out of immin ovin 10 Num.34.10. they adde Sephana which t. Sam. 30.21. feemes to be called Sepmoth. a This Recease As for Tichen and Helon, whereof the former they fetch out of Exek. 47,16, and the or Ruccally lalatter out of Iofua 19:33: it may appeare by Junius his Translation, that neither are nius thinks that to be taken for Cities: for the former he readeth Mediani, and for the latter Querce- with Karthan tum. The Citie of Nephthalim which they make the native place of Tobie, and Noaf. (one of the fe lon necre vnto it, they fetch out of the Vulgar Translation, Tob. 7.7. but in the Greeke the other by Text there is no figne neither of the one nor of the other.

Transposition of letters) of

which Karthan we have noted already, that it is also called Kiria-th im. b In the place, I. Reg. 4, 18, which also they bring to proue that there was a Citic called Nepthalim, as it is enident by the following Veries: the Tribe of Nepthalim is meant; and notany Citic of that name.

### THE TRIBE OF ZABVLON.

F Zabulon or Zebulon, another of the sonnes of Iacob by Lea. there were multered at Mount Sinal 5 7400 able men besides women, children, and aged viable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, there entred \* 10sta 12.32. the Holy Land of their issues 65000. fit to beate armes: who inhabited that part of Canaan, from After to the River Chison: Southward, e 111.

and from the Sea of Galilee to the Mediterran, East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border After, are Sicaminum on the Sea Tribe of After, thore, of which lofeph. Ant. 13.c. 19. Debbafet of \* which lof. 19. 11. lekonam or lokne- 10.21.2. Nathaham (whose King was a staine by Iofua, and the Citic was given to the Leuites) and nielistaid tobe Gaba after called the Citie of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrifond by Heroide. lee. Of Simon Then the Citie which beareth the name of Zabulon, or the Citie of men, exceeding it may be dought ancient and magnificent, b burnt to the ground by Cestins, Licutenant of the Roman gelus caninius Armie. Adrichomius makes it the birth Citic of Elon Iudge of Israel, because bee is reads Mattio called Zabulonita: not marking that in the same place he is said to be buried at Aialon. 4.S.mon Kamilonita: not marking that in the same place he is said to be buried at Aialon.

40 To the East of this Citie of Zabulon is Cateth, of which 10, 19.15. on the border of Luc. 6.15, hee After: and beyond it the leffer d Cana of Galilee, where Christ converted Water into thinketh, to be Wine: the native Citie of Nathaniel, and as it is thought of Simon Zelotes. Beyond it expounded by Zelotes. begin the Mountaines of Zabulon : and then the Citic of Cethron (in Zeigler, Ghiltron) e The Hebrew which defended it felfe against Zabulon. Then Berfabe which standeth in the partition of the vpper and nether Galilee, fortified by Iosephus against the Romanes. Not Vulgar hath farre from hence standeth Shimron of Meron whose King was slaine by Infua.

Then Damna or Dimna, a Citic of the Leutes: then Noa or rather Neha, of which expoundesh 10 19.13. Then Dothan or Dothain, where Lofeph found his brethren feeding their quegwat, Inflocks: the same wherein Elisaus besieged by the Syrians, strooke them all blinde.

Beyond it towards the East they imagine anthar or Amathar: then Remmon of with the word the Lenites. The last of the Cities on the North border of Zabulon is Beth aida, one it, and reades of the ten Cities of Decapolis, fituate on the Galilaan Sea, and watered by the fprings the strong of Capharnaum, the natiue Citic of the Apossles, Peter, Andrew, and Philip. Herein Mauh 8.11. Christ did many miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous then the Ca-Mare. 1.6. pharnaims.

15 where loafb King of the ten Inde, of which alfol vnderstand the place, lof. 21. 16.6 1. Sam 6. 14. 6 2. Chron. 29.18. Athird as it feemes was in Dan, t. Kin.4.9. which Iof. 19.41. is written Hir-Shemer, which is as much as Ciuitas folis. by comparing of the places. Inf.21.32 and 1.Cbr.6. 6. ddrichamizs both here and elfename, makes not but that which 10f.13. b Marke 3. Matth 10. Alls I. Mail.5.6.7. c 14 19.38. d 1.Mas.g.z. e Barathena Ptolomeo in fine nitatum Hadadezeris, 2.Sam. cap.8.v.3. 106.18.25. Aliroth.Hieron. Ind.4.Lyr in Iud.4. 706.19.37.

1 Reg. 15.:0. 2 Reg. 15.29 \* The names

of the chiefe

Cities feated

or lake, throgh

runneth, were

berras Bethfai da, Gadara, Ta-

richea, and they

which in fore-

times gaue

Countrie.

Iofep.Ant.18.3.

Iojeph.10.15.

Adrichin Zab.

Iojua.21.35.0-

Thabor, as Iu-

nius thinks vp.

on Iof-19.12.

6.77 It is cal-

10fep.ant.18.3.

er in vita fua.

Matth.g.

name to the Lake and

phernains, and others, received the same curse of threatned miseries, as wee bee ginte thee Bethlaida &c.

Alongst the West border of Galilee, towards the South from Beth aida, was the firong Castle of Magdalum, the habitation of Marie Magdalen, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated Citie of Jotapata: fortified by Josephus in the Roman Warre: but in the end after a long fiege surprised by Velpasian; who flaughtered many thousands of the Citizens: and held 1200. prisoners, whereof

Iosephus the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that \* Sea and the Lake of Genezareth within to Zabulon was that of Tiberias, from whence afterward the Galilean Sca also changed name, and was called the Sea of the Citie Tiberias, fo named in honour of Tiberius Cefar, it was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region Decapolitan, and the greatest and last of the lower Galilee. From hence our Saujour called Matthew from capernaum, Tie the toll or custom house, to bean Apostle, and neere vnto it raised the daughter of Jairus from death; it was built (as Iofephus reports) by Herod the Tetrarch, the brother of Philip, in the beginning of the raigne of Tiberius Cafar: in the most fruitfull part adde cinnereth, of Galilee; but in a ground full of Sepulchres: Quim iuxta nostras leges (faith hee) ad Ceptem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet; Whereas by our law hee should bee fenen daves held as uncleane, who inhabited in (uch a place: by which wordes, and by the 20 whole place of losephus it appeares, that this Tiberias is not (as some have thought) the same as the old Cinnereth, which was scated, not in Zabulon, but in Nepthalim.

Neere vnto this Tiberias, at Emaus, there were hot baths, where Velpalian the Emperour encamped against Tiberias: More into the Land toward the South-Westis Rethulia feated on a very high Hill, and of great ftrength, famous by the flory of Holofernes and Indeth, such as it is. Neere which standeth Bethleem of Zabulon: andadioyning vnto it, Capharath fortified by Iosephus against the Romans: and Iabha an ex-Iofep.invita fua ceeding strong place afterward forced by Titus: who in the entrance, and afterward Iofep.2.Bel.25. in furie flew 15000. of the Citizens; and caried away aboue two thousand prisoners.

On the South fide are the Cities of Cartha of the Leuites, and Gabara, of which 10-30 therwise Killoth fephus in his owne life, then lafte according to Adrichemius (of which 106.19.12.) for he thinkes that it is not that Iapha of which we spake but now out of Iolephus. Iideala of which 10.10.15. Hierome calls it Iadela: vnder it Westward, Legio, (afterward a Bishops seate) and the Citic Belma, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred whence L.Chra. Judeth 7.2. otherwise Chelma. Between Legio and Nazeret is the Citic Saffa or Saffra, the birth-Citic of Zebedaus, Alphaus, lames and John: Then Sephoris, or Sephora, accor-Ioban, de Monding to Io/ephus: Sephorum according to Brochard: which afterward, faith Hegelip-1euilla,c.4.6 20 pus and Hierome, was called Diocafaria; the Citic of Ioachim and Anna . the Parents of the Virgin Mary, it was walled by Herod the Tetrarch: and by him, as Tofephus speakes, made the head and defence of Galilee; in another place he saith Vrbium Ga-40 lilearum maxima Sephoris & Tiberias. This Sephoris greatly vexed Vespasian cre hee wanne it. Hered Antipas when he made it the Regall feate of the nether Galilee, and forounded it with a strong wal, called it Autocratorida, which is as much to say as Imperiall, faith 10fephus; and it is now but a Castle called Zaphet.

To the South-West of this Sepheris or Diocafaria was that blessed place of Nazareth, the Citie of Marie the Mother of Chrift; in which hee himselse was conceiued, it standeth betweene Mount Taber, and the Mediterran Sea. In this Citie hee abode chiefly foure and twenty yeeres, and was therefore called a Nazarite, as the Christians afterward were for many yeeres. It was erected into an Archbishopricke in the following age. Neere vnto it are the Cities Buria (afterward well defen-50 ded against the Turkes ) and Nahulal of which 10f. 19.15. and Iud. 1.30. where it is called Nahalal: and 10f.21.35. where it is a Citie of the Leuites, neere the Sea; adiovning to the River of Chifen is Sarid, noted in Iofua for the vitermost of Za-

In this Territorie of Zabulon there are divers small Mountaines : but Tabor is the most renowned, by the Apparition of Moses and Elias: and by the Transfiguration of Christ in the presence of Peter, James, and John : vnto whom Moses and Elias appeared; in memorie wherofon the top of the Mountaine, the Empresse Helen built a sumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe River of Zabulon is Chilon, which riling out of Tabor, runneth with one streame Eastward to the Sea of Galilee, and with an other streame Westward into the great Sea. This River of Chifon where it rifeth, and to farre as it runneth Southward, is called Chedumim or Cadumim: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to bee the same which Ptolomie calleth Chorfeus: though others distinguish them: and set Charless by Cafaria Palastina. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of Bethulia, and falleth into the Sea of Galilee by Magdalum: and the third is abranch of a river riling out of the Fountaines of Capharnaum, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neere Magdalum: which Torrent they call Dotham, from the name Mappe in Orof the Citie, from which it paffeth Eaftward to Beth aida, and so ioning with Iorda-telius. nis paraus, which runneth from the Valley of Iephthael which Iosua reckoneth in the 105.19.14. bounds of Zabulor, it endeth in the Sea of Galile.

S. VI.

### THE TRIBE OF FSACHAR.



He next adioyning Territoric to Zabulon, to the South and Southwest, was I (achar, who inhabited a part of the neather Galilee, within Iordan: of whom there were increased in Agypt, as appeared by their musters at Mount Sinai 54400. able and warlike men, who leaving musters at Mount 51941 54400. and and their bodies with the rest in the Defarts, there entred the Holy

The first Citie of this Tribenecre the Sea of Galilee, was Tariebea , distant from Tariebea in Snee Tiberias eight English mile, or somewhat more, a Citie wherein the Iewes (by the ton.

practice of a certaine mutinous vpstart, Iohnthe sonne of Leui) tooke armes against Issephus the Historian, then Governour of both Galilees. This Citie was first taken by Casius, and 3000. Iewes carried thence captine; and afterward with great difficultie by Vespasian : who entred it by the Sea side, having first beaten the lewes in a

sea-fight vpon the Lake or Sea of Galilee: he put to the sword all forts of people, and of all ages: fauing that his furie being quenched with the Rivers of bloud running

through every street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bond-men. 40 Next to Tarichea is placed Cession, or Cistion, of the Leuites, and then Hachar, re- 10f. 21.28 Killing membred in the first of Kings, c. 4. v. 17. then Abes or Ebets, Iof. 19. 20. and Remeth 6.7. is called of which lof. 19.21. otherwise Ramoth. 1. Chron. 6.73. or larmuth, lof. 21.29. this al- Kedifh. so was a Citic of the Leuites, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of Gilboe take beginning : and range themselues to the Mediterran Sea, and towards the West as 10sua, to. farreas the Citie of Jezrael, betweene which and Ramoth, are the Cities of Bethphefes, 1. Sam. 4.1. or Bethpasses, according to Ziegler, and Enidds, or Hen-chidds neere which Saul flew 1. Kings 20.26: himselse: vnder those Apheco or Apheca, which Adrichomius placeth in Isachar: be- In the latter tweene which and Suna, he faith, that the Philifims incamped against Ifrael, and af- two places Interward against Saul: a Land thirstie of bloud, for herein also, saith hee, the Syrians poek in Affer, 10 with two and thirtie Reguli affilting Benhadad, incountered Achab: and were over- according to thrown and flaughtered; to whom the King of Ifrael made a most memorable anfwere, when Benbadad vaunted before the victorie: which was, Tell, BENHADAD, cethitin Inda, Let not him that girdeth his harneis boalt himselfe, as he that putteth it off: meaning that out of 10/15. gloric followed after victoric, but ought not to precede it. In the yeere following in 1. Kings 22.

Hh 3

In

the fields, as they say, adioyning to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious Syrian veterly broken and discomfitted by Achab: and 1,00000. footmen of the Aramites or Syrians flaine: before which ouerthrow the feruants and Counfailors of Benhadad 1.Kings.20.23. (in derifion of the God of Ifrael) told him, That the Gods of Ifrael were Gods of the Mountaines : and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they should over-come

Iudith.I.S.& 1.Chron.6.73. Iof.21.29.

Vnder Aphee towards the Scathey fet the Citic of Efdrelon, in the plaines of Ga. lilee, called also the great field of Esdrelon, and Maggedo: in the border whereof are the ruines of Aphic to be seene, saith Brochard, and Breidenbach. After these are the Cities of Cafaloth, of which, I. Maccohab. 9. 2. Anem or Hen-Gannim of the Leuites, and to Scesima or Shahatsima, the West border of Isachar, of which 10. 19.22. From hence ranging the Seacoalt, there is found the Castle of Pilgrimes: a strong Castle invironed with the Sea formetime the store-house and Magasine of the Christians, and built by the Earle of St. Giles or Tolonfe.

From the Cattle of Pilgrimes the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost shore beginneth Mount Carmel, not farre from the River Chison: where Elijah affembled all the Prophets, and Priests of Baal, and prayed King Achab and the people affembled, to make triall whether the God of I/rael, or the Idoll of Bash were to be worthipped, by laying a facrifice without fire on the Altar; which done, the Priests of Baal prayed, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, butthe 22 fire kindled not, while Elijab in derifion told them that their God was either in purfuite of his enemics not at leifure, or perchance a-fleepe, &c. but at the prayer of Elijah his fire kindled, not withstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vesselisof water thereon; by which miracle the people incenfed, flew all those Idolaters on the bankes of Chilan adjoyning.

At the foote of this Mountaine to the North standeth Caiphas, built, as they say, by Caiphes the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of Porsina and Porphyria, fomctime a Suffragane Bilhops seate. Returning againe from the Seacoast towards Tiberias by the bankes of Chifon, there are found the Citic of Hapharaim or Aphraim, and the Castles of Mesta, and Saba: of which Brochard and Breidenbach: and then 30 Naim on the River Chilon: a beautifull Citie while it flood, in the Gates whereof Christ raised from death the widdowes only sonne.

Then Seen or Shion named Iosus 19. between the two Hills of Hermon, in Ischar: beyond it standeth Endor, famous by reason of the Inchauntresse that vndertooke to raise up the body of Samuel at the instigation of Saul.

Beyond it stands Anaharath and Rabbith named Iof. c. 19. v. 19. 20. Then Dabarath as it is named, 10/.21.28. or Dobratha, as it is named, 1. Chron. 6.72. This Citie ( which stretcheth it selfe ouer Chison) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the Le-

Next to Daberath is Arbela fituate, necre the Caues of those two Theenes which 40 \* Called cam- fo greatly molested Galilee in Herodes time. It is yneth on one side to the Mountaine of Isachar or Hermon, and on the other to the Valley of Iestael: which valley continueth it selfe from Bethsan or Scythopolis, the East border of Isachar, even to the Mediterran Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of Gilboe on the South, and by Hermon, and the River Chifon on the North. In these \* plaines Gedeon overthrew the Madianites, and herein, they thinke, Saul fought against the Philistims: Achab against the Syrians, and the Tartars against the Saracens.

pus Magnus, I. Mac. 12.49. and Harbatha for Harabath. 1. Macc.5.23. Tudg.6. 1.Sam.31. 1.King .. 20.

LHC. 7.

CHAP. 7. S. 7. 1. I. of the Historie of the World.

S. VII.

### THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therfa, and others.



He next Tribe which iognethit felfe to Ifachar towards the South, is the halfe of Manasse, on the West side of Iordan. Manasses was the first begotten of Ioseph, the eleventh sonne of Iacob. His mother was an Agyptian, the daughter of Putiphar, Priest and Prince of Heliopolis: which Manaffes with his brother Ephraim, the grand-children of Jacob,

were by adoption numbred among ft the fonnes of Iacob, and made up the number 20 of the twelve Patriarkes.

Of Manaffer there were increased in Egypt, as they were numbred at Mount Smai, 32200. able men: all which being confumed in the Defarts, there entred of their iffues, 52,700 bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of Manalle, was bounded by Jordan on the East, and Dors upon the Mediterran Sea on the Weit, Iefrael on the North, and Machmata is the South border.

The first and principall Citic which stood in this Territoric was Beth an, sometime Nyfa, faith Plinie, built by Liber Pater, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of Plindib.54.184 the same name; which solinus confirmes. Afterward when the Scythians invaded Asathelesse, and pierst into the South, to the vetermost of Calesyria, they built this 30 Citie a-new, and very magnificent; and it had thereupon the name of Scythopolis, or the Citic of Scythians given it by the Greekes.

These barbarous Northren people constrained the Iewes to fight against their owne Nation and kindred, by whose handes when they had obtained victorie, they themselves set on the lewes which served them, and slew them all. Stephanus makes it the vtmost towards the South of Calesgrea: and Strabo iounes it to Galilee. It is feated betweene lordan and the Hills of Gilboe, in aulone ad montes acrabitena, faith Ziegler. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of Iefrael neere Iordan : after that. lordan streightneth it selfe againe into a River: leaving the Sea or Lake Genezareth. Notwithstanding, Montanus describes it farre to the West, and rowards the Medipoterran Sea, neere Endor, contrarie to Stella, Laiestan, Adrichome, and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatest of all those of Decapolis: but the children of Manaffe could not expell the Inhabitants thereof; and therefore called it Sane an enemie, or Beth-fan, the house of an enemie.

Ouer the walls of this Bethfan the Philistims hung the bodie of Sanl, and his sonnes, 111dg. 1.10s. 17. flaine at Gilboe. It had, while the Christian Religion flourished in those parts, an Archbishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Diocesse, numbered by Tyrius, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to Nazareth. The later transilers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillers and other pieces of excellent marble, 10 which witnesse the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and desolate Village.

From Beth/an keeping the way by Iordan, they finde an ancient Citic called Salem, which Citie the ancient Rabbines, faith Hierome, doe not finde to be the same Higgson, in Hoise. with Hierusalem: there being in the time of Hierome and fince, a towne of that name, Loc. Hebr.

t. VII. 50

CHAP. 7. S. 7. 1.2. of the Hiftorie of the World.

necre Scythopolis before remembred, which if the place of Scripture Gen. 12.18.doe not confirme, where the Vulgar readeth transfuitg in Salem wrbem Sichemorum (for which others reade, venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum, making the word Shalem not to be a proper name, but an adiective) yet the place loka 3.13. where it is faid. that John was baptizing in Anon necre Salem, may fomewhat strengthen this onini. on, and verit is not vnlikely that this Salem of which S. Iohn speaketh, is but contra-Eted of Shahalim, of which in the Tribe of Beniamin, I. Sam. 9.4. This word Innius maketh to be the plurall of Shuhal: of which wee reade, 1. Sam. 13.17. for as for that which is added out of Cant. 6.12. of Shulammitis, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this Saleim, neere Anon, it hath no probability.

Not farre from thence where they place Salem, they finde Bezech the Citiesf

Adonibezet, lofephus calls it Bala, here it was that Saul affembled the strength of if-

This Citic Bezek by the place.Iud.1.3. feemeth to haue been in loscp. ant.6.c.5.

rael, and Indi, to the number of 330000, when hee meant to relieue Iabelh Gilead, a. gainst N sash the Ammonite: who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to luffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Neere Bezech is the Citie of Betbbera or rather Beth-bara, of which Indg. 7.24. in the floric of Gideon: and then Ephra or Hophra, wherein Gedeon inhabited: in the border whereof flood an Altar confecrated to Baal : which he pulled downe and defaced : and neere it that stone, on which Abimelech the Bastard sew his 70. brothers: a Heathenish cruelty, practised by the Turke to this day; and not faire hence, betweene the Village of Alophon and Iordan, Ptolo-20 Jostin and Sathurus overthrew Alexander King of the Iewes: and Saughtered as Iosephus numbreth them 3000. but according to Timagenes 50000. after which victory, as Ptolomie past by the Villages of the lewes; he slew all their women : and caused the yong children to bee fod in great caldrons, that the rest of the Iewes might thereby

thinke that the Agyptians were growne to be men-caters, and strike them with the greater terrour.

Towards the West and on the border of Isachar, they place the Cities of \* Aner of the Leuites, and Abel- Mehola, which Innius, Judg. 7.22. placeth in Ephraim, it was the habitation of Helifaus the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1. Reg. 4.12. which were given in charge to Baana by Salomon, to whose charge also Tahanac be-20 longed, a place of great itrength, which at the first resisted Io/us, though their King

was afterward hanged, and their Citie given to the Leuites.

In the bodie of this Territory of Manaffe, but somewhat neerer Iordan, than to the Mediterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, Therfa, whose King was one of those that Issua flew: which the Kings of Ifrael vsed for their Regall seate: till such time as Samaria was built. From hence the wife of Ieroboam went to Achia to enquire of her sonnes health: who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her sonnes death.

The second was Thebes neere Samaria, of which name there are both in Agypt, and Greece, of great fame: in the affault of the Tower of this Towne, whereinto the 40 Citizens retired, the Bastard Abimilee was wounded by a waighty stone, throwne by a Woman over the Wall, who despairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to flay him out-right, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a

Woman. But others fet this Citie in Ephraim neere Siehem or Neapolis.

The third is Aerabata, of which the Territory adiopning is called Aerabatena, (one of the ten Toparchies or Gouernments in Iudaa) for which Hierome, 1. Matt. 5. reades Arabathena: but in the Greeke it is Acrabatine: Isidore calls it Agrabat. This Citic had one of the largest Territories of all Palastine belonging to the Gouernour thereof. Iosephus remembreth it often, as in his second Booke of the Jewes Warres, 6.11.25.28. and elsewhere.

The difference betweene a Tetrarchie and a Toparchie, was, that the first was taken for a Prouince, and the other for a Citic with some lesser Territory adioyning, and a Tetrarch is the same with Prases in Latine, and President in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome: and thereof fo called: Plinie nameth seven-

" This Aner Innius vpon I.Chron.6.70. makes to bee the fame with Tabanac, of which 10 (. 21.25 Hierom names it from Aner the Confederate of Abrabam,Gen. 14.13 10/ua 12.17. A.King.14.

Iude.9.0.4.

Hier.Mac.x.c.5

Plin. I.s.

reene Tetrarchies in Syria: the Holy Land had foure, and so hath the Kingdome of Ireland to this day, Lemfter, Vifler, Connath, and Mounster.

To the South-west of Acrabata they place the Cities of Balaam or Bilham, and Gethremmon of the Leuites : but Iunius out of Iof. 21.25. and 1. Chron. 6.70. gathers that these two are but one; and that libleham los. 16. 11. is another name of the same

Then is Iefrael a Regall Citic, set at the foot of the Mountaines of Gilboe, towards the South-west: herein Iezabel by a false accusation caused Naboth to bee stoned, to the end shee might possessed his Vineyard adioyning to the Citie, which Naboth reto fuled to fell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

Internal fo was cast unburied into the same field: for which his Mother Iezabel King, 2. aap. 2.

murthered Naboth.

Toward the Sea from Jefrael is the Citie which they call Gaber: in whose ascent as Abaziah King of Iuda fled from lehu, when hee had flaine Ioram, hee was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound hee died at Mageddo adioyning. The 1.King.9,27. Scripture calls this Citic of Gaber, Gur.

Then Adadremmon, necre vnto which the good King Iosias was flaine by Necho, King of gypt, in a Warre vnaduisedly undertaken. For Necho marched towards Affire a against the King thereof; by the commaundement of God: whom Iostas

20 thought to relitt in his passage. It was afterward called Maximianopolis.

Aneighbour Citie to Adadremmon was Maggeddo, often remembred in the Scrip- Ind. 1.c.5. tures; whose King was flainc among the rest by Josus: yet they defended their Ci- Jos. 17. tiefor a long time against Manasse. The River which passeth by the Towne, may perhaps bee the same which Ptolomie calleth Chorseus: and not that of which wee hauespoken in Zabulan. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the Holy Land delineate no such River. Moore only setsit downe in his Geographie of the twelue Tribes: but the River which paffeth by Maggeddo hee understandeth to bee but a branch, falling thereinto. Laicstan and Schrot make a great confluence of waters in this place : agreeable to this Scripture in 30 the fifth of Judges: Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo. But these Authors, and with them Stella, give it no other name then the Torrent fo called.

But seeing that ancient Cosmographers stretch out the bounds of Phanicia, even to Sebasse or Samaria; and Strabofarre beyond it on the Sea-coast: And Iosephus calls Strab. 1.16. Sebaffe or Samaria; and Strabotatre Beyond it off the Sca-Coale This appropriate as logoptistical; Cafaria Palaiting a Citie of Phænicia, yea Laurentius Corninus extendeth Phænicia as Riger. farre as 6224: seeing also Ptolomie sets downe Chorseus for the partition of Phanicia and Indaa: this River running East and West paralell with Samaria: it is very probable that this Torrent called Maggeddo, after the name of the Citie, which it wateteth, is the same which Ptolomiein his fourth Table of Asia calleth Chorseus. The 40 later travailers of the holy Land call Maggeddo Subimbre at this day.

†. II. Of Cafaria Palastina, and some other Townes.

Rom Maggeddo toward the West, and necre the Mediterran Sea, was that glorious Citie of Calaria Palastina: first, the Tower of Straton: the same which Pliniecalls Apollonia: though Ptolomie fets Apollonia elsewhere, and toward Egypt, betweenethis Citie and loppe, to which Vespasian gaue the name of Flania Colonia. It sowas by Herodrebuilt, who therein laboured to exceede all the workes in that part of the world. For belides the edifices, which hee reared within the Walls, of cut and polishe marbles, the Theater and Amphitheater, from whence he might looke ouer the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay: and the winde

blowing from the Seathe Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their cables and Anchors. This worke hee performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kinde hath not beene found in any Kingdome. nor in any age; which, because the Materialls were fetcht from farre, and the waight of the stones was such as it exceedeth beliefe, I have added 10/ephus owne wordes 10fep.l.13.6.13. of this worke: which are thefe: Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit quantum putaret magna classi recipienda sufficere: & in viginti vlnarum profundum, pragrandia faxa demisis: quorum plerag, pedum quinquaginta lono itudinis latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine nouem-pedali: fuerunt quadam etiam maiora. minora alia: To mend this inconvenience of place (faith I ose PHVs) hee compast in a Bay 10 wherein a great fleete might well ride : and let downe great stones twentie fadome deepe: whereof some were fiftie foote long, eighteene foote broade, and nine foote thicke : some bigger, and some leffer. To this he added an arme or cawfie of two hundred foote long, to breake the waves: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with divers, frately Towers thereon builded : of which the most magnificent hee called Drusus after the name of Drusse the some in law of Casar : in whose honour hee intituled the Citie it felfe. Cafaria of Palastine: all which he performed in twelue yeerestime. It was the first of the Easterne Cities that received a Bishop : afterward erected into an Archbishopricke, commanding twentic others under it, faith Trius.

St. Hierome nameth Theophilus, Eufebius, Scacius, Euzorus, and Gelafius to have 20 beene Bilhops thereof. In this Citic was Cornelius the Centurion baptized by S. Peter: and herein dwelt Philip the Apostle: S. Paul was heerein two yeeres prisoner, under the President Falix, vnto the time and government of Porcius Festus: by whom making his appeale, he was sent to Cafar. Here, when Herod Agrippa was passing on to celebrate the Quinquennalia, taking delight to be ecalled a God by his flatterers, hee was stricken with an Angell vnto death, saith Iofephia.

To the North of Cafaria standeth Dora, or Naphoth Dor, as some reade Iof. 1.2: fo called (faith Adrichomius) because it io yneth to the Sea, whose King was flaine by Iolua. But Iunius for in Naphoth Dor, reades in tractibus Dor; and so the Vulgar, in regionibus Dor: although I. Reg. 4 II. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth 30 omnis Nephath Dor: The Septuagint in the place of lolus call it Nepheth-Dor, and in the other of the Kings, Nepha-Dor : but the true name by other places (as 10f.12.23. Iude, 1. 27.) may feeme to bee Dor. It was a frong and powerfull Citic; and the fourth in account of those twelve Principalities or Sitarchies, which Salomon ere-Eted. Innius vpon Marchab. 15.11. placeth it betweene the Hill Carmel and the mouth of the River Cherleus: for so some name the River Chorleus, of which wee have spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, Tryphon fled from Antiochius the sonne of Demetrius: where he was by the same Antiochus besieged with 120000. foote-men and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villaine that received 200, talents for the ran- 40 fome of Ionathan Macchabaus (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then flew him: and after him flew his owne Master, vsurping for a while the Kingdome of Syria. It had also a Bishops scate of the Diocesse of Cafaria.

G≈.xyr.de Bøll.

From Cafaria towards the South, they place the Cities of Capharnaum, Gabe, and Galgal: for besides that Capharnaum famous in the Euangelists, they find in these parts neere the West Sea, another of the same name. Of Gabe Hierome in locis Hebraicis. The famous Galgal or Gilgal, was in Beniamin: but this Gilgal, they fay, it was whole King was Daine by Jofua.

Then Antipairis so called of Herode, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the Machabees it was called Caphar lalama : in the fields whereof Indas Machabaus 50 ouerthrew a part of the Armie of Nicanor, Lieutenant to Demetrius: an armie drawn into Iudes by a traiterous Iew, called Aleimus: who contended for the Priest-hood, first vnder Bacchides, and then vnder Nicanor. To this was S. Paul carried prisoner from Hierufalem, conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furic of the

In after-times the Armie of Godfrey of Bulion attempted it in vaine: yet was itaken by Baldwine. It was honoured in those dayes with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called Affur, faith Brochard. Neere vnto this Citie the Prophet loust was three dayes preserved in the bodie of a Whale.

Into the Land, from Antipatris and Cafaria, standeth Narbata, whereof the Territorietaketh name: which Cestins the Romane wasted with fire and sword, because the leves which dwelt at Cafaria fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of Osofes. Neere vnto it is the Mountaine of Abdia, the Steward of King Achab: wherein he hid an hundreth Prophets, and fed them, after which hee himselfe is said to to have obtained from God the Spirit of prophecic also.

### CHAP. VIII.

## Of the Kingdome of Phanicia.

The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome: and of the innention of Letters ascribed to them.



ECAVSE these five Tribes, of Affer, Nephtalim, Zabulon, Iffachar, and the halfe of Manafe, poffet the better part of that ancient Kingdome of Phanicia, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of Anti-libanus: I have therefore gathered a briefe of those Kings which have gouerned therein: at least fo many of them as time (which denoureth all things ) hath left to posteritie : and that the rest haue perished, it is not firange: feeing fo many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of Estates and Conquests of Heathen Princes,

haue been torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, astouching the South parts, are very vincertaine: 40 but all Cosmographers doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of Syria, which is called Calietis, ends: most of them bounding it by Orthosia, to the North of Tripolis. Ptolomie makes it a little larger, as reaching from Pto.4. Tab. Asia. the Riner Eleutherus, that falls into the Sea at the Iland of Aradus, somewhat to the North of Orthofis, and firetching from thence alongfithe coast of the Mediterran sea, as farre as the River of Charfetts, which feemes to be that which the lewes call the plin, lib. 5, e. 19. Torrent, or Riuer of Maggeddo. Plinieextends it farther and comprehends hope within it : Coruinus and Budeus, Joppe and Gaza. Phanicia apudpriscos appellata (faith Byd &vs) que nunc Palastina Syria dicitur; It was called Phanicia of old (faith hec)

50 Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of Phanicia, all the Sea fide of Indica, and Strab Ac AC Palestina, cuen vnto Pelusium, the first Port of Egypt. On the contrary Diodorus Siculus foldethit vp in Calesyria, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of Ptolomies description, who was seldome deceived in his owne Art. It had in it these samous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the

E(ay.23.

F. 17.

Ilands) to wit, Aradus, Ortholia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblus, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolomais (or Acon) Dora, and Cafaria Palestina: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Easterneworld: and they were absolute Kings of the Mediterran Sea.

The ancient Regall Scate of those Princes was Zidon, built by Zidon the first some of Canaan: and the people then subject to that people were called Zidonians: the same state continuing even vnto Iosaac time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called Phanicia: which Procopius also confirmeth in his second Booke of Vandall Warres. But in processe of time the Citie of Tyre adiovning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Proposition and by them first built and peopled.

But after the death of Moses, and while Iosua yet gouerned Israel, Agenor an Egyptian of Thebes, or a Phanician bred in Egypt, came thence with his sonnes Cadmu, Phanix, Cyrms, and Cilix, (say Cedrenus and Curtius) and built and posses the Cities of Tyre and Zidon: to wit, the new Tyrms, and brought into Phanicia (so called after the name of his second Sonne) the view of letters: which also Cadmus in his pursuite after his sister Europa taught the Gracians. For Taurus King of Crete, when he surprised Tyre, had stollen her thence: of which the Poets deused the fable of Impiterstransformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. Pomponius Sabinus makes Belus the first King of Phanicia: and sindes Cadmus his successour: 20 whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that Balus was the Father of Agenor, and not Neptune: because the successors of Dido held that name alwayes intenerence, making it a part of their owne, as Afarubal, Hannibal: which memorie Virgil also toucheth in these Verses:

Hic Reginagrauem gemmis auroý, popofeis Impleustý, mero pateram : quam B e L v s & omnes A B e L o foliti.

The Queene anon commands the waighty bowle (Waightie with precious stones and massie gold) To slow with wine. This Belus vs'd of old, Andall of Belus Line.

Whether this Belin were Father or Grand-father to Agenor, the matter is not great. But it seemeth to me by comparing of times, that Belin was Ancestor to these Phanicians, and preceded Agenor. For were Belin, or Inpiter Belin, the sonne of Reptune by Libya, the Daughter of Epaphin, or were he the Sonne of Telegonin, according to Eusebin; yet it is agreed that Cecrops then ruled in Attica: and in the end of Cecrops time, saith S. Augustine, Moses lest Egypt: Agenors succession living at once 40 with Iosua. Now that Agenor returned about the same time into the Territory of Zidon, I cannot doubt: neither doe I donie, but that he gaue that Region the name of Phanicia, in honour of his Sonne. But in stead of the building of Tyre, and Zidon, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as Semiramis and Nabuchodonosor were of Babylon.

For bee it true that Agenor was of the same Nation, and brought vp in Agenor was of the same Nation, and brought vp in Agenor where he learnt the vse of letters (Egypt flourishing in all kind of learning in Mose time) or were he by Nation an Agenor yet is it very likely that either he came to save his owne Territory: or otherwise to desend the coast of Canaan, from the Israelites: who were by Moses led out of Agenor, to the great losse and dishonour of so that Nation: and by 10/12 conducted ouer 10rdan, to conquer and possesse they conducted ouer 10rdan, to conquer and possesse they conducted out of Agenor is the losse which they received by the hand of God, in the Red Sca, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the staughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could

not hinder the Hebrewes from inuading Canaan by Land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the Defarts inter-jacent, and the strong E-domites, Moabites, Emorites, and Ammonites their borderers: yet Agypt having such Vessells, or. Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vse: did not in all probabilitien neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or assist Agenor with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facilitie, in that the Philistrins which held the shores of Canaan, next adiopning vnto them, were their Friends and Con-

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of Phanicia, which Now as said to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against Iosua, and against the Tribes after him, as Zidon, Sor, or Tyre, by Iosua called the strong Citie, Aceto afterward Ptolomais, Aceto and Dor) were all that Phanicia had in those

dayes.
That the Kings of Phanicia were mightie, especially by Sea, it appeareth, first by their desence against Israel: secondly by this, that David and Salomon could not master them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but Reguli, desended it seite 13, yeares against a King of Kings, Natheodonoson: and that Alexander the great (who being made victorious by the production of God, seemed vntesistable) spent more time in the recourse of Tyre; than in the conquest of all the Cities in Asia.

Other opinions there are, as that of Berofus out of losephus, who conceives that Tyre was founded by Tyres the sonne of lapbet. And for the Region it selfe, though Callishees deriue it ab arbore dactylorum; and the Greekes from the word Phonos, of slaughter, because the Phanicians slew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfe Itake it that Phanix the sonne of Agenor gaue it that name. But that either Agenor in Phanicia, or Casmus his sonne in Greece, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute vanceessarie.

The Æthiopians affirme that Atlas, Orion, Orpheus, Linus, Hercules, Prometheus, Calmus, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and couill Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that Pythagor as himselfe was instructed by the Libyans: to wit, siom the South and Superior Ægyptians: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of Nilus, as they say, borrowed their Divinitie and Philosophie: and from them the Greekes, then barbarous, received Civilitie. Againe, the Phamicians challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the Ægyptians at all; neither doe they allow that Agenor and his sonnes were Africans; whence Lucan.

Phanices primi (fama si creditur) ausi Mansuramrudibus vocem signare figuris.

Phanicians first (if fame may credit haue)
In rude Characters dar'd our wordes to graue.

And that Cadmus was the sonne of Agenor, and was a Phanician, and not an Agenor, and the stranger and a stranger and a Phanician: when he in a kinde of reproch was called a stranger and a Phanician:

Si patria est Phænix, quidtum? nam C A D MVS & ipse Phænix; cui debet Græcia docta libros.

Ιi

Athen. I. Dipnef.

Lucan.l.s.3.

If a *Phenician* borne I am, what then? CADMYS was fo: to whom *Greece* owns The Bookes of learned men.

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Ioseph.contra

Out of doubt the Phanicians were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of Tyre, 10/ephus the Historian confirmes a great part of his Antiquities. The Thracians againe subscribe to none of these reports: but affirme constantly, that the great Zamolxis flourished among them: when Atlas lived in Mauritania: Nilus and Vulcan in Agypt : and Ochus in Phanicia. Yea, some of the French doc nor blush to maintaine, that the ancient Gaules taught the Greekes the vic of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our Bardes and Druids are as ancient as those Gaules, and that they sent their sonnes hither to bee by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on Moses, the same hath no probabilitie at all, for hee lived at fuch time as learning and arts flourished most, bothin Expt, and Affiria, and he himselfe was brought up in all the learning of the gyptians, from his infancie.

But true it is that letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age. and before the generall floud: either by Seth, or Enes, or by whom elfe God knowes, from whom all wifedome and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath hee given the same inventionto divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for euen in Mexico, when it was first discovered. there was found written Bookes after the manner of those Hieroglyphicks, anciently 20 vsed by the Egyptians, and other Nations and so had those Americans a kinde of Heraldrie; and their Princes differing in Armes and Scutchions, like vnto those vsed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations. Iura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c. Naturall Lawes are common and generall.

Inrifcon.

#### ò. 11. Of the Kings of Tyre.

Vt what soeuer remaineth of the storie and Kings of Phanicia (the 20 bookes of Zeno, Sachoniatho, Mnaseas, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the fame is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, Iojephus, and Theophilus Antiochenus.

Agenor lived at once with Lofua, to whom succeeded Phanix, of whom that part of Canaan, and so farre towards the North as Aradus, tooke the name of Phanicia: what King succeeded Phanix it doth not appeare; but at such time as the Gracians belieged Troy, Phasis governed Phanicia.

In Hieremies time and while Iehoiakim ruled in Inda, the Tyrians had a King apart: for Hieremie speaketh of the Kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of severall

In Xerxes time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith hee inuaded Greece, Tetramnestus ruled that part of Phanicia, about Tyre, and Zidon: who commanded, as some Writers affirme, Xerxes fleete, or rather, as I suppose, those 200. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the Phanicians were Tributaries to the Persian: for being broken into Reguli, and pettie Kings in Hieremies time, they were subjected by Nabuchodonofor; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, Hieremie prophecied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded Tetramnestus: remembred by D. Siculus in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his fuccessor, and King of Zidon, Alexander Macedon threw out, because of his dependencie vpon Darius, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire of against the Gracians. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betweene Tennes and Strato. For there were confumed 130. yeeres and somewhat more betweene Xerxes and Alexander Macedon. And this man was by Alexander efteemed

eleemed the more vinworthie of restitution, because (saith Curtius) hee rather sub- L. 4 mitted himselfe by the intigation of his Subiects (who foresaw their voter ruine by relitance) than that hee had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

Of this Strato, Athenaus out of Theopompus reporteth, that hee was a man of ill Athen, 1,12.6.13 liuing: and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women dancers, and lingers: whom he to this end chiefly inuited, and affembled: that having beheld the most beautifull and lively among them, hee might recover them for his owne vse and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one of these coalts, S. Hierome and others make mention: who having heard Hieron, la, cont. that the Persians were neere him with an Armie too waightie for his strength, and louin. finding that hee was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the Agyptians: hee determining to kill himselfe, but fainting in the exequation, his wife being present wrested the sword out of his hand and flew him: which done shee also therewith pierced her owne bodie, and died.

After Alexander was possest of Zidon, and the other Strato driven thence, Hee gaue the Kingdome to Hephestron, to dispose of : who having received great enterrainement of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no 20 leffe vertuous than rich, delired Hephaftion that this Honour might bee inferred on some one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings: and presented vnto him Balonymus, whom Curtius calls Abdolominus, I v S T I NE Abdolomius, and Plutarch Alynomus: who at the very houre that hee was called to this regall Estate, was with his owne handes working in his Garden, setting hearbes, and rootes, for his reliefe and fustenance: though otherwise a wise man and exceeding iust.

These were the ancient Kings of Zidon : whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or Aristocraticall: and by times and turnes subjected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of Affer.

The Kings of Tyre, who they were before Samuels time, it doth not appeare: Issophus the Historian, as is saide, had many things wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the Tyrian Chronicles : and out of Io/ephus, and Theophilus Antiochenus. there may be gathered a descent of some twentie Kings of the Tyrians, but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of Menander Ephelius, doe in no fort agree in the times of their raignes; nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the Tyrians, that Iofephus and Theophilus remember: whom Theophilus calls Abemalus: the same perchance that the sonne of Sirach men- c. 46. tioneth in his fourtie and fixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the Tyrians.

To this Abibalus, Suron succeeded, if hee be not one and the same with Abibalus. 40 Dauid (faith Eusebius out of Eupelemus) constrained this Suren to pay him Tribute, of Prep. Euang. 1.9. whomalfo David complaineth Pfal.83.

Hiram succeeded Suron, whom Iofephus calls Irom, and Theophilus sometime Hieromenus, sometime Hieromus, but Tatian and Zonaras Chiram. He entred into a league with Dauid, and sent him Cedars with Masons, and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in Hierusalem: after he had beaten thence the Jebusites. The same was hee that logreatly affilted Salomon: whom he not only furnished with Cedars, and other Materialls towards the raising of the Temple, and with great summes of money, but also he loyned with him in his enterprize of the East India, and of Ophir: and furnished Salomon with Mariners and Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the most excellent

50 Nauigators: and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this Hiram there is not onely mention in divers places of Scripture, but in Isfephus in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. 2. Sam. S. etc. chap. 2. & 3. in Theophilus his 3d booke, in Tatianus his Oration against the Greekes: and 2. Sam. c. 5. in Zonaras Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mighty and magnificent, 1.61:91.14. he despised the 20. townes which Salomon offered him; he defended himselfe against 2. chron, 2.8.9.

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1.King.11.

Theoph. 17.

yeeres.

Theoph.

10feph.32.

Theoph.26.

Theoph.29.

that victorious King Dauid rand gaue his Daughter in marriage to Salomon, called the Zidonian: for whose sake he was contented to worship Asteroth, the Idoll of the Phanicians. Hiram lived 53. yeeres.

Baleastartus whom Theoph. Antiochemus, calleth Bazorus, succeeded Hiram, King of Tyre and Zidon, and raigned 7, yeeres according to Iosephus.

Abdastartus the eldett sonne of Baleastartus, gouerned 9. yeeres, and lived but 20. veeres according to Iosephus: but after Theophilus he raigned 12. yeere, and lived 54. who being flaine by the foure fonnes of his owne Nurce, the eldeft of them held the Kingdome 12. yeeres.

Astartus brother to Abdastartus, recoursed the Kingdome from this V surper, and to raigned 12.yeeres.

Ioseph.54.
Theoph.58.

Astarimus, or Atharimus, after Theophilus, a third brother followed Astartus, and ruled o.yeeres, and lived in all 54.

Phelles the fourth sonne of Baleastartus, and brother to the three former Kings.

flew Altarimus, and raigned 8. Moneths; lived 55. yeeres.

Ithobalus (or Inthobalus, in Theophilus) son to the third brother Aftarimus, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddeffe Astarta, which was a dignitie next vnto the King, reucnged the death of his father, and flaughtered his Vncle Phelles: and raigned 22. veeres, the same which in the first of Kings chap. 16 is called Ethbaal, whose Daughter Iezabel, Achab married.

Badezor or Bazor the sonne of Ithobalus or Ethbaal, brother to Iezabel, succeeded his 1.King.16,v.31 Toleph 6. yeeres Father, and raigned 6, yeeres, and lived in all 45.

Mettimus succeeded Badezor, and raigned but 9. yeeres, (faith Iosephus) he had two

fonnes Premalion and Barca, and two Daughters Eli/a and Anna.

Premalion raigned after Mettimus his Father 40. yeeres, and lived 56: In the 7. veere of whose raigne, Elisa sailed into Affrica, and built Carthago, 142, yeeres and 8. Moneths, after the Temple of Salomon: which by our accompt was 289, yeeres after Troy taken, and 143. before Rome: and therefore that fiction by Virgil of Anews and Dido must be farre out of square. For Pygmalion couctous of Sicheus his riches, who had married his fifter Elifa, flew him traiteroufly as hee accompanied him 30 in hunting : or if wee beleeue Iustine and Virgil, at the Altar : whereupon Elisa fearing to be despoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into Affrica as a foresaid: whom when Pygmalion prepared to pursue, he was by his Mothers teares, and by threates from the Oracle arrefted. Barea accompanied his fifter, and affifted her, in the credion of Carthage: and from him sprang that noble Familie of the Barca in Affrica, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great Hannibal. Seruius interprets this name of Dido by Virago, because of her man-like acts, others from Iedidia. a furname of Salomon.

Eluleus succeeded Pygmalion: and raigned 26, yeeres: the same that overthrew the fleete of Salmanaffar, in the Port of Tyre: not with standing which hee continued his 40 siege before it on the Land side fiue yeeres, but in vaine.

After Eluleus, Ethobales governed the Tyrians, who vaunted himselfe to bee as wise as Daniel: and that he knew all secrets (saith Ezekiel) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this Prince died, or was flaine in that long fiege of Nabuchodonofor: who ferrounded and attempted Tyre 13:

yeeres together, ere he preuailed.

Baal followed Ethobales, and raigned 10. yeeres a tributaric, perchance, to Nabucho. donofor: for after his death it was gouerned by divers Iudges, succeeding each other: First, by Ecnibalus, then by Chelbis, Abarus the Priest, Mittonus, and Gerastus, who held it among them some 7. yeeres, and odde Moneths: after whom Balatorus commanded 50 therein as a King for one yeere: after him Merbalus sent from Babylon 4. yeeres: after him Irom fent thence also, 20. yeeres. In the 17. of whose raigne Cyrus beganne to gouerne Persia.

d. III.

ò. III.

Of Bozivs his conceit that the Edumans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phanicia the knowleage of the true



F the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a discourse of divers other Nations, there is one Bozius that hath written a Tractat large, intituled deruinis Gentium. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea in all things under Heauen; haue proceeded from his ordinance who onely is

vnchangeable, and the same for quer; yet whereas the said Bozius, inforcing heerehence, that the prosperitie and ruffie of the Tyrians were fruits of their imbracing or for saking the true Religion, to proue this his affertion, supposeth the Tyrians to have beene Edumaans, descended from Esau, Iacobs brother: first, it can hardly be beleened that Tyre, when it flourished most in her ancient glorie, was in any sort truely deuout and religious. But to this end (besides the proofe which the Scriptures giue of Hisrams good affection when Salomon built the Temple) he brings many coniecturall ar-20 guments: whereof the strongest is their petigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posteritie of Esau received from him by Tradition the Religion of Abraham and Isaac. That the Tyrians were Edumaans, he endeuours to shew, partly by weake reasons, paincfully strained from some affinitie of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight: partly by authoritie. For Strabo, Herodetus, Plinie, and others witnesse, that the Tyrians came from the Red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called Tyrus, Aradus, and Sidon: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of Phanicia. Considering therefore that all the coaft of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) under the Edumeans: as Elah and Esiongaber; or to vider the Amalek. 1885, who descended of Amales the Nephew of Esas, whose chiefe Citic was Madian, so called of Madian the sonne of Abraham by Cethura, whose posteritie did people it: the consequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians originally were Edomites: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of Ifrael. Hereunto hee addes that Cadmus and his Companions brought not into Greece the worthip of Aflartis, the Idoll of the Sidenians. That the Parents of Thales and Pherecydes being Phanicians, themselves differed much in their Philosophie from the Idolatrous customes of the Greekes. That in Teman, a Towne of the Edumeans, was an Vniuersitie, wherein as may appeare by Eliphas the Temanite, who disputed with leb, Religion was fincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of Bozius, who labouring to proue one Paradoxe by an other, deserues in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were Edumeans, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his People: neither is it true that they, were Edumeans at all. In what Religion Efair brought vp his children it is no where found written, but that himselse was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posteritie were Idolaters, is directly proued in the fine and twentieth Chapter of the second booke of Chronicles. That the Edomites were perpetuall enemies to the House of Israel, saue only when David and some of his race, Kings of Iuda, held them in subjection, who knowes not? or who is ignorant of Davids unfriendly behaviour 30 amongst them, when first they were subdued? Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betweene Tyrus and Mount Seir, that Hiram held fuch good correspondence with David: even then when loab flew all the Males of Edon: neither was it for their denotion to God, and good affection to Israel, that the Edomites were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the pietie and ancient wisedome of Eliphaz the

Eustin.l.11. Virgil.l.s.

Themanite was then forgotten, and the Edumaans punished, for being such as Danid in his owne dayes found them. Although indeed the Citie of Teman whence Eliphaz came to reason with lob, is not that in Edumea, but another of the same name. lying East from the Sca of Galilee, and adioyning to Hus, the Countrie of lob: and to Such the Citie of Bildad the Subite, as both such Chorographers who best knew those parts, doe plaintly shew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For lob is said to have exceeded in riches; and Salomon in wisedome, all the people of the Hast; not the inhabitants of Mount Seir, which lay due South from Palestina. True it is that Eliphaz the sonne of E/au had a sonne called Teman: but that Fathers were wont in those dayes to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And I/mael also hada to fonne called Thema: of whom it is not vnlike that Theman in the East had the name: for as much as in the feuenth Chapter of the booke of Iudges, the Midianites, Amalekites, and all they of the East are called I/maelites. And he that well confiders how great and strong a Nation Amalee was, which durst give battaile to the Host of Ifrael, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleeue that such a people were defcended from one of Efau his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberleffe must the forces of all Edom have beene; if one Tribe of them, yea one Familie of a Tribe had beene so great? furely Mount Seir and all the Regions adioyning could not have held them. But wee no where finde that Edom had to doe with Amale: or affilted the Amalekites: when Saul went to roote them out. For Amales is no 20 where in Scripture named as a Tribe of Edom: but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the Ismaelites. The like may be faid of Midian, that the Founder thereof being fonne to Abraham by Cethura, doubtleffe was no Edomite. And thus much in generall for all the Seigniorie of the Red Sea-coast, which Bozius imagines the Edumeans to have held : if the Edomites in after-times held some places as Elan and Esioneaber on the Red Sea shore, yet in Moses time, which was long after the building of Tyre, they held them not. For Moses himselfe saith, that Israel did compasse all the borders of Edom: within which limits had Midian stood, Mojes must needs have knowne it: because he had sojourned long in that Countrie: and there had left his Wise and Children, when he went into Agypt.

But coniccturall Arguments, how probable soeuer, are needlesse in so maniscs a case. For in the 83. Pfal. Edom, Amalee, and Tyre, are named as distinct Nations: yea the Tyrians and Sidonians being one people, as all good Authors shew, and Bozius himselfe confesset, were Canaanites, as appeares, Gen. c. 10. v. 15. & 19. appointed by God to have beene destroyed, and their Lands given to the children of Assertage. See because they were ever Idolaters, and of the cursed seed of Canaan, not Cousins to Israel, nor professors the same Religion. For though Hiram said, Blessebe God that hath sent King David a wise some, we cannot inferre that hee was of Davids Religion. The Turke hath said as much of Christian Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is that the Sidonians then worshipped Assarch; and drew Sa-40

lomen also to the same Idolatrie.

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Whereas Hiram aided Salomon in building the Temple, hee did it for his owne endes, receiving therefore of Salomon great provision of Corne, and Oile, and the offer of twentie Townes or Villages in Galilee. And if wee rightly confider things, it will appeare that Hiram, in all points, dealt Merchant-like with Salomon, Hee allowed him Timber, with which Libanus was, and yet is ouer-peffered: being otherwise apt to yeeld silkes: as the Andarine silkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oile, which hee wanted, hee gaue that which hee could well spare to Salomon. Also gold for Land: wherein Salomon was the wifer: who having got the gold first, gaue to Hiram the worst Villages that hee had: with which the Tyrian was ill pleased. But it was a necessarie police which in forced Tyrus to hold league with fael. For Danid had subdued Moab, Ammon, Edom, the Aramites, and a great part of Arabia, even to Euphrates: through which Gountries the Tyrians were wont to carrie and recarrie their Wares on Cammells,

to their fleetes on the Red Sea; and backe againe to Tyrus: fo that Salomon being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to passe, could have cut off their Trade.

But the Israelites were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their adventures. Yet Salomon as Lord of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the Philistims, might have greatly dittressed the Tyrians, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which Hiram knowing, was glad (and no merualle) that Salamon rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treasure, in magnificent workes, than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore hee willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly

buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages betweene Salomon and Hiram, are no strong Arguments of pictie in the Tyrians: fo those other proofes which Bozius trames negatively vpon particular examples, are very weake. For what the Religion of Cadmus was, I thinke, no man knowes. It seemes to me, that having more cunning than the Greekes, and beingvery ambitious, hee would faine have purchased divine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if hee had any. Thales and Pherecydes are bur fingle examples. Euery faluage Nation hath some whose wisedome excelleth the Vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wisedome of these men ex-20 prefle any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of Greece: whome being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that Cadmus and Thales being Tyrians, are not knowne to have taught Idolatrie, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That Carthage, Vica, Leptis, Cadiz, and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which, I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their first beginnings : therefore, the Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from Salomonstime on-wards is acknowledged by Bozius, , who would have ve thinke them to have been formerly a strange kinde of denout Edomites. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he stileth men of contrary opinion, impios politicos, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which have not knowne his name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honestie, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse this doctrine of Bozius would better have agreed with Iulian the Apostata, than with Cyril. For if the Afgrians, Greekes, Romanes, and all those Nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most, when they drew necrest vnto the true Religion: what may bee said of the foule Idolatry which grew in Rome, as fast as Rome it selfe grew : and was inlarged with some new superstition, almost vpon enery new victory? How few 40 great battailes did the Romanes winne, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new God, or some new Honour to one of their old Gods? yea, what one Nation, saue onely that of the lewer, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertaine in their Citie? Onely the true God, which was the God of the lewes, they rejected, vpbraiding the lewes with him, as if hee were vnworthy of the Romane Maieltie: shall we herevpon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion, which Heathen writers vsed against the Christians in the Primitive Church: That such Idolatrie had caused the Citie of Rome to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blind zeale of Bozius, 50 who writing against those whom he falsely termes impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeede. But such indiscretion is vsually found among men of his humour; who having once either foolifuly imbraced the dreames of others, or vainely fashioned in their owne braines any strange Chimera's of Divinitic, condemne all fuchin the pride of their zeale, as Athersts and Infidels, that are not transported with

fecretly by the malicious vertue of an Hypocrite.

the like intemperate ignorance. Great pittie it is that fuch madde Dogges are often. times incouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they

themselues cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him

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Under Sichem toward the Sea standeth Pharaton or Pirhathon on the Mountaine Indg. 12.15.

Amelec, the Citie of Abdon Judge of Ifrael. And under it Betheron of the Leuites, 2. King. 13. built asit is faid by Sara, the Daughter of Ephraim. Neere to this Citie Iudas Macchahow overthrew Seron and Lylias , Lieutenants to Antiochus. This Citic had Salomon

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formerly repaired and fortified.

Betweene Bethoron and the Sea, standeth Samir, of which lof. 10. And Saron whose King was slaine by Io/wa: it is also mentioned Asts 9.35. and of this Saron the Iofc.12.18. Walley taketh name, which beginning at Cafarea Palastina, extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as loppe, faith Adrichome. Though indeed the name Sarona is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitfull plaine Region; for not onely this Valley is so called, to wit, betweene Calarea and loppe, but that also betweene the Mountaine Tabor and the Sca of Galilee: for fo S. Hierome vpon the fiue and thirtieth Chapter of Esay interprets the word Saron: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon Abdia, reade Saron for Affaron: vnderstanding thereby a Plaine neere Lidda: which Lidda in his time was called Diospolis, or the Citic of Inpiter, one of the Toparchies of Indas, the fift in dignitie (or the third after Plinie ) where Saint of the Toparchies of Iudaa, the fit in dignitie (of the third anter Funte ) where Saint A.6.

Peter (non fun fed Christi virtute) cured Aneas. Niger calls all that Region from Lucas. 20 Anti-libanus to Joppe Sarona. This Joppe was burnt to the ground by the Romanes, Nicer. Comm. 4. those Rauens and spoylers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, vsurpers of Afic fol 503,14. other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other respect led than to amplifie their owneglory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murthering one an-

other, became a prey to the most saluage and barbarous Nations.

In Deolpolis (faith will. of Tyre) was S. George beheaded, and buried : in whose ho- George see nour and memorie Instinian the Emperour caused a faire Church to bee built ouer more aboue in this Tombe these he Tarius his worder. Reliefs a destrict loci maritimis. Anticatuid this second his Tombe, thele be Tyrius his wordes: Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, Booke. & Joppe per late patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pertran (euntes, Liddam qua eft Diospolis, C.7.5.3.t.s. vbi & egregij Martyris GEORGII v/que hodie Sepulchrum oftenditur, peruenerunt, eius 10 Eulesiam quum ad honorem eiusdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, AVGVSTVS IVSTINIANVS multo studio & deuotione prompta adificari praceperat, &c. They having left (faith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and loppe, passing oner the great open plaine of Eleutheria, came to Lidds, which is Diospolis: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr S. GEORGE is at this day shewed; whose Church , when the Godly and Orthodoxe Prince of the Romanes , High and Mightie IVSTINIAN had commanded to bee built, with great earnestnesse and present denotion, Co. Thus farre Tyrius, by whose testimonic we may coniccture that this S. George was not that Arrian Bishop of Alexandria; but rather some better Christian: for this of Alexandria was flaine there in an vprore of the people, and his afhes cast into 40 the Sea, as Ammianus Marcellinus reports. And yet also it may bee, that this Geor- L:226.11. gius was a better Christian, than hee is commonly thought: for his wordes of the Temple of GENIVS. Howlong Shall this Sepuichre stand? occasioned the vprore of the people against him: as fearing lest hee would give attempt to overthrow that beautifull Temple. This also Marcellinus reports; who though hee say that this Georgius was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else might have rescued him: yet hee addeth that his alhes, with the alhes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had been gathered vp, Churches should bee built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not this Georgius. whose name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but

sometime called Tigrida, and while the Christians inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bishop Suffragan. Necreto Lidda or Diospolis standeth Ramatha of the Leuites, or Aramathia: after-

orather another, whom Tyrius, aboue cited, witneffeth to have been buried at Lidda

or Diespolis. The same also is confirmed by Vitriac. S. Hierome affirmes that it was SaligaTom. 6.6.4

### CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of EPHRAIM, and of the Kings of the tenne Tribes, whose head was EPHRAIM.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of EPHRAIM.



A v I N G now past ouer Phanicia, we come to the next Territory adioyning: which is that of Ephraim: fomtime taken per excellentiam for the whole Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. Ephraim was the second sonne of 10/eph, whose issues when they left Egypt were in number 45000. all which dying in the Defarts ( Iosua excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children growne to bee able men 32500. who fate 20 downe on the West side of Iordan, betweene Manasse, and Beniamin: who bounded Ephraim by the North and South; as Iordan, and the Medi-

terran Sea, did by the East and West:

The first and chiefe Citie which Ephraim had, was Samaria, the Metropolis of the Kingdome of Ifrael, built by Amris or Homri King thereof, and scated on the top of the Mountaine Somren, which over-looketh all the bottome, and as farre as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called Sebaste, or Augusta, in honour of August. Casar. This Citie is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as Brothard observeth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which Bro- 40 chard found greater then those of Hierusalem, tell those that behold them, what it was when it flood vpright: for to this day there are found great flore of goodly marble pillars, with other hewne and carued stone in great abundance, among the

It was beaten to the ground by the Sonnes of Hireanss the high Prieft: restored and built by the first Herod the sonne of Antipater: who to flatter Cafar called it Sebafte. Herein were the Prophets Helisaus, and Abdias buried: and so was Iohn Baptift. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with Grecian Monkes.

Neere Samaria toward the South, is the Hill of Bethel, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine Ieroboam erected one of his golden Calues, to bee to worshipped: with which he seduced the Israelites.

In fight of this Mountaine of Bethel, was that ancient Citie of Sichem; after thereflauration called Neapolis, now Pelosa, and Napolasa: It was destroyed by Simeon and Leui, in reuenge of the rauishment of their sister Dina: and after that by Abimeles

Pfal.5 9.78.108

Seeinthe

ward Rama, and Ramula, the native Citie of Iofeph, which buried the body of Christ. There are many places which beare this name of Rama; one they fet in the Tribeof Tribe of Benia- Indancere Thecua in the way of Hebron; another in Nephtalim, not farre from Sephet. a third in Zabulon, which, they fay, adioyneth to Sephoris a fourth, which they make the same with Sile, and a fifth, which is this Rama, in the Hils of Ephraim, called Ra-Sam. 1,6.25, v.5 ma-Sophim, where Samuel liucd; and wherin he is buried.

Ant.12.21.de Bell.Ind.1.6.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are Helon, or Aialon of the Leuites, of which I. Chron 6. Apollonia, of which Iofephus in his Antiquities, and in the Warre of the lewes. Also Ballalisa (for which Innius, 2. Reg. 4.42. reades planities Shalista) they place hereabout in this Tribe of Ephraim; but Junius vpon I. Sam. 6. where we reade to of the Land of Shalifha, findeth it in Beniamin.

On the other fide of the Mountaines of Ephraim standeth Gofna, one of the Toparchies or Cities of government, the second in dignitic, of which the Countrey about it

Then I hamnath-lara, or according to the Hebrew, Thimnath-Serach: one also of the

taketh name.

ludg 2.9. It is called Thimnath Chores . 105.19.50.

ten Toparchies or Prasidencies of Indaa, which they call Thamnitica; a goodly Citicand strong, seated on one of the high Hills of Ephraim; on the North of the Hill called Gaas; which Citie and Territory Ifrael gaue vnto their Leader Iofia; who also amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. Hieron,in locis Hieroms time, and ouer it the Sunne ingraven, in memory of that greatest of wonders, 20

which God wrought in 10/ua's time.

Maccab.1.7.40.

In the places adjoying standeth Adarsa, or Adasa; where Indas Maccabeus with 3000. lewes ouerthrew the Armie of Nicanor, Lieutenant of Syria; neere to Galer or Gezer which Issua tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the Lenites. It was afterward taken by Pharao of Agypt; the people all flaine, and the Citic razed; Salomon

To the East of this place is the Frontier Citie of Iefleti, of which Iof. 16.3. otherwife Pelethi, whence Dauid had part of his Pratorian Souldiers, under the charge of Benais. Then that high and famous Mountaine and Citie of Silo, whereon the Arke

of God v kept so many yeeres, till the Philistims got it.

See in Benia-Maccab. 1.9. v.vlt.

King.r.c.4. and Beniamin.

14d.9.v.6.& 20

Vatablus ex-

pounds Mille

in this place,

locum publicum

necessarium ci-

nibus Ierofoly-

Ifraclitie.

To this they ioune the Citie of Machmas or Michmas: in which Ionathai Micchabaus inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It flandeth in the common way from Samaria towards Hierusalem: and is now called

Then the Village of Naioth where Saul prophecied; and neere it Ephron, one of those Cities which Abyah recovered from Ieroboam; after the great overthrow giuen him. Then Kibi (aim of the Leuites, of which Iofua 21.22. which tunius thinkes to be the same with Tokmeham, of which I. Chro. 6.28. As for Absalasor, which they finde hereabout, Junius reades it the Plaine of Chatzor; and finds it in the Tribe of Iuda; as 10/15. wee reade of two Chatzors in that Tribe; one neere Kedelh v.23.40 and the other the fame as Chetzron v.25.

In this Tribe also they finde the Citic of Mello; whose Citizens, they say, ioyned with the Sichemites in making the Bastard Abimelee King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, Salomon raised a Tribute vpon the people. Butit feemes that Melle or Mille is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and so Innius for domus Millo, reades incole munitionis, and for Salomo adificabit Millo, he reades adificabat munitionem, and so the Septuagint reade my axpav in that place. And without doubt the Mille which Salomon built, cannot be that of Sichem, but another in Hiers-

The other Cities of marke in Ephraim, are Taphuach, whose King was slaine by 16-50 (ua; and anoach or lanoah spoyled by Teglatphalaffar; Pekah then gouerning Ifrael; with divers others, but of no great fame.

mitanis atque

The Mountaines of Ephraim sometime signific the greatest part of the Land of 10f.17.v.15.16. the Sonnes of 10feph, on the West of Iordan : seucrall parts whereof are the Hill of Samron or Samaria, 1. Reg. 16.24. \* the Hill of Gabas, Judg. 2.9. the Hill of Tsalmon or \*Alio the Hill Salmon, Judg 9.48. the Hills of the Region of T/uph or T/ophim, Judg 9.5. where Ra- where Elector ma-Tfophim Hood, which was the Citie of Samuel.

The great plentie of fruitfull Vines vpon the sides of the Mountaines, was the ronwashined occasion that lacob in the Spirit of Prophecie, Genef. 49.22. compared lofephs two 10/24.33. And branches, Ephraim and Manaffe, to the branches of a truittull Vine planted by the the two tops of Hills. Gerazim Weil fide, and spreading her a Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegory al- wher the blef-To Ezekiel c. 22. in his Lamentation for Ephraim (that is, for the tenne Tribes, whose fings, & Hebai head was Ephraim) profequites: as alloin his Lamentation for Inds, hee followeth where the curthe other Allegorie of Iacob, Gen. 49.9. comparing Iuda to a Lyon. Vponthe top of bereate othe one of the highest of these Hills of Ephraim, which ouer-looketh all the plaines on people: of which Deut. IT both fides of Iordan, they finde the Castle called Dok: which they make to bee the \$17.50 10/8. both fides or torain, they find the Cante cancer which Castle as it is 1. Maccab, 16 a lt leemeth fame with Dagon, of which lofeph. 1. Bell. Judg. c, 2. in which Castle as it is 1. Maccab, 16 a lt leemeth that Laobin Ptolomie most traiterously, at a banquet, slewe Simon Maccabeus his Father-in- this prophecie

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of Ephraim, they name Gans, remembred in the feth the word fecond of Samuel, c. 23, v. 30. where though Innius reade Hiddai ex vna vallium Gahafi: brauches, theryet the Vulgar and Vatables read Hiddat of the River of Gass. Also in this Tribe they by the more place the River of Carith, by which the Prophet Elias abode during the great planely to figdroughth: where he was b fed with the Rauens: and after that the Riuer was dried which in the 20 vp, he trauailed (by the Spirit of God guided) towards Siden: where he was relieved Hebrew phrase by the poore Widow of Zarepta, whole dead some he reujued, and increased her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby she sustained her life.

as in rofug and eliwhere otte. b 1.Reg 17.3.

1. Reg. 17.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from IER OBOAM to ACHAB.

F the first Kings of Israel. I omit in this place to speake: and reserve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of Inda: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from Iuda and Beniamin, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings was Ieroboam, the sonne of Nebat, an Ephrathite of Zereda, who being a man of strength and courage, was by Salomon made ouer-feer of the buildings of the Mille or Munition in Hierusalem, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of Ephraim and Manaffe: and fo many of them as

wrought in those workes. During which time as he went from Hierusalem, heeencountred the Prophet Abijah: who made him know that he was by God destinied to be King of Ifrael: and to command ten of the twelve Tribes. After this fearing that those things might come to Salomons knowledge, hee fled into Egypt to Shishak, whom Eulebius calleth Olosbores, whose Daughter hee married the Predecessour of which Shifbak (if not the same) did likewise entertaine Adad the Idumean, when he was carried yong into Egypt from the furie of Danid, and his Captaine loab; which Adad, the King of Egypt married to his Wives fifter Taphnes; vling both him and terobams as inftruments to shake the Kingdome of Indea; that himselfe might the 1,8eg.14. calilier spoile it as he did: for in the fifth yeere of Rehoboam, Shishak sackt the Citie of Hierusalem, and carried thence all the treasure of David and Salomon, and all the spoiles which Danid tooke from Adadezer of Soba, with the presents of Tohu. King of 10 Hamath, which were of an inestimable value.

This Ieroboam after the death of Salomon became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the Ifraelites, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the service and honour of God(as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to Hierusa-

the I.Chap. of the Epiftle to

1.King.11.12.

13.14. 15.Chron.13.

lem to doe their vsuall Sacrifices, they might bee drawne from him by degrees he erected two golden Calues, one in Dan, and another in Bethel, for the people to worthip (an imitation of the Agyptian Apis, faith S. Ambrofe, or rather of Aarons Calfe in Horeh) further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and vnlearned people. This King made his chiefe feate and Palace at Sichem: He despised the warning of the Indean Prophet, whome Tofephus calleth Adon, and Glycas Ivel: His hand there-after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardened vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a Lyon, Abiah makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posteritie.

He was afterward ouerthrowne by Abia King of Iuda, and died after he had go- 10 uerned two and twenty yeeres; whom Nadab his sonne succeeded; who in the se-

cond yeere of his reigne, together with all the race of Ieroboam was flaine, and rooted out by Brasha, who reigned in his stead: so Nadab lived King but two

Baasha the sonne of Abijah, the third King after the partition, made warre with Ala King of Iuda: hee leated him elfe in Therfa: and fortified Rama against Iuda, to restraine their excursions. Hereupon A/a entertained Benhadad of Dama scus against him, who inuaded Nephialim, and destroyed many places therein: the meane while Asacarried away the Materials, with which Baasha intended to fortific Rama; but being an Idolater, he was threatned by Iehuthe Prophet, that it should befall his 20 1.Kin.15. 216 race, as it did to Ierobosm: which afterward came to passe: He ruled four eand twen-

tie yeeres and died. To Baasha succeeded Ela his sonne, who at a feast at his Palace of Thersa, was in his cups flaine by Zambris after he had reigned two yeeres: and in him the prophe-

cic of lehu was fulfilled. Zambris succeeded Ela, and assumed the name of a King seuen dayes; But Ambris in reuenge of the Kings Murther, let vpon Zambris, or Zimri; and inclosed him

in Ther(a, and forft him to burne himselfe.

Ambris or Homri succeeded Ela, and transferred the Regall scate from Thersato Samaria: which he bought of Shemer, built, and fortified it. This Ambris was also 20 an Idolater, no leffe impious than the rest; and therefore subjected to Tabremmon, King of Syria; the Father of Benadad according to Eulebius, Nicephorus, and Zonara: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceine; seeing Benadad the Sonne of Tabremmon was inuited by A/a King of Inda, to affaile Baa ha King of Ifrael, the Father of Ela who forewent Ambris. This Ambris raigned twelue yeeres, fixe in Ther-Sa, and fixe in Samarea, and left two children, Achab and Athalia.

e.King.15.

1.King.16.

1.King. 16.

III.

Of ACHAB and his Successors, with the captinitie of the ten



CHAB or Ahab succeeded Omri, who not onely vp-held the Idolatrie of Ieroboam, borrowed of the Egyptians: but hee married Iezabel the Zidonian: and as Ieroboam followed the Religion of his Agyptian Wife: so did Achab of his Zidonian: and erected an Altarand a Groue to Baal in Samaria. He suffered 'ezabel to kill the Prophets of the most

high God. GoD sent famine on the Land of Ifrael. Achab met Elias : Elias preuailed in the triall of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false prophets: and afterward flieth for feare of Iezabel.

Benadad, not long after, belieged Samaria : and taken by Achab, was by him fet at libertie : for which the Prophet (whom Glycas calleth Michaus) reproueth him : afterward hee caused Naboth by a false accusation to bee stoned. Then in young with Iolaphat in the warre for the recourse of Ramoth, hee was flaine as Micheas had fore-

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, Ochozias, Ioram, and Ioas : belides feuentie other sonnes by fundry wines and Concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his sather Achab. The Moabites fell from his obedience : hee Beelle but was bruiled himselfe by a fall : and sent for counsaile to Beel-zebub the God of Acharon, the same with Eliab the Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and misliking that Ochozias to, land Plusto, fought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the meffenger, If there were not a God in nere you link. Israel? Ochozias sendeth two Captaines, and with each fiftie souldiers to bring Eliah 2. Kings 1. 10 vnto him, both which with their Attendants were confumed with fire. The third Captaine befought mercie at Eliahs hands, and hee spared him, and went with him to the king; anowing it to the king that he must then die, which came to passe in the

fecond yeere of his raigne.

Isram the brother of Ochozias by Iszabel, succeeded: He allured Islaphat king of Inda, and the king of Edom to affift him against the Mosbites, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheepe. The three kings wanted water, for themselves and their horses, in the Desarts. The Prophet Elisha causeth the ditches to flow. The Moa- 2.Kinga. bites are ouerthrowne: their king flieth to Kirharafeth, and being befieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his sonne on the walles as a Sacrifice, whereat the three 20 kings moued with compassion returned and left Moab, washing and spoyling that Region. Others, as it seemes with better reason, understand the Text to speake of the some of the king of Edom, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner, by the Mosbites, and that the king of Mosb showed him ore the walls, threatning, vnlesse the siege were dissoluted, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of Edom belought those of Inda and Israel to breake off the fiege for the fafetie of his sonne: which when the other kings refused to yeeld vnto, and that Moab according to his former threatning had burnt the king of Edoms sonne vpon the rampire, that all the affailants might discerne it, the king of Edom being by this sad spectacle inraged, for sooke the partie of the other kings; for want of whole affistance the siege was broken vp.

After this the king of Aram sent to Ioram, to heale Naaman the Captaine of his Armie of the leprousie. The answere of Ioram was; Am I God to kill, and to give life, that hee doth fend to heale a man from his leprousie? adding, that the Aramite fought but matter of quarrell against him. Elisha hearing thereof, willed the king to fend Naaman to him; promiting that hee should know that there was a Prophet in Ifrael, and so Naaman was healed by washing himselfe scuentimes in Iordan. Elisharefuled the gifts of Naaman. But his servant Gebazi accepted a part thereof: from whence the fellers of spirituall gifts are called Gehazites, as the buyers are Simonians 2. Kings. 5.

of Simon Magus.

Afterward Benhadad king of Aram or Damaseus, having heard that this Prophet did discouer to the king of Israel what souer the Aramite consulted in his secretest councell, fent a troupe of horse to take Elisha: all whom Elisha strooke blinde, and brought them captives into Samaria: Ioram then asking leave of the Prophet to flay them, Elisha forbade him to barme them: but caused them to be sed and sent backe to their owne Prince in fafetie.

The king of Aram notwithstanding these benefits, did againe attempt Samaria, and brought the Citizens to extreme famine. Ioram imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet Elisha. Elisha by prayer caused a noise of Charriots and armor to sound in the ayre, whereby the Aramites affrighted, fled away, and left the fiege; an act 10 of great admiration as the same is written in the second of Kings. After this, when 2 King 1. Azael obtained the kingdome of Syria by the death of his Master, Ioram entring vpon his frontire tooke Ramoth Gilead: in which warre he received divers wounds, and returned to Iefrael to be cured. But whilest hee lay there, Iehn (who commanding the armie of Ioram in Gilead, was anounted king by one of the children of the Prophets

Pag.86.

2.King 13.

2. King. 14.

Prophets fent by Elissa surprized and slew both him and all that belonged vnto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of Ahab.

Jebs who raigned after Iehoram, destroyed not onely the race of his foregoers, but also their Religion; for which hee received a promise from God, That his seede should occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the idolatrie of Ieroboam, for which hee was plagued with grieuous warre, wherein he was beaten by Hazzel the Aramite, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of Iordan: in which warre he was flaine, faith Cedrenus: whereof the Scriptures are filent. Ichu raigned 28. veeres.

Josephaz or Ieboahaz the sonne of Jehn succeeded his father, whome Azael and his to fonne Benhadad often inuaded, and in the end subjected, leaving him onely 50. horse. 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them

like dust beaten into powder. loachaz raigned 17. yeeres.

After Ioachaz Ioas his sonne gouerned I/rael, who when hee repaired to Elisha the Prophet ashe lay in his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories ouer the Aramites: and first commaunded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and Elilha couered the kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward Dama(cus) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should have smitten five or fixe times, and then hee should 20 have had so many victories over the Aramites as hee gave strokes. And so it succeeded with 10.15, who overthrew the Aramites in three battells, and recovered the Cities and Territorie from Benhadad the sonne of Azael, which his father louchaz had lost. He also ouerthrew Amazia king of Iuda, who provoked him to make the war, whereupon hee entred Hierusalem, and sacked it with the Temple. This 1045 raigned fixteene yeeres and died; in whole time also the Prophet Elisha exchanged this life for a better.

Ieroboam the third from Iehu, followed Ioas his father, an Idolater as his predeceffors; but hee recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to Ifrael, from Hamath which is neere Libanus, to the dead Sea, and raigned one and fortie yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of Iehu, flaine by Shallum his vasfall, who raigned in his stead, gouerned six moneths. Shallum held the kingdome but one moneth, being flaughtered by Menahem of the Gadites.

Menahem who tooke reuenge of Shallum, v fed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This Menahem being inuaded by Phul, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fiftie shekels from every man of wealth in Ifrael. Mens-

hem gouerned twentie yeeres.

Pekahiah or Phaceia, or after Zonar as Phacesia, succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, hee was flaine by Phaca or Pekah the Commaunder of his armie, who 40 raigned in his place. In this Pekahstime Phulassar or Tiglat-Phylassar inuaded the kingdome of Ifrael, and wan Iton, Abel-Bethmaaca, Ianoach, Kedesh, Hasor, and Gr lead, with all the Cities of Galilee, carrying them captines into Affyria: he was drawn in by Achas king of Indea against Pekah and Rezin, the last of the Adades. For Achas being wasted by Pekah of Ifrael and by Rezin of Damascus, did a third time borrow the Church riches, and therewith ingaged the Affirian, who first suppressed the Monarchie of Syria and Damasous, and then of Israel: and this inuiting of the great Assirian, was the vtter ruine of both States, of Ifrael and of Indea. Pekah raigned twentie yeeres.

Then tiofhea or Ofea, who slew Pekah, became the vastall of Salmanasfar; but ho- 50 ping to shake off the Assyrian yoke, he sought aide from So, or Sua, or Sebicus king of Egypt: which being knowne to the Affyrian, he cast him into prison, besieged Samaria, and mastred it : carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into Niniuie in Affria, and into Rages in Media, and into other Easterne Regions, and there dispersed them;

and re-planted Samaria with divers Nations, and chiefly with the Cutha (inhabiting about Cutha a River in Persia, or rather in Arabia Deserta) and with the people Catanei bounding vpon Syria, and with those of Sepharuaijm (a people of Sephar in Me-Copotamia vpon Euphrates, of whose conquest Senacherib vaunteth) also with those of Esai.37. Aua: which were of the ancient Auins who inhabited the Land of the Philistims in Abrahams time, dwelling neere vnto Gaza, whom the Caphtorims rooted out; and at this time they were of Arabia the Defart, called Hausi, willing to returne to their ancient feates. To these he added those of Chamath or Iturea, the ancient enemies of the Ifraelites, and fometime the Vassalls of the Adads of Damafeus, which so often afto flifted them. And thus did this Affyrian adulfe himselfe better than the Romanes did. For after Titus and Vefpasian had wasted the Cities of Indez, and Hiernsalem, they carried the people away captine: but left no others in their places, but a very few fimple labourers, belides their owne thin Garrisons, which soone decaied: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the Arabians and Saracens, who never could be driven thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, hapned in the yeare of the world 3292. the fixth yeare of Ezekia King of luda: and the ninth of Holea the

last King of Israel.

# A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

I.	Ieroboam, Raigned	22 Yeares.
2.	Nadab,	2 Ycares.
3.	Baasha,	24. Yeares.
4.	Ela,	20. Yeares.
۶٠	Zambris,	7. Daies.
ó.	Omri,	11. Yeares.
7.	Achab,	22. Yeares.
<b>8.</b>	Ochozias,	2. Yeares.
9.	Ioram,	12. Yeares.
10.	Iehu,	28. Yeares.
II.	Ioachaz,	17. Yeares.
12.	Ioas,	16. Yeares.
13.	Ieroboam,	41. Yeares.
14.	Zacharias,	6. Moneths.
15.	Shallum,	I. Moneth.
16.	Menahem.	10. Yeares.
17.	Pekahia,	2. Yeares.
18.	Phaca,	20. Yeares.
19.	Hosea.	<ol> <li>Yeares, about whose time writers differ.</li> </ol>

Kk 2

CHAP.

### CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of DAN, SIMEON, IVDA, RVBEN, GAD, and the other halfe of MANASSE.

à I.

Of DAN, where of Ioppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Townes.



Ow following the coast of the Mediterran Sea, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of Dan, joyneth to Ephraim, whereof I spake last : of which familie there were numbred at Mount Sinai 62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the 20 Defarts, there entred the Holy Land of their sonnes 66400. bearing armes. The first famous Citie in this Tribe on the Sca coast was Ioppe, or Iapho, as in the 19. of losua: one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because

it was the Port of Hierusalems. From hence Ionas imbarked himselfe when hee fled from the service of God, towards Tharsis in Cilicia. In the time of the Macchabees this Citie received many changes: and while Indas Macchabaus governed the Iewes, the Syrians that were Garrisond in Loppe, having their fleet in the Port, invited 200. principall Citizens aboord them, and cast them all into the Sea: which Iudas revenged by 39 firing their fleet, and putting the companies which fought to escape to the sword.

It was twice taken by the Romanes, and by Cessius the Lieutenant vtterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeare of Christ 1250. Lodonick the French King gaue it new Walls and Towers: It is now the Turkes, and called Iaffa. There are certaine Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported that Andromeda was fastired with chaines: and from thence delivered from the Sea-Monster by Perfeus. This fable (for so I take it) L.3.x.14.de bel. is confirmed by lolephus, Solinus, and Plinie. Marcus Scaurus during his office of Ædileship, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of Rome. S. Hierome vpon Ionas speakes of it indifferently.

The next vnto Joppe was Jamnia, where Indas Macchabaus burnt the rest of the Sy- 40 rian fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seene at Hierusalem 240. furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishops seate, saith Will of Tyre; But there is no signe of it at this time

that fuch a place there was. After Ismniais the Citie of Geth or Gath, sometime Anthedon, faith Volaterran, And so Montanus seemes to understand it. For he sets it next to Agypt, of all the Philifim Cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But Volaterran gives neither reason nor authoritie for his opinion; for Ptolomie fets Anthedon farre to the South of Toppe: And Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the Philistims: and about fixteene miles from Toppe; where St. Hierome in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and 50 Seminarie of the Anakims: firong and Giant-like-men, whom Iosua could not expell, nor the Danites after him : nor any of the Ifraelites, till Danids time: who flew Goliath, as his Captaines did divers others not much inferiour in strength and stature vnto Goliath.

V.46.

Macc. 2.12.

2 Macc. 12.

F.244.

Hieronin Mi-

CHAP. 10. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Roboum the Sonne of Salomon rebuilt Geth: Ozias the sonne of Amazia destroied ir againe. It was alfolaid waste by Azael King of Syria. Fillke the fourth King of Hiera/alem, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this Geth was the same that Will. of Tyre in the holy Warre calls Ibiglin, I much doubt: the L.21.6.18. errour growing by taking Gath for Anthedon.

Not farre from Geth or Gath standeth Bethfemes or the house of the Sunne. In the fields adjoyning to this Citie (as is thought) was the Arke of God brought by a voke oftwo Kine, turned loose by the Philistims: and the Bethsemites presuming to looke therein, there were flaine of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000 by the ordinance 10 of God. After which flaughter and the great lamentation of the people: it was called the great \* Abel, faith St. Hierome. Benedict us Theologus finds three other Cities of this name; one in a Nepthalim: another in Iuda: and another in Isachar. Hierome felle, but the finds a fifth in Beniamin.

Keeping the Sea-coast, the strong Citie of Accaron offereth it selfe, sometime one which stone of the fine Satrapies, or Gouernments of the Philistims. St. Hierome makes it the same the Philistims with Cafaria Palastina. Plinie confounds it with Apollonia: It was one of those that fet the arke, defended it selfe against the Danites and Indeans. It worthipped Beel-zebub the God ingeasie from of Hornets or Flies. To which Idollie was that Ahaziah King of Ifrael fent to enquire Eben or Aben, of his health: whose Messengers Eliah meeting by the way caused them to returne, which associates 20 with a forrowfull answere to their Master. This Citie is remembred in many places Abel which sig

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to Goth, and then Accaron or Ekron. This a See in New 16 Azotus or Asded was also an habitation of the Anakims, whome Iofua b failed to de- c. 7.0.4 t.6. froy, though he once possess their Citie. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple dedi- 2 King. 1. cated to the Idoll Dagon: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe, ged by Plamafter the Arke of God was by the Philistims carried into their Temple; and in the metichus the fafecond fall it was veterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous d Indas Ma- ther of Pharao chabaus flaine by Bacchides and Alcimus, the Lieutenants of Demetrius. Afterward it yeers together was taken by Ionathas: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that whence terem 30 fled into the Temple of Dagon, were with their Idoll therein confumed with fire: of the refidue necre which also he overthrew Apollonius.

Gabinius the Romane rebuilt it. It had a Bishops scate while Christianitie flourished in those parts. But in St. Hieromes time it was yet a faire Village. And this was un the last of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of Dan.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from Azotus, and beyond the Fountaine of Athiopia, wherein Philip the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are Torah, Maccine. or Sarara, and Esthaol, and betweene them Castra Danis neere Hebron: though this 10/19.41. place where Sampson was borne, may seeme by the words Ind. 18.12. to bee in 18.02. the Tribe of Iudah, as the other also were bordering Townes betweene Dan and 10 Iuda.

After these within the bounds of Iuda, but belonging to the Danites, they finde Gedor, or as it is 1. Mac. 15. Cedron, which Cendebaus the Lieutenant of Antiochus fortified against the Iewes, and neere which himselfe was by the Macchabees ouer. 1. Macc. 15.16. throwne.

Then Modin the Native Citic of the Macchabees: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulcher the seuen Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth as they served for a marke to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeeres after their first setting vp, as Brochard and Breidenbach witnesse.

There are besides these the Citic of Cariathiarim, that is, the Citic of the woods: Alias Cariathia 50 seated in the border of Iuda, Beniamin, and Dan, wherein the Arke of God remained bast and Bast, twentic yeares in the house of Aminadab: till such time as Danid carried it thence to 1. Sam. 7.1. & 2 Hierufalem: Of this place (as they fay) was Zacharias the sonne of Barachias, or le- Sam.6.2. hoida, who was flaine betweene the Temple and the Altar: also Vrias whom loachim 2 Chron. 24.22. King of Hierusalem flaughtered as we finde in Ieremie. Many other places which 1er, 26:30:

Kk 3

2. Macc. 12.13. 2.Reg. 14.19.

they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it vpon presumption than warrant, I omit. as that of Caspin taken with great slaughter by Judas Machabaus; and Lachis, whose King was flaine by Iosua, in which also Amazias was flaine: The same which Senacherib tooke, Ezechias raigning in Iuda.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, seein Iosua c. 19. from the Verse 41. where also it is added that the Danites portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they inuaded Leshem, and inhabited it: which Citie after amili. fied by Philip the brother of Herod Antipas, was called Cafarea Philippi, as before. and made the Metropolis of Itures, and Trachonitis: of which coasts this Philip was Tetrarch: but of this Citie see more in Nepthalim. In this Tribe there are no Mountaines 10 of fame.

Hieron in Efay. er Micheam.

fore no maruel that diuers pla

ces named, lof.

15.in the large

portion of Iuda

101.19.0.1.69. where thus

much is ex-

prefly noted.
17 olat. Geog. l. x 1

Broch. Breid.

Ind.16.4.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Norther-most riseth out of the Mountaines of Inda: and passing by Modin, falleth into the Sea by Sachrona. The other hath the name of Sorek or Sored, whose bankes are plentifull of Vines which have no seedes or stones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taste, and sauour. &c. In this Valley of Sorek, so called from the River, inhabited Dalila whom Sambfenloued.

### S. II. THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.



He Tribe of simeon takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of Canaan, to the border of Agypt: who being the second Sonne of Iacob by Lea, there were increased of that familie while they abode in Agypt, as they were numbred at Mount Sinai, 59300. able men, all which ending their lives in the Defarts, there entred the Land of Promise of theiris-

fues 22200. bearing armes, who were \* in part mixed with Iuda, and in part seuered, 30 inhabiting a small Territorie on the Sea-coast, belonging to Edumaa, of which the first Citie adioyning to Dan, was Ascalon.

The Reguli or pettie Kings thereof were called Ascalonite: of which Volaterran out of Xanthus, in the Historie of the Lydians, reports, that Tantalus and Ascalus were the be reckoned in this Tribe: fee fonnes of Hymenau: and that Ascalus being imployed by Aciamus King of the Lydishis Tribe: fee ans, with an Armie in Syria, falling in loue with a yong Woman of that Countrie, built this Citie and called it after his owne name: the same hath Nicolaus in his Historic, faith Volaterran.

Diodorus Siculus in his third Booke remembreth a Lake neere Ascalon, wherein there hath beene a Temple dedicated to Derceto, the Goddesse of the Syrians: having 40 the face of a Woman and the bodie of a Fish: who, as I haue said before, in the storie of Ninus, was the Mother of Semiramis, fained to be cast into this Lake, and fed and relected by Doues. And therefore was the Doue worshipped both in Babylonia and Syria, of which Tibulus the Poet:

Alba Palastino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Doue is for holy held, in Syria Palastine.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the Philistims. It bred many lear- 50 ned men (faith Volaterran) as Antiochus, Sofus, Cronus, Dorotheus the Historian, and Artemidorus who wrote the storie of Bithynia.

In Ascalon, as some say, was that wicked Herod borne, that seeking after our Sauiour, caused all the Male-children of two yeeres old and vnder to be staine. In the Christian

CHAR. 10. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that when it was by the Saladine defaced. Richard King of England, while he made Warre in the holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many buildings. Eigh muros cum SALADINVS diruisset, RICHARDVS An-Adrich in Trib. glazum Rex instaurauit, faith Adrichomius.

In Davids time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the Philistims: for hee nameth Gath and Ascalon onely, when hee lamenteth the death of Saul, and 10- 2. Sam. 1. nathan; not speaking of the other three. Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the Breetes of Afcalon: It is now called Scalone. Gabinius restored it as hee did Azotus and

Next to Ascalon Rood Gaza or Gazera, which the Hebrewes call Hazza, the Syrians Azan: of Azonus (as they fay) the sonne of Hercules. Other prophane writers affirme that it was built by Iupiter. Pomp. Melagines the building thereof to Cambries the Persian: because belike hee rebuilt it, and Gaza in the Persian tongue is as much to favas Treafure. This Gaza was the first of the five Satrapies of the Philistims; and the Politics. South bound of the Land of Cansan towards Egypt. But this Citie was farre more ancient than Camby (es, as it is proued by many Scriptures. It was once taken by Cabb: but the strength of the Anakims put him from it. At such time as Alexander Macedon invaded the Empire of Persia, it received a Garrison for Darius: in despight Steph.de Vil whereof it was by the Macedonians after a long siege demolished, and was called Gaza I. King. 6. & alib 20 of the Defart.

Alexander Janneus King of the Jewes surprised it: and slew 500. Senators in the 10/0p.13.am.19. Temple of Apollo which fled thither for Sanctuarie: but this Gaza was not fet vo in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which Alexander Macedon had ouer-turned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the Machabees, and gave many wounds to the Jewes till it was forst by Simon: of which hee made so great account as

by the name of Gazara. At the very out-let of the River of Befor, standeth Maiomathe Port of Gaza: to which the priviledge of a Citie was given by the great Constantine, and the place called Constance after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But Iulian the Apostata Soone Historip. L.G.c.4. after favouring the Gazeans, made it subject vnto them, and commanded it to be cal-

he purposed to reside therin himselfe, and in his absence left John his Sonne and Suc- Macents.

ceffour to be Gouernour. In Brochard his time it was fill a goodly Citie, and knowne Broch. Ling.

On the other fide of Befor, flandeth Anthedon, defaced by Alexander Iannews, re- 10/ep.13.ant.19. flored by Herod, and called Agrippias, after the name of Agrippa, the fauourite of 21.

Then Raphia, where Philopater ouerthrew the great Antiochus: and beyond it Rhi- 10/ep.13 unt.19. notura, whose Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name \* of the Torrent of \* Indius calls o Agypt, till the Septuagint converted it by Rinocura: to difference it, E/27.12 giving it Vallis Agypti the name of the Citie to the Torrent that watereth it. Plinie cals it Rhinocolura; and the name of losephus, Rhinocorura: 2 Epiphanius reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the seemes to be world was divided by lots, betweene the three Sonnes of Noah.

Within the Land and vpon the River of Befor they place Gerar: which the Scripture placeth betweene Kadeshand Shur, Gene. 20.1. That it was neere to the Wilderin the margent neffe of Beer-shebah, it appeares Gene. 20. 31. and therefore no maruaile that as else a Epiph. tom. 1. where Beer-Shebab, so sometime Gerar, bee made the South bound of Canaan. It in refut Maniell was of olde a distinct Kingdome from the Philistim Satrapies, the Kings by one com- Gone. 10.19. mon name were called Abimelechs; Saint Hierome faith that afterward it was called 30 Regio salutaris; the healthie Countrie: so that it was no maruaile that Abraham and Is a conquest of the Cities about Gerar, see 2.Chron. 14.14.

More within the Land was Siceleg or Tfiglak, which was burnt by the Amalekites, when David in his flying from Saul to the Philistims had left his carriages there, 1.Sam.30.

but David followed them ouer the River of Befor, and put them to the flaughter. and recovered the prev.

10/ep.10.11.12.

10f.11.2.21.

\* And also

1,Cbron.4.32.

Next Dabir sometime Cariath-Sepher, the Citie of Letters, the Vinuerlitie, as they fay, or Academie of old Palastine. In St. Hieromer time it seemes it had the name of Daema: Iosua 15.49. it is called Vrbs Sanna: from the name, as it seemes, of some of the Anakims, as Hebron was called Vrbs Arbahi. For even hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by Othoniel, incouraged by Calebs promife of his Daughter in marriage: but that Iofua and the Hoast of Ifnael were arthe fur. prise, it appeares 10, 10.39. This Citie 10f.21. 15. is named among those which out of Simeon and Iuda were given to the Leuites. And hence it seemes they attribute it 10

to this Tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of Simeon, but of lesse same, as Hain, of which Iof. 19. 7. which also Iof. 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the Leuites, given out of the portion of uda and Simeon (for which Iunius thinkes Hasham is named 1. Chron. 6.59. though \* in the place of Iosua these two are diffinguilhed) also Tholad so named 1. Chron.4. 29. for which Iofuz 19.4. wee have Eltholad. Chatzar-Sufa fo named Iofua 19.5. for which Iofua 15. wee have Chatzar-Gadda, both names agreeing in fignification : for Gadda is Turma, and Sula E-

In the same places of Iosus and of the Chronicles Chorma is named, which they 20 thinke to be the same with that of which Numb. 14. 15. to which the Amalekites and Canaanites pursued the Israelites. But that Chorma cannot bee in Simeon, nor within the Mountaines of Edumea. For Ifrael fled not that way: but backe againe to the

Campe, which lay to the South of Edumea, in the Defart.

Deut. 1. Gen. 31.31.

\* As it seemes

Inda. See in

the first Para-

graphe of this

Cities of Dan.

The same places also name Beersbeba in this Tribe: so called of the Oath betweene Abraham and Abimeles: neere vnto which Hagar wandred with her Sonne Ifmacl. It was also called the Citicof Isac, because hee dwelt long there. While the Christians held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the Arabian Defart, and in the South bound of Canaan. It hath now the name of Gibelin. The other Cities of Simeon which are named in the pla-30 ces of Iosus, and of the Chronicles, about noted, because they helpe vs nothing in storie, I omit them. In the time of Ezekia King of Iuda, certaine of this Tribe being streightned in their owne Territories, passed to \* Geder, as it is 1. Chron. 4.29. (the same place which Iof. 15. 36. is called Gedera and Gederothaima) which at that time was inhabited by the iffue of Cham: where they feated themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroied the Reliques of Amalec in the Mountaines of Edom, and dwelt in their places.

The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of Sampson the chiefest: vnto which he carried the Gate-post of Gaza. The Rivers are Befor, and the Torrent of Agypt called Shiehar, as is noted in Affer.

THE

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### S. III.

### THE TRIBE OF FVDA.



F Iuds the fourth Sonne of Iacob by Lea, there were multiplied in Egypt 74600, all which (Caleb excepted) perished in the Defarts. And of their sonnes there entred the Land of Canaan 76500 bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatnesse the Land or Canaan 76500, bearing armes: giuen, called afterward Indea: within the bounds whereof were the

portions allotted to Dan and Simeon included. And many Cities named in these Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the children of Inda: who had a kind of Soveraigntie over them: as Succoth, Cariathiarim, Lachis, Bethsemes, Thiglag, Beersbeba, and others. The multitude of people within this small Province (if it be meated by that ground given to this Tribe onely) were vncredible, if the witnesse of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when David numbred the people, they were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of Iuda were many. But I will remember the chiefest of them: beginning with Arad, or Horma, which standeth in the entrance of Judea from Idumea: whose King first surprised the Ifraclites as they passed by the border of Canaan to- Num. 21. v.3. whole King lift in price the 1/2 and tooke from them some spoiles, and many prisoners: who being lift. 2.16. afterward ouerthrowne by the Israelites, the sonnes of Keni, the Kinsmen of Moses, obtained a possession in that Territorie: who before the comming of the Israelites,

dwelt betweene Madian and Amalek.

Following this Frontier towards Idumea and the South, Ascensus Scorpionis, or Num. 34.4. Attabbim is placed, the next to Arad: fo called because of Scorpions, which are faid tobe in that place: from which name of Acrabbim, Hierome thinks that the name of 30 the Toparchie called Acrabathena was denominated: of which we have spoken in Manasses. On the South side also of Indea they place the Cities of Ingur, Dimona, Adada, Cedes, Alhna, lethnam, and Alor or Chatfor, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then Ziph: of which there are two places so called one besides this in the body of Iuda, of which the Defart and Forrest adioyning tooke name: where David hid himselfe from Saul. After these are the Cities of Efron, Adar, Karkab and Asemo-

na, or Hat smon, of no great fame.

Turning now from Idumea towards the North, we finde the Cities of Danna, Shemah, Amam, the other Afor, or Chatfor, Behaloth, and the two Sochoes: of all which fee 10f. 15. also Carioth by Iofuac. 15. v.25. called Kerioth: whence Indas the Traitor Indg. 15. 8. 1. 40 was called If-carioth, as it were a man of Carioth. Then Hetham the abode of Sampfon which Reboboam reedified. Beyond these towards the North border, and to- chron.4.32. wards Eleutheropolis, is the Citic of Iethar, or Iatthir, belonging to the Leuites. In Saint notes that this Hieromes time it was called Iethira: and inhabited altogether with Christians: neere it were within vnto this Citie was that remarkeable battaile fought betweene Afa King of Iuda, and the bounds of Zara King of the Arabians, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and to Simeon. was not with standing beaten and put to flight: As following the victoric as sarre as 10f.15.48. Gerar, which at the fame time he recovered.

Not farre from Iether, standeth Iarmuth, whose King was slaine by Iosua, and the Citie ouerturned. Next vnto it is Maresa the native Citie of the Prophet Michea: 50 Betweene it and Odolla, Judas Macchabaus ouerthrew Gorgias: and fent thence ten 2. Macc. 12.35.

thouland Dragmas of filuer to be offered for Sacrifice.

Odolla or Hadullam it selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by Iosua, Gen. 38.v.s. and the King thereof flaine. Ionathus Macchabaus beautified it greatly. Then Iofarais. Ceila or Keila afterward Echela, where Dauid sometime hid himselfe : and which 1,5am.23-10 afterward

10/.10.0.11.

Macc.1.3.

F.ulb. in Chron.

\* Alfo r.Chron.

4.39. as is a-

bred in the

Tribe of Si-

Valle Terevin-

Vatablus keeps

reading in val-

Iofep.13.ant.9.

Macc.1.6.

Genef.53.48.

Ruth.1.

mcon. a lunius for in

Broch Itin.6.

afterward he delivered from the affaults of the Philistims: neere which the Prophet Abacus was buried: whose monument remained and was scene by St. Hierome.

Neere it is Hebron sometime called the Citie of Arbah, for which the Pulgar hath Cariatharbe: the reason of this name they give as if it signified the Citie of source; because the foure Patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, were therein buried. but of Adam it is but supposed : and it is plaine by the places losus 14. 14. and 15. 12. and 20. 11. that Arbah here doth not fignific foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants called Anakim, whose sonne as it seemes Anak was: and Achiman, Shelhai, and Talmai (whom Caleb expelled 10f.15.) were the sonnes of this Anak, Num. 12,23. The name of Anak fignifieth Torquem, a chaine worne for orna- to ment : and it seemes that this Anak inriched by the spoiles which himselfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and fo got this name: and leaving the custome to his posseritie, left also the name: so that in Latine the name of Anakim may not amisse be expounded by Torquati.

The Citic Hebron was one of the ancientest Cities of Canaan, built seven vecres before Toan or Tanis in Agret: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the Anakims. whom Caleb expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adioyning. and the rest to the Leuites. It had a Bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent

Temple built by Helen the Mother of Constantine.

Not farre hence they finde Eleutheropolis or the free Citie, remembred often by 20 St. Hierome. Then Eglon who se King Dabir affociated with the other foure Kings of the Amorites, to wit, of Hierusalem, Hebron, Iarmuth, and Lachis, belieging the Gibesnites, were by Iosua veterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next Citie of same was Emaus, afterward Nicopolis, one of the Cities of Gouernment or Prasidencies of Indea. In fight of this Citic Indas Macchabaus (after he had formerly beaten both spollonius and Seron) gaue a third ouerthrow to Gorgias Lieutenant to Antiochus.

In the yeare 1301. it was ouer-turned by an earth-quake, faith Eufebius. In the Christian times it had a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of Casaria of Palastine.

From Emais toward the West Sea there are the Cities of Nahama, Bethdagon, and Gader or Gedera, or Gederothaima, of which and of Gederoth \* 10f. 15. v. 36. 6 41. 30 Then Azecha, to which Iosua followed the slaughter of the flue Kings before named, a Citic of great ftrength in the Valley of \* Terebinth or Turpintine, as the Vulgarreadeth 1. Sam. 17.2. whence (as it seemes) they seat it neere vnto Soco, and vnto Lebna of the Leuites. It revolted from the subiection of the lewes while Ioram the sonne of Iosaphat ruled in Hierusalem: And next vnto this ftandeth Maceda, which Iosua vtterthi hath invalle ly dispeopled.

On the other side of Emais towards the East standeth Bethsur, otherwise Bethsura, and Bethfor: one of the strongest and most fought for places in all Inda. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called Bethfur (the house on the Rocke, or of strength) It was fortified by Roboam, and afterward by Indas Macchabaus. Lyfias forfit, and Antiochu 40 Eupator by famine: Ionathus regained it: and it was by Simon exceedingly fortified

against the Syrian Kings.

Bethleem is the next vnto it within fixe miles of Hierusalem, otherwise Lehem: fometime Ephrata; which name, they say, it had of Calebs wife, when as it is so called by Moles before Caleb was famous in those parts Gen. 38.16. Of this Citie was A. bestan or Ibzan, Judge of Ifrael, after Iephtah, famous for the thirtie Sonnes and thirtie Daughters, begotten by him. Elimelee was also a Bethlemite, who with his wife Nasmi sojourned in Moab during the famine of Iuda in the time of the Iudges, with whom Ruth the daughter in law of Naomi returned to Bethleem : and maried Booz, of whom Obed, of whom Ishai, of whom David. It had also the honour to be the native Citie 50 of our Saujour Iesu Christ; and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

In Zabulon of Galilee there was also a Citie of the same name : and therefore was

this of our Sauiour called Bethleem Iuda. From Bethleem some foure or five mile standeth Theena, the Citie of Amos the

Hieron, in comm

Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the Citie of Bethzacaria, in the way between 1. Macc. 6.32. Rethfura and Hierusalem: on whose Hills adioyning the glorious gilt shields of \_n- 10/cph tichus shined like lamps of fire in the cies of the Lewes. The Citie of \* Bezek was al- 1. Macc. 6.0.36. foncere vnto Bethleem, which Adoni-bezec commanded; who had during his raigne \*See in Manaff. tortured 70. Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and made c.7.2.7 1.1. them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the same end befell himselfe by Indg. 1.20.6. 27 the sonnes of Iuda, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) wee may paffe by vntill we come to the magnificent Castle of Herodium, which Herodierected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and 10fep-14.ant.22. frong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the Defart of Ierael, between itand Tekon, is that eliuses floridues, where in the time of Ieho saphat, the Iewes flood and 2, Chro. 20. v. 16. lookt on the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, massacring one another, when the 200 as had purposed to ioyne against Iuda: neere which place is the Valley of bleffing, where the lewes the fourthday after, folemnely came and bleffed God for fo ftrange

CHAP.10. S.3.

Now the Cities of Iuda which border the Dead Sea, are these; Aduran beautified 2.chron. 11. by Roboam: and Tohar which the Valgar calleth \* Segor: fo called because Lot in his Eat falls and praier for it vrged that it was but a little one: whence it was called Tfohar, which fi- Vitula conferon guifieth a little one: when as the old name was Belah, as it is Gen. 14.2. In the Romans Mans. See in gniheth a little one: when as the old halfe was beam, as it is one tage of times it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) Pannier: in Hieromes time Bale
only proveption zona. Then Engaddi or Hen-gaddi, first Afasonthamar: neere vnto which are the in Hareber. Gardens of Balfamum, the best that the world had called Opobalfamum: the most part History, in O.C. of all which Trees Cleopatra Queene of Egypt fent for out of Indea, and Herod who Hebr. Chaffateither feared or loued Anthonie her husband, caused them to be rooted vp and pre- fou-thamar. fented vnto her: which shee replanted necre Heliopolis in Agypt. This Citic was 2,Chron. 10,2. first taken by Chedorlaomer, and the Amorites thence expelled. It was one of the most Gen. 14.7. remarkable Cities of Indea: and one of the Presidencies thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them Iefrael; not that 1.Reg. 21. 30 which was the Citie of Naboth, of which alreadie: but another of the same name, the Citic of Achinoan, the wife of David, the mother of that Ammon, whom Abfalom 2. Sam. 17.25. flew: also as somethinke the Citie of Amasa, Absaloms Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armie. But this feemeth to be an errour grounded vpon the necreneffe of the words, Ifrael and Iefrael: and because the 2. Sam. 17.25. Amasaes father is called a lifraelite, who first of the Chron. 2. 17. is called an ofmaelite: indeede the Hebrew Orthographie sheweth that Amasacs Father is not said to be of the Citie Iefrael, but an Israelite in Religion, though otherwise an Ismaelite.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills or Mountaines, as those of Engaddi vpon the Dead Sea : and the Mountaines of Iuda, which begin to rife by Emaus, and 40 end necre Taphna, and these part Iuda from Dan and Simeon. Of others which stand fingle there is that of Hebron: at the foote whereof was that Oake of Mambre, where the three Angells appeared to Abraham, which St. Hierome calleth a Fir-tree; and Hieron, in loc. faith, that it food till the time of Constantine the yonger. There is also that Moun-Hebr. taine called Collis Achille, on the South fide of Ziph: on the top whereof the great losep. 14. Ant. Herod, inclosing the old Castle, crested by Ionathas Macchabeus, and called Massada, c.20. garnished it with seuen and twentie high and strong Towers: and therein left Armourand furniture for an hundreth thousand men; being as it seemeth a place vnaccessable, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the Lake Afhaltitis, this Countrie 50 had foure Cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and Gomorra, destroyed with fire from Heanen for their vnnaturall finnes.

(uper Math.c.z. Math.2.1.

3. IIII.

S. IIII.

### THE TRIBE OF REVBEN. and his Borderers.

The seates and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wanne from SEHON King of Hesbon.

N the other fide of the Dead Sea, Reuben the eldest of Iacobs sonnes inhabited : of whose children there were numbred at Mount Sinai 46000. who dying with the rest in the Defarts, there remained to posfesse the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before wee speake of these or the rest that inhabited the East side of Iordan, something of their borderers: to wit, Midian, Mosb, and Ammon, whose land in our wri. 20 ters are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first wecare to remember that out of Abrahams kindred came many mightic Families: as by I/aac and Iacob the Nation called Ifrael, and afterward Iewes: by Efau or Edom the Idumeans: by Imagel the eldeft fonne of Abraham, the Imagelites: and by Keturah his last wife the Midianites. And againe by Lot, Abrahams brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the Moabites, and Ammonites: all which being but strangers in the Land of Canaan (formerly possess by the Canaanites, and by the Families of them descended) these iffues and alliances of Abraham, all but Iacob, whose children were bred in Agpt, inhabited the frontier places adjoyning.

Elau and his sonnes held Idumea, which bounded Canaan on the South. Ismael 20 tooke from the South-east part of the Dead Sea; stretching his possession over all Arabia Petras, and a part of Arabia the Defart, as farre as the River of Tigris, from Sur to Hauilah.

Moab tooke the rest of the coast of the Dead Sea, leaving a part to Midian, and pasfing over Arnon, inhabited the plaines betweene Iordan and the Hills of Abarim or Arnon, as far North as Effebon, or Chesbon.

Ammon sate downe on the North-east side of Arnon, and posses the Tract from Rabba afterward Philadelphia, both within the Mountaines of Gilhead, and without them as far-forth as Arroer, though in Moses time he had nothing left him in all that Num. 1. 2.4. Valley: for the Amorites had thrust him over the River of Iaboc, as they had done 40 Moab ouer Arnon. As these Nations compassed fundric parts of Canaan, so the border betweene the River of Iaboc and Dama Cus was held by the Amorites themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territoric on the East side of Iordan, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by Moses to the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and halfe Manaffe; whereof that part which Moab had, was first possest by the Emims a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by Chedorlahomer, after expulsed by the Moabites, as before remembred. That which the Ammonites held, was the Territorie and ancient possession of the Zamzummims or Zurai, who were also beaten at the same time by Chedorlahomer, Amraphel, and the rest: and by them an case way of conquest was prepared for the Ammonites.

Now where it is written that Arnon was the border of Mondo, the same is to bee vnderstood according to the time when Moses wrote. For then had Sehon or his Ancester beaten the Mosbites out of the plaine Countries, betweene Abarim and lordan, and driven them thence from Hesbon over Arnon, and this happened not long

CHAP.10. S.4. † . 2. of the Historie of the World.

before Moses arrivall upon that border, when Vaheb gouerned the Moabites. For he that ruled Moab when Mofes past Arnon, was not the sonne of Vaheb, but his name was Balac the sonne of Zippor. And it may be that those Kings were elective, as the Edumaans anciently were.

Now all that part of Moab betweene Arnon and Iordan, as farre North as Effebon was inhabited by Reuben. And when Ifrael arrived there out of Agypt, it was in the possession of Sehon, of the race of Canaan by Amoreus : and therefore did Jephtah the Judge of Ifrael inftly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claime of the Ammonites: because (as hee alleaged) Moses found them in the 10 possession of the Amerites, and not in the handes of Mosb or Ammon: who (faith Indg. 11. lephtab) had three hundred yeeres time to recouer them, and did not: whence he inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

And left any should maruaile why the Ammonites in Iephtah his time should make claime to these Countries: whereas Moles in the place Numb. 21. verse 26. rather accounts them to have beene the ancient possession of the Moabites then of the Ammonites: it is to bee noted that Deut. 3.11. when it is faid that the yron bed of Of was to be seene at Rabbath, the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites, it is also signified, that much of the Land of Og, which the Israelites possessed, was by him or his Anceftors got from the Ammonites, as much of Sehons was from the Moabites.

20 And as the Canaanite Nations were feated so confusedly together that it was hard to distinguish them: so also were the sonnes of Mosb and Ammon, Midian, Amalek, 10,613. werf 25. and Ismael. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why Ammon commanded in that the one chiefe, in Iephtahs time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all halfe of the thoseborderers acquired the Soueraigntie: and againe that one part of the Land I and of Hammon which in which Gad held, namely within the Mountaines of Galaad, or Gilhead, and as farre this place of South as Arreer belonged to the Ammonites. And therefore taking advantage losualisfaid to af the time they then lought to recover is againe. Vet at such times Medicaller, have been giof the time, they then fought to recouer it againe. Yet at such time as Moses overthrew Sehon at Iahaz, the Ammonites had loft to the Amorites, all that part of their dites, was taken possession at labaz, the Ammonies had lost to the Amorives, all that part of their first from the possession which lay about Arroer, and betweene it and laboe: Schon and Og two Ammonitisty 30 Kings of the Amorites having displanted both Moab and Ammon of all within Schon; but the the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of Numb. v. 24. that If- place Deug. 11 rul conquered the Land of Schon from Arnon vnto laboe, euen unto the children of aswell 0g, as Ammon, so as at this time the River of Iabos was the South bound of Ammon, with- Schon, had gorinthe Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions over labor which of the hands of atlength the Gadites possest, as in the thirteenth chapter of losus vers. 25. it ap- the Ammonites. pearcs.

†. II.

Of the memorable places of the Rubenites.

He chiefe Cities belonging to Reuben were thefe, Kedemoth, for which the Vilgar, without any shew of warrant, readeth lethson. The Vulgar or Hierome fold 106.21,57. lowed the Septuagint those two verses 36. and 37. and 21. Iof. being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the Septuagint read Kedson for Kedmoth, which Kedson by writing flipt into Iethfon.

This Citic which they gaue to the Leuites, imparts her name to the Defart ad- Deut. 2.06. ioyning: from whence Moles lent his Embassage to Sehon. In the same place of It was a marlosus where this Kedemoth is mentioned, the Vulgar for Betser & villa eius, reades ginall note out Bosor in California Ca 50 Bosor in solitudine Misor, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence Adri- wherethe 70. chemius makes a Towne called Misor, in the border betweene Reuben and Gad. kepttheword Farther from Kedemoth necre the Dead Sea ( for the Countrie betweene being inga plaine Mountainous hath fewe Cities ) they place two Townes of note, Lasa or whichafter Lesbah of which Genesis 10. vers. 19. the Greekes call it Callirhoe: necre Texts

Iofua.13.

Gen.14.

Iofep. 17, ant. c.9 & ilieron.in queft.ticb.in Gen.

Acofta.1.3.

10. cz alibi. lofep.bell.lud.l. 7.6.25.

Drut.4.42.

Num.27.1.

Iof. 3. 1.

Deut.34.1.

whence wee reade of the plaines of Me- Spake. deba, lof. 13. 2.9. 16. of which alfo we reade in the warres of Macc.9.36. Scebefore,c.s.

10h. 1. 28. Iud.7.24. 10fep.ant.4.7.

which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold. bitter and sweete water, all which soone after their rising, being joyned in one freame, doe make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contractions of sinews: to which Herod the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others lay that thele Springs arise out of the hills of Macharus in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the Pyrenyes : and in Peru, called the Baths of the Inoise or Kings. The other towne is Macharus the next between Lafa and Iordan: of all that 44.6: 14.401.c. part of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing vpon a mountaine euery way vnaccellible. It was first fortified by Alexander Jannaus, who made ita frontier against the Arabians: but it was demolished by Gabinius, in the warre with to Arifobulus, faith Iofephus. It was thither (faith Iofephus) that Herod fent Iohn Bas. tist, and wherein hee was flaine: his armic foone after being vtterly ouerthrowne by Aretas king of Arabia, and himselfe after this murther neuer prospering. Not farre from Macharus was Bofor or Bozra, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the Le-Int. 108. uites, and necre it Linias vpon Iordan, which Herod built in honour of Linia the mo-Hier in loc bebr. ther of Tiberius C.efar.

To the North of Linias is Setim, or Sittim: where the children of Ifrael embraced the daughters of Midian, or Moab: and where Phineas pierced the bodie of Zimri and Cosbi with his speare bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in the middeft of their finne; and from hence Iojua fent the Discouerers to view lerico, 20 flaying heere until hee went ouer Ior dan. As for the Torrent Setim, which in this place Adrichomius dreames of, reading loel 3.18. irrigabit torrentem Setim: The vulgar hath torrentem spinarum : and luntus vallem Cedrorum: expounding it not for any particular place in Canaan: but for the Church, in which the iust being placed, grow as the Cedars, as it is P/al. 92.13.

The plaine Country hereabout, by Moses called The Plaines of Moab, where he expounded the Booke of Deuteronomie to the people, alittle before his death, is in the beginning of the same booke precisely bounded by Moses. On the Southit had the great Defart of Paran : where they had long wandred. On the East it had Challeroth, and Dizahab (of which two the former is that Gazorus, of which Ptolomicin 20 Palastina, the later was a Tract belonging to the Nabathai in Arabia Petras, where \* The same as was \* Mczabab, of which Gen. 36. 39.) by the Geographers called Medaua and Meirfeems which daba. On the Westit had Iordan: and on the North it had Laban (in Iunius Edirum.21.30.15 called Medeba, tion, by the fault of the Print, Lamban Deuteron. 1. 1.) the same which the Gengraphers call Libias : and some confound it with Linius, of which even now wee

Also on the same North side towards the confines of Calesyrea, it had Thophel: whereabout sometime Pella of Calefyria flood : which was in the region of Decapolit, and as Stephanus faith, was sometime called Butis. It is also noted in Mosesto be over against or necre vnto Suph, for which the Vulgar hath thered Sca, as also Num. 2. 14.40 Hanum the Am it translateth the word Suphah in like manner: whereas in this place of Deuteronomic inonice. Choose 19. 7. Alfo 1. there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to fignific the Sea : and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, vseth the addition of Mara, thereby to diffinguishit from the region of Suph or Suphah: which doubtlesse was about these Plains of Moab towards the dead Sea: where the Country being full of reedes, was therefore thus called: as also the red Sea was called Mare Suph, for like reason.

The place in these large plaines of Moab, where Moses made those divine exhortations, some say was Bethabara where John baptized, which in the Storie of Gedeon is called Beth-bara. Iofephu faics it was where after the Citic Abila flood, necre lordan, in a place fet with Palmetrees: which fure was the same as Abel-sittim in the 50 Plaines of Mosb, Numb. 23. 49. (that force call Abel fathaim and Bel fathim) which is reckoned by Moses in that place of Numbers for the 42. and last place of the Israelites incamping in the time of Moses: This place is also called Sittim; which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars, than from Thornes, with Adrickomius

CHAP.10. S.4. †. 2. of the Historie of the World.

was made. Toward the East of these plaines of Moab, they place the Cities, Nebo, Baal-Meon, Sibma and Hesbon the chiefe Citic of Sehon, and Elbahel, and Kiriaihaima the scate of Gen. 14.v.s. the Giants Emin. Of the two first of these Moses seemes to give a note that the Num. 32. names were to be changed : because they tasted of the Moabites \* Idolatrie. For \*Exoda 23.13. Nebo (in flead of which Innies Ef. 46.1. reades Deus vaticinus) was the name of their alienorum nere-Idoll-Oracle, and Baal-meon is the habitation of Baal. Of the fame Idoll was the Hill cordamini, ne Nebs in these parts denominated : from whose top; which the common Translators audiatur in ore two. Pf. 16.4.4.00 in call Phase ah, Moles before his death saw all the Land of Canaan beyond Iordan. In assumptions saw which florie Iunius doth not take Phasgah or Pisgah, for any proper name: but for nomina corum in labis mei Hola anappellative, fignifying a Hill: and lo also Vatablus in some places; as Num.21.20. 17, amouebonowhere he noteth that some call Pigab that top which looketh to Jericho, and Hair as mina Babalimoitlooketh to Mosb, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of What name a Citie of Reuben mentioned Iof. 13. 20. called Albdoth-Pilea, which is as much as they yield for decurfus Pifga: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from Pifga. In the same notappearbut place of to just there is also named Beth-peor, as belonging to Reuben: so called from Bad-mon it the Hill Peor: from whence also Baal the Idoll was called Baal Peor, which they say seems they nawas the same as Priapus: the chiefe place of whose worship seemes to have beene Bajth, as Es. 15. 20 Bamoth-Babal, of which also Iof. 13. in the Cities of Reuben: for which Num. 22. 41. 2. & fornetime they reade the high places of Baal (for so the word signifieth) to which place Balaak Beth-meon. first brought Balaam to curse the Ifraelites.

Adrichomius and others. It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tabernacle

#### t. III.

Of divers places bordering Reuben belonging to Midian. Monb or Edom.

10 T'Here were besides these divers places of note over Arnon, which adjoyned to Reuben: among it which they place Gallim, the Citie of Phalti: to whom Saul 1. Sam. 25. v. vlt. gane his Daughter Michol from David: but Innius thinkes this Towne to be in Beniamin: gathering so much out of Esay 10. vers. 29. where it is named among the Cities of Beniamin. With better reason perhaps out of Numb. 21. v. 19. wee may faythat Mathana and Nahaliel were in these confines of Reuben: through which places the Israelites past after they had left the Well called Beer: Then Deblathaim which the Prophet Hieremie threatneth with the rest of the Cities of Hierem.48-Meab.

Median also is found in these parts, the chiefe Citic of the Medianites in Moab: but not that Midian or Madian by the Red Sea; wherein Jethro inhabited. For of the Madianites there were two Nations, of which these of Mesh became Idolaters. and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand Israelites, fent by Moles out of the plaines of Moab: at such time as Israel beganne to accompanie their Daughters: their fine Kings with Balaam the South-sayer were then slaine : and their Regall Citie with the rest destroyed. The other Madianites ouer whom Jethro was Prince, or Priest, forgate not the God of Abraham their Ancestor; but relieved and affisted the Israelises in their painefull travailes, through the Defarts: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of Moab adiouning to Edom, and fometime reckoned as the chiefe Citie of Edom, there is Ed. 16.1. othat Petra which in the Scriptures is called Selab, which is as much as rupes or petra. 1. Reg. 14.7. It was also called lottheel, as appeares by the place 2. Reg. 14. It was built (faith Lib.4.Ant.7. losephus) by Recem, one of those five Kings of the Madianites staine as before is sayde: after whom it was called Recem: Now they say it is called Crae and

Ll 2

CHAP.10. S.4. 1.5.

of the Historie of the World.

The Soldans of Egypt, for the exceeding firength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of Agypt and Arabia: of which it is the first and strongest Citie: the same perhaps which Plinie and Strabo call Nabathea, whence also the Province adjoyning tooke name : which name feemes to have been taken at first from 2 abaioth the some of Abraham by Kethura. For Wabathea is no where understood for all Arabia Petras. ( at least where it is not misunderstood) but it is that Province which neighboureth Iudea. For Pharan inhabited by Ismael, whose people Ptolomie calleth Pharanites. in stead of Ilmaelites, and all those Territories of the Custes, Madianites, Amalekites, ilmae. lites, Edomites, or Idumaans, the Lands of Moab, Ammon, Hus, Sin, and of Og King of Ra-San, were parts of Arabia Petraa: though it be also true, that some part of Arabiathe 10 Extrong.v.19. Defart belonged to the Amslekites, and Ifmaelites : all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of Chronicles the fifth calleth Hagarims of Hagar.

This Citie Petra, Scaurus belieged with the Roman Armie; and finding the place in

facr.3. Num.21.

Deut. 2.13.

2(um.32.3.

Efa.1 5.21.

shew impregnable, he was content by the persuasion of Antipater, to take a composition of monic, and to quit it. Yet Amasias king of Inda (after he had slaughtered 10000. of the Arabians in the valley called Salinarum) wanne also this Citie. S. Hierome finds Ruth the Moabite to be naturall of this Citic. In the time when the Christians held the Gulty, 20. bell. Kingdome of Hierusalem, it had a Latine Bishop, having before beene under the Greeke Church. It is seated not far from Hor where Aaron died, and on the other side towards the North is the river of Zared or Zered, by which Moses incamped in the 38. Station, 20 Adrichome describeth the waters of Memrim, or rather Nemrim, in his Map of Reuben. not far hence, and betweene Zared and Arnon : and so he doth the Valley of Sane: but the waters of Nimra or Beth-Nimra (for which it seemes Adrichomius writ Nemrim) refresh the plaines of Meab: and the confluence of those waters of Nimra are in the Tribe of Gad. Sane also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of Arnon. and under Midian. For after Abraham returned from the pursuite of the Assyrian and Persian Princes, the King of Sodom met him in the Valley of Saue, or Shaneh, which is the Kings Dale, where Ab/alom fet vp his Monument, as it feems, not farre from Hierufalem. And at the same time Melohizedee King of Salem also incountred him. But Abraham comming from the North, and Melchizedee inhabiting, either neere Bethfan 30 otherwise Scythopolis in the halfe Tribe of Manasse, or in Hierasalem (both places lying

\* So lunius

both cuery-

reades for the

where, and fo alforheedition

of Vatablus.

Deuter.3. 17.

Hebrew Hara-

#### t. IIII. Of the Dead Sea.

to the West of Iordan) could not incounter each other in Arabia : and therefore Sauce

which was also called the Kings Dale, could not be in these parts.

Now because the Sea of Sodom or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of Aphalonic and the felt Sea (in 1991) titis, and the falt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of Tiberias which was fresh 40 water) also the Sea of the Wildernesse, or rather the Sea \* of the plaines, is oftenremembred in the Scriptures, and in this storie also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the Caspian Sea, which hath no out-let or disburthening. The length of this Lake Iosephus makes 180. furlongs ( which make two and twentie miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth though Deuter. which make eighteene of our miles and somewhat more. Plinie makes it a great mare folitudinis deale leffe. But those that have of late yeeres seene this Sea, did account it (faith as also 2. Reg. 14 2 Weiffenburg ) eight Dutch miles ( which is two and thirtie of ours ) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea Taseemes to be, citus maketh this report: Lacus est immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gra- 50 uitate odoris accolis pestifer : neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres plaines of Mo- patitur, incertum unde superiecta ut solide feruntur periti imperitig, nandi perinde at-

called Harbeth Moab Deut. 34. 1. as also wee have Cefuloth in Harbath, that is in the plaines, to wit, of Zabulon, t. Mattat. 9. 2. whence Adrichomius imagines a City in Zabulon called Araba. a Defer, terr. Santia.

tolluntur. erc. That it is very great, and ( as it were ) a Sea of a corrupt taste; of (mell infe-Hious, and pestilent to the borderers. It is neither moved nor raised by the winde: nor indureth fish to live init, or fowleto swimme init. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilfull of swimming, as well as the skilfull, are borne up by this water. At one time of the veere itrasteth vp Bitumen: the Art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things ) hath also taught. It is vied in the trimming of thips, and the like businesses.

And then of the Land, hee speaketh in this fort: The fields not farre from this , , Lake, which were sometime fruitfull and adorned with great Cities were burnt ; 10 with lightning: of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a fad face as , , having loft her fruitfulnesse: for whatsoever doth either grow or is set thereon, be it 12 fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeneffe, have nothing within them, but ?? moulder into ashes: Thus farre Tacitus. And it is found by experience, that those ;; Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe still grow on the bankes of this curfed Lake, do looke faire and are of good colour on the out-fide, but being cut have nothing but dust within. Of the Bitumen which this Lake casteth vp, it was by the Greekes called Asphalities. Vespassion desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certaine Captines to be cast into it, who were not onely viskilfull in (wimming, but had their handes also bound behind them, and notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could 20 not linke.

#### Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Countrie within Arnon REVBEN possest.

F the Kings of Moab, whose Countrie (within Arnon) Reuben posses (though Unot taken from Moab but from Schon the Amorite) toware knowne. Junius in the 21. of Numbers verse 14. nameth Vabeb, which seemeth to beethe Ancellor of Predecessor of Balas, the sonne of Zippor: which Balas sent for Balasm to curse Israel. For fearing to contend with Moles by armes by the examples of Schon and Og, hee hoped by the helpe of Balaams curfings or inchauntments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though Ba- Num. 21, 22,23. learn at the first moved by the Spirit of God, blest Is ael contrarie to the hope and defire of Mosb; yet being defirous in some fort to fatisfie him, and to doe him service. headuifed Moab to fend Madianitely Women among the I/raelites; hoping by them. as by fit instruments of mischiefe, to draw them to the Idolatrie of the Heathen; but in the end be received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counfaile, and was flaine among the rest of the Princes of Midian.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named: saving that wee finde in the first of Chron, the fourth, that Iokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Ioash, and Sareph, all being of the iffue of Inda, formetime had the Dominion in Mond: but as it is written in the same Verse, These also are ancient things: to wit, as some expound it, you the particulars of these mens Governments are no where extant or remaining or as others, has prius fuere, these Families of Iuda were once thus famous : but now their posteritic chuse rather to abide in Babylon, and bee Clay-workers to the King

Then we finde Eglon King of Moab, who with the helpe of Ammon, and Amalec, 14de, 3. mastered Israel and commanded them eighteene yeeres: which Eglon, Ehud slew in his owne house, and afterward 10000. of his Nation. What name the King of Moab had vnto whom David fled fearing Saul, it doth not appeare: or whether it 1.50m.22. were the same against whom Saul made Warre, it is not manifest, for neither are na-Ll 3

tolluntur,

I Sam. IA. 2,Sam.8.

s.chron.x8.

P[al.60.v.10.

med. But in respect that this Moabite was an enemie to Saul, he received David. and relieued him: knowing that Saul fought his life.

After this, David himselfe entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the same Kings time : for he flaughtered two patts of the people; and made the third part tributaric: whereupon it was said of DAVID, Moab is my wash-pot, ouer Edom will cast my shoe : meaning that hee would reduce them to such an abiection; and appoint them for base services : And that he would tread downe the Idumaans.

2. Reg.3.

e.Chron.20.

Mierem.27.

The next King after Davids time, of the Moabites, whose name liveth, was Melha: who falling from Iuda, (perhaps in remembrance of the seueritie of David) fastened himselse to the Kings of Israel, and paied tribute to Abab 100000. Lambes, and 10 200000. Rammes, with the wooll: who renolting againe from I/rael after the death of Ahab, was inuaded by Iehoram: with whom joyned the Kings of Inda and Idumea: and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he fled to Kir-hareseth, asis elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kines name: when that Nation, affitted by the Ammonites and Idumaans, inuaded Ichofhaphat: and by reason of some private quarrells among themselves, the Moabites and Ammonites fet vpon the Idameans, and flaughtered them : and then one against another; fo as Iehoshaphat had a notorious victoric ouer them all, without either bloud or wound. Also in the time of Hieremie the Prophet, there was a King of Moab which is not named, which was after Melha of Moab many descents : for Melha lived 22 with leboram, and this Moabite in Zedekias time, fourteene Kings of Inda comming betweene, who wasted three hundred and odde yeeres.

Q. V.
Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places

Ge#.30. Num.1.32.26. Iof.13.

He Territoric adioyning to Reuben, is that of Gad: whereof all that part which in it is a farreto the South as Aroer. Of the children of of the Ammonites, as farreto the South as Aroer. Of the children of or the children of th Gad the sevench sonne of Iacob by Zelpha, the hand-maid of Lea, there parted out of Agypt, and died in the Defarts 45550. and of their

fonnes there entred the Land promised 45000. bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of Manaffe the River of labor divided them: from Reuben the Cities of Hesbon,

Ef4.17. Dest.z. Elbele, and Aphcc. The chiefe Citic of Gad was Areer: which they make to be the same with Ar,or Rabbath Moab, the great or commanding Moab. But the learned Innius, attending diligently to those wordes of Moses, Deut. 2.36. Ab Harabero, que est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Civitate ipla que cst in flumine; Where the Citie in the River is diflinguished 40 from the Citie vpon the banke of the River, (as also in like manner Iof. c. 12. v. 2. and c. 13. v. 9.) thinketh that Haroher which doubtlesse belonged to the Gadites (as Num. 32.34. it is said that they built it) was indeede seated neere Har of the Moabites, but diuerse from it. For that Har was neuer possest by Moses, it is plaine Deut. 2.9. where God forbidding Moses to touch it, saith he hath given Har for an inheritance to the fonnes of Let. Now that this Citie, which in divers places is faid to bee within and in the middle of the River of Arnon (and so distinguished from Haroher, which is said in the same places to be on the banke of Arnon) is Har of the Mosbites, the same Innius proueth out of Num. 21. 15. where Arnon is saide to bee divided into divers streames, where or among which Har is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of Iof. 13.25. where Haroher is said to be scatted before Rabbah: which Rabbah, 50 as it seemes, cannot be the Rabbah of the Ammonites (for they scate not Haroher neere it, nor in fight of it) and therefore by Rabbah heere we must understand Rabbah of Most, which they make to be Ar or Har: and so wee must needes distinguishit from

Hareher. And as for \*Har (which also gaue the name to the coast adiopning) it seemes \* Deut.2.9. it continued in the possession of the Mosbites after they had once expelled the Gi-place the ant-like people called Emims, first weakened by Chedoriaomer and his Affociates: but words, Num. Haroher by the interchange of times suffered many ancient changes, as being wonne 21.28 are to from the Moabites by Sehon, and from him by the ifraelites, and from them, as it northat the ciseemes in the Story of Iephtha, by the Ammouttes: and from the commonites againe vicof Hor, but by the Israelites under the conduct of Iephtha. In S. Hieromes time the greatest part ioning was of this Citic perished by an earth-quake, as also Zoar, in which Lot laued himselfe, in wasted by the destruction of Sodom, seated not farrehence: which they fay was therefore calto led Vitula consternans, because as a wanton turnelling Heiser, thee was thrice ouer- Indix 135. throwne with earth-quake: for which cause also Hierome seemes to thinke that this Hier in estraph. Zour was called Saliffa, or Bal-faliffa, as if Bal had been a remainder of the old name Bal Paule in quel. lab, or Belah, (of which Gen. 14.2.) and Sel. h: which bath a fignification of the ter- Iunius his annerie number, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

of the Historie of the World.

Brothard takes Haroher to bee Petra, but erroniously, as before it is noted; seeing wherhe makes that Petra was in the South border of Month, adiopning to Edom, whereas Haroher is Shalifha a plain in the North-cast border. Betweene Haroher and Iordan they seate Dibon, which is Rentamin, and attributed to the Gadites, because they are said to have built it, Num. 32. 34, though the same with lofus 13.0.17. it is faid that Mofes gaue it to the Reubenites. Of this Citie among the Ballas flux, 2. reft of Most, both Efay and Hieremie prophecied, that it should perish: and the Lakes he expounds to about it runne with the bloud of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neere Arnen Balor Bahalto

CHAP.10. S.5.

Keeping the bankes of Arnon, one of the next Cities of fame to Arner, was Beth- Efa.15.Hier.48 nimrab, of which E/ay prophecieth, That the waters thereof should be dried up: and all Esa. 15.21. the vale of Moab withered. Not farre from Bethnimrah in this Tribe Adrichomius placeth logbeha, and Nobach or Nobe: of both which we reade in the storic of Gedeon: Ind. 8.11. and that logbeha was in Gad, built by the Gadites, it appeares Num. 32.35. and therefore Nobach also must needes be in these parts; but whether in Gad or Manasse it is not certaine: onely that it was anciently called Kenath, Mofes witneffeth. Nobach 20 also (faith hee) went and tooke Kenath with her Townes, and called it Robach of his owne Numaras. name, where because the verses precedent speake of the Manasites, and because it is notlikely that Moles would have severed this seate of the Gadites from the rest, of which he spake before, v.34.35.36. therefore it may seeme that this \* Nobach was \* Num.21.30. in that part of Maneffe, which was in the East of lordan: though strichomius place the and standard it in Gad. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with Nob, which Saul destroy- ced in the bored, of this wee shall speake a in the tribe of Beniamin. And as for that Karkor where der of the king Zebach and Salmunah rested themselves in their slight from Gedeon, to which place towards Basan, Gedeon marched through this Wobach and Jogbeha, though some place it in Gad, and and therefore make it the same with Kir-chares, of which E/ay 15. and 2. Reg. 3.25. yet there can gether unprop beeno certaintie that it was in Gad: and if it bee the same with Kir-chares, it is cer-bable that it taine that it was a principall Citic held still by the Moshites, and not in the Tribe was in Gad. of Gad.

In the body of this Tribe of Gad they place Hataroth: of which name the Scripture witnesseth that two Cities were builded by the Gadites; the former simply cal- Num. 32.34.35. led Hataroth, the later Hatroth-Shophan : for which later the Pulgar makes two Cities, Roth and Shophan: the name Hataroth, is as much as Corona.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of Schon, together with Bethnimrah, of which wee haue spoken, losus c.13.2.27. nameth Beth-haram and Succoth: the former, 27, um. 32. b lost antill. 36. (where it is called Beth-Haram) together with Bethninura, is fayd to have beene caps.

50 built by the Gadites, which (perhaps the rather, because in Iostia it is called Beth-His- Vin Gracin. ram) some take to be Betaramptha, (of which b losephus) after by Herod called Iulias. codex legit But whether this Betaramptha were corrupted from Beth-Haram, or from Beth-Ara- Ac masa. matha, (of which Aramatha there is mention in c Iosephus) or from Beth-Remphan L (of which Remphan, an Idollofthose Countries, wee reade, Ast. 7.43. and to which Hammonianum

Junius referres the name of the Citie Rephan, 1. Maccab. 37.) of this question it were hard to resolue. But touching Inlius (according to Insephus sometimes Bataramptha) the same losephus placeth in the Region of Peren, beyond lordan, which Regio Pe. rea, as the Greeke word fignificth, is no more then Regio viterior, the Countrie beyond the River; and therefore they which labour to fet downe the bounds of this Peres take more paines than needes. Fourteene Villages this Iulias had belonging vatoit. according to lofethus. He makes it to have been built by Herod Antipas, and named Iulias, in honour of the adoption of Liuia, Augustus his Wife, into the Iulian familofep. Ant. 18.3. lie: by which adoption the was called Iulia. Another Iulias, hee faith, was built by & Bell.Ind. 2.8. Philip the brother of Herod, in the lower Ganlanetis, which, hee faith, is the fame as to Bethlaida.

Iofenh.de Bell. Iud.1.7.c.8.

Ans.20.11.

Vpon the Sea of Galilee neere to Iulias in Peran, (that is, in the Region ouer Iordan) they finde Vetezobra, as it is called in lofephis, for Beth-ezob, which is as much as domus histore. Of a noble woman of this Citie, which for fafegard in the time of Warre with the Romanes, came with many others into Hierufalem, and was there belieged, in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger sheeate her owne child, with other Tragicall accidents hereupon ensuing.

Ind.8.5.

Of Succosts ( which we faid lof 13. is placed with Beth-haran, in the Valley of the Kingdome of Sehon ) it is plaine by the flory of Gedeon that it is necre vnto Iordan: where it is faid, that as hee was palt Iordan with his three hundreth, wearie in the 20 pursuit of Zebah and Salmunah, hee requested reliefe of the men of Succoth: who denying him, and that with contempt in Gedeons returns were by him tortured, as it feemes under a threshing Carre of Tribulum, betweene which and their flesh he put Thornes to teare their fiesh as they were prest and trod vnder the Tribulum, and after which fortalfo David vied some of the ammonites, though not with Thornes. but with yron teeth of the Tribulum. As for thename of Succoth, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in halte, either for Men or Cattel, Moles, Gen. 22.17. witneffeth that the original of the name was from such harbours, which Iacob in his returne from Melopotamia built in that place: as also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of I/rael, as they came from Ramefes in £gypt, had their first Sta-20 tion, was voon like reason called Succoth: because there they set vp their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they vsed after for sortie yeeres in the Wildernesse. Inremembrance whereof, the Feast of Succoth, or Tabernacles was instituted.

Leuit. 23.43.

Exod, 12.37.

2.Sam.12.21 .

Other foure Cities of Gad are named, Iof. 21.38. Ramoth in Gilehad, Machanaim, Chesbon, and labzer, all of them by the Gadites given to the Leuites, of which labzer, as Cheshon or Heshon was a chiefe Citie of Sehon, whence Num. 22.1. his Countrieis called the Land of Iabzer. It was taken by Moles, having first fent spies to viewit. In the first of the Chronicles it is made part of Gilehad. In later times (as it may be gathered by the prophecie of E/ay, touching Moab) it was possessed by the Moabites: to which place of E/ay also Hieremie in a like prophecie alludes. It was at length re-40 gained (but as it seemes from the Ammonites) by Indas Macchabeus: as it is, I. Mac.5. 8. where Junius out of lofephus reades Jahzer, though the Greeke hath Gazer. For Gazer or Gezer ( as hee gathereth out of Islua 16.2. & 8. and Ind. 1.29.) was farre from these Countries of Schon, seated in the West border of Ephraim, not possessed by the Ifraclites, untill Salomons time, for whom the King of Egypt wan it from the Canaa-

Hierem.48.92.

Num.22.22.

1.Cbron.27.31

nite, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter. Of Chesbon it may bee maruelled that in the place of losus, and 1. Chron. 6.81. it should be said to have been given to the Leuites by the Gadites, seeing Josua 12.V.17. it is reckoned for a principal I Citic of the Reubenites: Adrichomius and fuch as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding Easbon, I. Mace. 5.26. among the Cities of Gilehad, taken by Indas Macchabaus, makes two Cities of one: as if this Casbon 50 had been the Chesbon of Gad: and that of Reuben distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betweene Gad and Reuben, was common to both, and that the Gadites game their part to the Leuites: for so also it seemeth

that in like reason Dibon is said in one place built by the Gadites, and in another given to Reuben, as before is noted. Of Machanaum, which word fignifieth a double Armie, we reade Gen. 22.2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place met Iscob in manner of another Hoste or company, to joyne with his for his defence: as also Luke 2.13. we reade of a multitude of the Hoste of Heaven. which appeared to the sheep-herds, at the time of our Sauiours birth: and so vnto the Godly King Ofwald of Northumberland, when hee was soone after to ioyne battaile with the Pagan Penda of middle-England, Beda reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the battaile was fought in the North-parts of in England, is called Heauen-field. In this Citic of Machanaijm David abode during the rebellion of Absalom : and the same for the strength thereof Abner chose for the seat of Ilbboleth, during the warre betweene David and the house of Saul.

Of the fourth Towns which was Ramoth in Gilehad, we reade often in the Scripture, for the recovering of which King Achab lost his life. Iunius thinkes that Ramatha-Mitspe, of which Iosua 13.26. was this Ramoth in Gilehad. Concerning the place where Laban and Iacob (ware one to the other, as it was called Gilehad, which is as much as a witnessing heape, because of the heape of stones which Laban and his fonnesleft for a monument; fo also that it was called Mithab, which fignifieth ouer-looking (because there they called God to ouer see and be witnesse to their co-20 ucnant) it is plaine by the place, Gen. 21.49 that in these parts there was not onely a Towne, but likewise a Region called Mit/pa, it appeares, Iof. 11.3. where we reade of the Chiunites under Hermon, in the Countrie of Mitfea, \* the Towne of Mitfea, as it \* Of other the Chiuaites under Hermon, in the Countrie of Mitjpa, a the I owned in Mitjpa, as it townes of this feemes both by this place, and in the eighth verse following, beeing not in the Hill name, see in Countrie, but in the valley. But seeing that lephta the Iudge of I/rael, who after hee the Tribeof camehome from Tob, (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in this Towne Beniamin. of Mitsha, who doubtlesse was of the Tribe of Manasse, and thence at first expelled Ind. 1.36. by his brethren, it may seeme that they doe not well which place this Towne of Mitsparather in Gad, than in Manasse. By Indas Macchabeus this Towne of Mitspa (whether in Gad or in Manafe) was vtterly spoyled and burnt, and all the males of it 1, Mace, 5, 35. 30 flaine : for it was then possest of the Ammonites.

Betweene Succoth (of which we have spoken ) and the River Iabor was that Peniel or Penuel, which name fignifieth Locum faciei Dei; A place where the face of God was Gen. 32.30. leene: so called for memorie of the Angels appearing to Iacob, and wrestling with him there: the churlishnesse of which Citie, in refusing to relieve Gideon, was the Indg. 8.17. cause that in his returne hee ouerthrew their Tower, and slew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To these places of the Gadites, they adde Regelim, the Citie of that great and faithfull subicci Barzallai, as it seemes, not farre from Mahanaims, where he su- 2, sam, 19.33. stained King David, during Absaloms rebellion. To these they adde the Townes of Gaddi, Arnon, and Alimis, of which Gaddi, being in Hebrew no more then Gaddita, is 40 ignorantly made a name of a place. Arnon also no whereappeares to bee the name ofa Towne, but still of a Riuer. Alimis Adrichemius frames of & Anhquois, I. Mace. 5. 26. So that the name should rather be Alema, but Iunius out of Iosephus reades Malla, for this in Alimis: and understanding Malla to bee put for Mello, and to be as much Deut. 3.14. as Munitio, (as we have shewed touching the Mills of the Siebemites) hee takes this 10/12-5 Malle, to be Mitfpa Mosbitarum, of which I. Sam. 22.3. As for that Mageth which 4drichomius findes in this Tribe of Gad, it is that Mahacath, which Moses noteth to be Hebrew are veas farre as the furthest of Manasses, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also Dathema, 14 like, fother of which 1. Mac. 5.10. (which Iunius takes to bee 2 Rithma, of which 2\um. 33.18. a place of flrength in the Territory of the Ammonites) and in like maner Minnith, and 50 Abel vinearum, though by somethey be attributed to the Gadites, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we reade in Tephta's pursuit of the Ammonites: scated as it seemes by that place of the booke of sudges, the former of thereas for Rothem in the South border, and the other in the East border, both farre removed we have Dodafrom the Gadites. But the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites was necrer, and not farre mim.Gen.10.4.

Hier.8.6 in

Amman 1 and Affarte : bur in this later perhaps he miftooke, which which in that which remaineth to be spo-# faves.ir was anuarum, becaule of the riuer Iabocs it, but in the gathers this oreads intercepi if we must read with others,ce. pi urbem aananot be taken of Rabbait felfe, Fort adioya Gen.14.

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Deutez.

2.Sam.12. Mil.Tyr.Bell. Sacr.13.cap.12.

Pin. Strabil.16. Teganor Calcbrofus: peares that Trachonitis regio in thele parts Deut.z.v.o. Hierem. 22.

from the borders of Gad. It is called in the Scriptures sometime Rabbath, as Deut. 2. \*Other names II. but more often Rabba. It is supposed to bee that \* Philadelphia which Ptolomie findes in Calofria. Hierome and Califtus in Arabia. It was conquered by Og from the Stephanus were Ammonites: but as it feemes neuer possess by the Israelites, after the ouerthrow of Og, but left to the Ammonites: whereupon at length it became the Regall feate of the Ammonites, but of old it was the possession of the Zamzummims: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse intamous. The same were also called Raphaim, of whom was Og, which recoursed much of that which be the same A- the Ammonites had got from his Ancestors: who having been first beaten by the Assyrians, and their affiltants (as the Emins in Moab, and the Horims in Seir had 10 beene) were afterward the easier conquered by the Ammonites, as the Emims were by Moab, and the Horims by the Idumeans. Yet did the races of Emoreus, of whom thele Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerours for their ancient inheritance: and as Sehon of Hesbon had dispossest Moab, so had Og of Basan the Ammo. mites, and betweene them recourred the best part of all the Valley, betweenethe alfocality by Mountaines and Iordan. For this Og was also master of Rabba or Philadelphia: And in the possession of the one or the other of these two, Moses and Israel found all those Cities and Countreys which were given to Reuben, Gad, and the halfe Tribe winding about of Manaste. So that though it were 450, yeeres fince that these Zamzammims or Raphaims were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: butha-20 uing these two Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and vndertaking men, to wit, og and Sehon, both Amorites, they recovered againe much of their loft possessions, and thrust the sonnes of Lot over the mountaines, and into the Defarts. And as the Kings or Captaines of Persia and Assyria, (remembred in the 14. of Genesis) made way for Ammon, Moab, and Edom, so by that great conquest which Moles had our those two Amorites, Og and Schon, did the Meabites and Ammonites take opportunity rum, yet it can- to looke backe againe into those plaines, and when the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites for looke the worship of the living God, and became slothfull and licentious, they taking the advantage invaded them, and cast them out of their possession ons: and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased 30 or displeased God: and according to the wisedome and vertue of their Comman-

In this Citie of Rabba, was the yron bed of og found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in Daniels time, and the inhabitants flaine with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof Vrias was shot to death, having been by direction from Danid appointed to bee imployed in the leading of an affault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Armie perished: and wherein David so displeased God, as his affaires hadill fuccesse afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had David the weightie and rich crowne of gold, which the Kings of Ammon ware: or which as some expound it, 40 was vsed to be set on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60, pound waight after the common talent. In the time of Christians it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and under him twelue others.

The Mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of Manasse, with a part of Reuben, are those which Ptolomie calleth the hilles of Hippun, a Citicof Cælosyria: and Strabo \*Trachones: the same which continue from necre Damascus vnto the Defarts of Moab: and receive divers names, as commonly mountaines do, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: For from the South part, as farre Northwards as Asteroth, the chiefe Citie of Og, they are called Galaad or Gilead, from thence Northward they are knowne by the name of Hermon, for so Moles calleth them: 50 The Sidonians name them Shirion, but the Amorites Shenir, others Seir: of which name all those Hilles also were called, which part Iudea and Idumea : and lastly, they the hil country are called Libanus, for so the Prophet Hieremie makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of Galaad, the head of Libanus. These mountaines are vere fruitfull, and

full of good pastures, and have many trees which yeeld Ballamum, and many other medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of Nimrah, and Diben, and the Riner labor: Others doe also fancie another Riner, which riling out of the Rockes of Arnon, falleth into Iordan.

ò. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadit es wanne from Og the King of Bafan.



His Tribe of Gad poffest halfe the Countrie of the Ammonites, who together with the Mosbites, held that part of Arabia Petras called Nabat hea, as well within as without the mountaines of Gilead: though at this time when the Gadites wanit, it was in the possession of Sehon and og, Amorites: and therefore Moses did not expell the Ammonites, but

the Amerites, who had thruft the iffues of Let ouer the mountaines Trachenes or Giead as before. After the death of Otheriel the first Judge of Ifrael, the Ammonites joyned with the Mosbites against the Hebrewes, and so continued long. Iephta Judge Ind. 10. of Ifrael had a great conquest ouer one of the Kings of Ammon, but his name is o-

mitted. In the time of Samuel they were at peace with them againe.

Afterward wee find that cruell King of the Ammonites, called Nahes: who be- I.Sam. II. fieging labes Gilead, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this delire to bring (hame vpon Ifrael) because those Gileadites vsing to carrie a Target on their left armes, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right. bevtterly disabled to defend themselues: but Saul came to their rescue, and deliuered them from that danger. This Nahas, as it may seeme, became the confederate of David, having friended him in Sauls time, though lofephus thinkes that this 2 Va- 10/ep.l.6. Ant.c. has was flaine in the battaile, when Saul raifed the fiege of tabes, who affirmeth that 2.5am.10.A.18. 30 there were three Kings of the Mosbites of that name.

Hanun succeeded Nabas: to whom when Danid sent to congratulate his establish- men or Thou: ment, and to confirme the former friend(hip which he had with his Father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadours garments to the knees, and der Arrow hills. shaued the halfe of their boards. But afterward not with standing the aydes received Rehab is anofrom the Aramites subject to Adadezer, and from the Reguliot Rehob, and Maacah, Hazor & Sidon, and from Iflob, yet all those Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were ouer-tur- in the North ned: their chiefe Citie of Rabba, after Philadelphia, was taken, the Crowne which naan, Num.13. weighed a talent of gold was fet on Danids head, all fuch as were prisoners, Danidex- 22.0f which see cuted with ftrange seueritie; for with Sawes and Harrowes hee tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into Lime-kills.

Iosaphat gouerning Iuda, they affifted the Moshites their neighbours against him, 2.Chron.20. and perished together. Of as made them Tributaries, and they were againe by 10- 2. Chron. 36. tham inforst to continue that Tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundreth talents of 2. Chron. 26. filuer, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley : which the Am- 2, Chron. v. 17. monites continued two yeeres.

The fift King of the Ammonites, of whose name we reade was Baalis, the confederate of Zedechia: after whose taking by Nabuchodonosor, Baalis sent Ismael of the bloud of the Kings of Iuda, to flay Gedaliah, who served Nabuchodonofor.

Hicre.40.0 41

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m Ioseph.14.

Art.13.

chapter § ,4.

of the I.Chr.s.

Colonies of

## Of the other halfe of MANASSE.



He rest of the Land of Gilead, and of the Kingdome of Og in Basan, with the Land of Hus, and Argob, or Trachonitis (wherein also were parties the Imall Territories of \* Batanea, Gaulonitis, Gessuri, Machati, and Anaranitis) was given to the halfe Tribe of Manasse our Iordan, of which those three later Provinces defended themselves against them, for ma-

were confounny ages. But Batanea Ptolomie letteth farther off, and to the North-Eaft, as a skirtof, Arabia the Defart : and all these other Provinces before named with Peras, and Itu. that Thishbitis, rea, he nameth but as part of Cælosyria; as farre South as Rabba or Philadelphia; like. wife all the rest which belonged to Gad, and Reuben, saving the Land neere the Dead I.Kin.16.1.and Sca, he makes a part of Arabia Petraa: for many of these small Kingdomes take not of Tobias, Tob. 1 much more ground then the County of Kent.

Balan, or after the Septuagint , Balanitis , firetcheth it felfe from the River of Jabes to the a Machati and Geffuri: and from the Mountaines to Iordan, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattell. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of Oakes, which beare mast (of which the Prophet Zacharias, Howle, O yee Oakes of Bashan ) and by reason hereof 20 they bred so many Swine, as b 2000. in one Herd were carried head-long into the the time of saul Sea, by the vncleane spirits which Christ had cast out of one of the Gadarens. It had in it threescore Cities walled and defenced: all which, after Og and his sonnes were malehites & If- flaine, lair descended of Manaffe conquered, and called the Countrie after his owner maelits in those name, Anoth Jair, or the Cities of Jair.

The principall cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these; Pells fornetimes c Butis, otherwise Berenice; by Seleucus King of Syria, it is faid to have been called Pella, after the name of that Pella in Macedon: in which both Philip the Father, was part of lin- and his Sonne Alexander the Great were borne. It was taken, and in part demolished by Alexander Iannaus King of the Iewes: because it refused to obey the Iewes lawes: 20 chap.7.5.4.7.5. but it was repaired by Pompey, and annexed to the Gouernement of Syria. It is now a So they call but a Village, faith Niger. Carneim by the River of labor, taken by & Iudas Macchabaus: where he fet on fire the e Temple of their Idols: together with all those that Mahazah Com- fled thereinto for Sanctuary; and neere it they place the Caftle of Carnion, of which 2. Macc. 12.22. Then the firong Citie of f Ephron neere Iordan: which refufing to yeeld passage to & Iudas Macchabeus, was forced by him by affault, and taken and burnt with great slaughter.

fiftParagraph of Tabes Gilead, or Tabelus, was another of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being 5.36. and Deut. besieged by Nahas h King of the Ammonites, was deliuered by Saul, as is i elsewhere 3-14. & 10/12.5 mentioned. In memorie whereof these Citizens k recoursed, embalmed, and bu-40 c Anciently as ried the bodies of Saul and his Sonnes: which hung despightfully ouer the walls of it feems it was Beth an or Scythopolis. I Gaddara or Gadara, is next to be named, feated by Plinie on a Hill necre the River Hieromiace, which River Ortelius feemes to thinke to bee Isthe bounds of boc. At the foote of the Hill there spring foorth also hot baths, as at Macharus. Alexander Ianneus after ten moneths fiege wanne it, and subuerted it. Pompey reftored it: and Gabinius m made it one of the five Courts of Iustice in Palastine. Hierusalem being the first, Gadara the second, Emath or Amathus the third, Hierico, and Sephora in Galilee, the fourth and fift. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of Herod, surnamed Ascalonita, accused him to Iulius Cafar of many crimes: but perceig 2. Mac. 12.27 uing that they could not preuaile, and that Herod was highly fauoured of Cefar, fea- 50 ring the terrible " renenge of Herod, they flew themselves: some by strangling, others by leaping ouer high Towers, others by drowning themselues.

To the East of Gadara they place Sebei, o in which Iosephus ant. 5. 12. (aith, Jephiha n Iofeph, 15, Ant. 12. o Of Mitspa in Gilehad, the Citic of Iephtha, see in the Tribe of Gad.

was buried: whence others reading with the Vulgar, Ind. 12. 7. Sepultus est in Ciuitate (ua Gilehad, (for in una Ciuitatum Gilehad) imagine Gilehad to be the name of a Citic, and to be the same with Sebei. In like manner following the Vulgar, I. Macc. 5.26. where it readeth Cashbor for Chesbon; the same Advictionius imagineth it to be ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Cinitas, so of one Citic Hesbon or Chesbon, which they call Effebon, the chiefe Citie of Sehon, in the Tribe of Reuben, he imagineth two more: this Casphor in Manasses, and a Citic in Gad which he calleth Cashon, of which we have admonished the Reader heeretofore. Of Gamala (so called, because the Hill on which it flood, was in fashion like the backe of a Canmell; which tolephus no placeth not farre from Gadara, in the lower Gaulanitic over against Tarichea, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of Tiberias, see this 10/cphus in his fourth booke cap, 1. 2. of the Iemish warre: where he describes the place by nature to bee almost innincible: and in the florie of the fiege, shewes how Vespasian with much danger of his owne person, entring it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents; and how at length after the comming of Titus, when it was taken, many leaping downe the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished: besides foure thousand slaine by the Romans: so that none escaped, saue onely

of the Historie of the World.

About foure miles West from Gadara, and as much East from Tiberias ( which is on the other fide of the Lake) lofephus placeth Hippus, or Hippene, whence Ptolomie Invitalna. 20 gives the name to the hills that compaffe the plaines in which it standeth: so that it may seeme to have beene of no small note. It is seated farre from the hill Countrie: on the East of the Lake, as also Plinie noteth lib. 7. cap. 15. It was restored by Pompey: after by Augustus added to Herods Tetrarchie: It was wasted by the lewes, in the Toseph. Bell. Iud. beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their Nation, they were 1.1.6.19.

inraged against their borderers.

two women that hid themselues.

CHAP.10.S.7.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is Edrehi or Edrai, wherein Og Of an other E-King of Basan chiefly abode, when Moses and Israel invaded him: and necrevato decision Nephr. this his Regall Citie, it was that he lost the battaile and his life. It stood in S. Hieromes Deut. 3.100 10. o time : and had the name of Adar or Adara. Not farre from these Townes neere Ior- Item. 10/-13-31dam, in this valley stood Gerassa or Gergessa, inhabited by the Gergestes, descended of the fift sonne of Canaan. Of these Gergestes we reade Mat. 8, 28. that Christ comming Mats. 8.28. from the other fide of the Lake of Tiberias, landed in their coasts: where casting the Diuels out of the possession, hee permitted them to enter into the herd of Hogs: in which storic for Gergesites or Gergesins, S. Luke and S. Marke have Gadarens: not as if Mar. 5. these were all one ( for Gergessa or Gerassa is a distinct Towne in these parts from Gadera) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this storie. This Citie received many changes and calamities: of which Islephus hath often mention. For besides other adventures, it was taken by 40 L. Annius Licutenant to Velpalian; and 1000.0f the ablest yong men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In the yeere 1120. it was rebuilt by Baldwine King of Damafcus: and in the same yeere recovered by Baldwine de Burgo King of Hierufalem: and by him vtterly razed. Neere vnto Gerafa is the village of Magedan, or after the Syriake Magedu, or after the Greeke Magdala, where the Pharifees and Sadducees defired Matt. 15. of our Sauiour a figne from heaven: the fame place or fome adioyning to it, which S. Marke calleth Dalmanutha. By the circumstances of which storic it appeares that Marc. 8. this coast lay betweene the Lake of Tiberias and the Countrie of Decapolis. Brochard Of this Phiola makes both these places to be one; and findes it to be Phiale, the fountaine of Iordan see in Neptb. according to Iosephus: but this Phiale is too farre from the Sea of Galilee, and from C.7.\$.41.3. 30 Bethfaida, to be either Magdala or Dalmanutha. For asit appeares by the storie, not far Matt. 14. hence towards the North was the Defart of Bethfaida, where Christ filled 5000. Marc. 6. people with the fine Barley loanes and two Fishes.

On the North of this Beth faids they place Iulias, not that which was built by Herod, but the other by Philip, which boundeth the Region Trachonitis towards the

South.

was

South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of Christ it was com-10sept. 18. aut. 3. passed with a wall by Philip the Tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis: and after the name of Inlia, the wife of Tiberius, called Inlias, as hath beene farther spoken in the Tribe of Gad: where it was noted that lofephus makes this Iulias, to be the same as Beth. Gaids. Vpon the East side of the same Lake of Tiberias Sands Corozaim, or Corazim. of which Christin Matthew ; Wee be unto thee Corazim.

Gen.14.5.

See chap.7.

\* Because is fometime Lucere: as it were corneum effe : whereup. on the Vulgar. Exod.34.29. reading cornutam corneam. or lucidam faciem, gaue occalion to the fabulous painters to paint Moles with Hornes. Iuditb.1.8. I.Cant.5.

1.18.c.4. chryf. Hom. 2.De patiwhence they Hence also by Tunius and c-

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was Asteroth: sometime peopled with the Giants Raphaim: and therefore the Countrie adioyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was og, King of Basan. In Genesis this Citic is called Asteroth of Carnaim, whence 1. Mac. 5. 26 it is called simply Carnaim, as Iof. 13. 21. it is called to Afteroth without the addition of Carnaim. The word Carnaim fignifieth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll Aftoreth, which was the Image of a sheepe, as it is elsewhere noted, that Astaroth in Deut. signifieth sheepe. O. thers from the ambiguitie of the Hebrew take Karnaim, to have beene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it heroes \* radiantes. For of old Hornewhen it the Raphei which inhabited this Citie (Gen. 14.5.) were Giant-like men, as appeares by comparing the words Deut. 3. 11. Og ex residuo gigantum, with the words los. 12. is that theverb 12. Ogen reliquis Raphaeorum : but if the Karnaim (or Karnaym) were these Raphai. of this Nowne the word would not have beene in the duall number : neither would Moses in the place of Genesis have said the Raphai in Asteroth of the Karnaim, but either the Raphai 20 in Afteroth of the Raphai, or some other way fittest for perspicuitie: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Not farre from Asteroth Adrichomius out of Brochard and Breidenbachius placeth Cedar, in the way out of Syria into Galilee, foure miles from Corazin. This Citie (faith hee) is remembred in the Canticles, and in the booke of Iudith, and there are that of this Citie understand David in his 120. Pfalme : and heere the Sepulchre of Iob is vet to be seene, saith Breidenbach.

Now concerning the Texts which hee citeth, it is so that the Greeke hath Galandin stead of the word Cedar, which the Vulgar doth vse in that place of Iudith, andiovneth Carmel and Galilee. The Canticles and the 120. Pfalme doe rather proue that 20 Gedar was not hecreabout, than any way helpe Adrichomius. For that they speake of Scenita Cedareni, it is apparent, and as euident by the place in the Canticles that they were decolores, much more than any vnder the Climates of the land of Canaan : whence Iunius out of Lampridius and Plinie placeth them in Arabia Petras, farre from thele parts. Touching the Sepulchre of lob, it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens Rup. Ly an. Ole- (holding those places) faine many things to abuse the Christians, and to get moaft. in Gen. Bell. ney. Further, it may well be affirmed that many (if not all) the historical circumin commun.t.ae trances of Iob are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrie secke Sup.Ep. ad Rom. to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded upon him, inferre what his Countrie was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture.

Of 10b himselfe whether he were the same 10bab remembred in the 36. of Geneentia leb. Greg. sis, descended from Esau, and King also of Idumea, though Rupertus, Lyranus, Oleaster, For ou and au and Bellarmine are of another opinion, yet S. Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostome, and are oftenchan- Gregorie, with Athanasius, Hyppolitus, Iraneus, Eusebeus Emissenus, Apollinaris, Eustachius & other, cited by S. Hierom in his 126. Epist. to Euagrius, take him for the same.

The Land of Huts or Hus wherein Iob dwelt is from the Greeke Ois, which the vied Austin for Septuagint vie for the word Huts, translated by the Vulgar Sometime Hus, as lob 1.0.1. sometime Austis, as Hierome 25.20. This Land is placed by Junius between Palastina and Calesyria, besides Chamatha (or Hamath) under Palmyrene in the Countrie calthere it is called by Ptolomie Trachonitis or Bathan ea, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with Basan in this halfe Tribe of Manasses. And that this Land of Hus was thus 50 they readeit in feated, it may in part bee gathered out of the place of Ieremie the 25. 20. where hee the Septuagint. reckons the Hushites among the promiscuous borderers of the Israelites, whom hee therefore calleth promiscuous or miscellaneam turbam, because the r bounds were

CHAP. 10. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

not onely joyned but confounded, and their Seigniories mingled one with the other. but of this place the wordes of Hieremie, Lamentations 4.21. speaking of the same prophesie, of which hee speaketh in the fine and twentieth Chapter, must needes be expounded: as Iunius reades them, distinguishing the Land of Hus from Edom: O filia Edomi, & que habitas in terra Hutzi; O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus. Now because the Vulgar doth not so distinguish, but readeth Filia Edom qua habitas interra Hus; Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the Land of Hus: Hence, as it feemes, fome of the learned have thought that lob was an Edomite, as we have faid. and King of Edom, which if they understand by it Idumas or Edom, so called in Moto festime, they are greatly miltaken, making this Land of Hus to be in Edumaa. For it Dent. 3.9. is very probable that E/an when hee first parted from lacob, did not seate himselfe in Edom, or Seir, which lieth on the South border of Iudea, but inhabited Seir farre to the East of Iordan, and held a part of those Mountaines otherwise called Galaad, and Hermon, which by corruption the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites Shenir for Seir, and from this his habitation did Esau incounter lacob when he returned out of Melopotamia, who passed by the very border of Elau his abiding. It is true that at fuch time as Moles wandred in the Delars, that the posteritie of Elau inhabited Seir to the South of Indaa: for it is like that the Amerites who had beaten both Ammon and Moab, did also drive the Edomites out of those parts, who thence-forward 20 feated themselves to the South of Indea, bordering the Defart Paran, and stretched their habitations ouer the Defarts as farre as Hor where Aram died.

Now for this Hus which gaue the name to a part of the Land of Trachonitis, whether it were Hus the sonne of Aram, as Iunius thinkes in his note vpon Gen. 10.22. or rather Hus the sonne of Nachor, Abrahams brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was His the some of Nachor: partly because these Families of Aram seems long before to have been slost; and partly because in lob 6.22.2. Elibu the fourth of lobs friends, which seemes to be of lobs owne Countrie, is called a Buzite, of Buz, the brother of Hus, the sonne of Nachor : as also Whence the Hieremie 25. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named between) him ex regione 30 where Hus is spoken of there Buz is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conie- austrida. dure, that in the place of 10b 32. Elibu the Buzite is faid to bee of the Familie of Ram: (which Iunius expounds to bee as much as of the Familie of Aram) for that by this Aram we are nor to understand Aram the sonne of Sem, Junius himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his booke, where he faith that one of lobs friends ( which must needes be this Elibu ) was of the posteritie of Nachor (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly) and in as much as hee readeth

Nachor is called a Syrian.

As for the other three of lobs friends (of whom by this note of Elibu his being of See Sixtus See to the Syrian Familie, or of the Familie of Nachor) it is implied that they were of other nenfit. kindreds; as also by the Septuagints addition, that this Elihu was of the Land of Him, or Austin, it is implied that they thought onely Elihu to have beene of lobs owne

note familia Aram, or Ram, but e familia Syra; like as elsewhere Laban who sprung of

Franciscus Brochard the Monke, in his description of the holy Land in the journey from Acon Eastward, findeth Suetha, and Theman on the East of the Sca of Galilee: both very neere to the Land of Hus: whereof the one may seeme to have denominated Bildad the Shuchit; the other Eliphaz the Themanite: two of the three friends of lob, of the which lob 2. 11. But lunius thinks that the Shuchits were inhabitants of Arabia the Defart, descended of Shuach the sonne of Abraham and Ketura: of whom 50 Gen. 52.2. perhaps, faith he, the same whom Plinie calls Saccai. So also he thinketh the Themanites of whom Eliphaz was, to have beene of Arabia the Defart : and Eliphaz himselfe to have beene of the posteritie of Theman the sonne of Eliphaz, which was the some of Esau. And so also Nahamah whence Tsophar the third of lobs friends (which in this place of Iob.c.2.v.II. are mentioned) is by the same learned expositor thought Mm 2

De Bell.Sacr.l. 22.6.15.6 21.

10/.21.27.

Deut.4.43.

E.Cirrus.3.2.

CHAP.II. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

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Gen. 36.40. is named among the sonnes of Esanthat gaue denomination to the places where they were leated ) or elfe to bee the same Nahamah, which 10f. 15. 41. is

reckoned for a Citic of Inda in the border, as he thinkes, of Edom. And yet I denie not but that necre to the Land of Hus, in Basan, as it seemes, in the Tribe of Manalles, there is a Region which at least in latter times was called Suitis, or of some like name. For this is cuident by the Historic of Wilhelmus Tyrius, which reports of

thought either to be named of Thimnath by transposition of letters ( which Thimnah

a Fort in this Region of Surta or Suites (as hee calls it dinerfly) of exceeding great strength and vic for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which, in the time of Bald. wine the second King of Hierusalem, was with great digging through rocks recourred to by the Christians; having not long before been lost to the great disadvantage of the

Countrie, while it was in the handes of the Saracens. The situation of this Fortis by Tyrius described to be fixeteene miles from the Citie Tiberias, on the East of Ior. dan : by Adrichomius foure miles North-ward from the place where Iordan enters

Other Cities of this part of Manaffes named in the Scripture are thefe : Golan, Be-

the Lake Tiberias at Corazin.

helbthera, Mit (pa of Gilead, and Kenath, which after the comming of the Ifraclites was called Nabach. Of Nobach or Kenath, and Mit/pa of Gilehad, we have spoken by occasson among the Cities of Gad: The two other were given to the Leuites and Golon made one of the Cities of refuge : from which Golan wee have both Gaulanitis superior 20 and inferior, oft in losephus. Beheshthera is accounted the chiefe Citie of Basanby fome, but the writers corrupting the name into Bozra, it is confounded with Betler or Bozra of Reuben, and with Bozra of Edom. Argob is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence Hierome hath Arga, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of Merom (as they are called by Iosua) which make the Lake Samachonitu, as 10/ephus calls it. This Lake being as it were in the midft betweene Calaria Philippi and Tiberias, through which as through the Lake of Tiberias, Iordan runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of Libanus meltethitis

very large, faith Brochard: otherwise, more contract, leaving the marish ground on both fides, for Lyons and other wild beafts, which harbour in the shrubs that plen- 10

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Countrie of Manaffes, Iofephus names two places of ftrength fortified by himselfe in the beginning of the Iewes rebellion : Seleucia the

one, and Sogane the other. In the North fide of this halfe Tribe of Manalle. and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places toward Damaseus, as Tsedad, Chauran, and Chatsar-Henan, lying in a line drawne from the West; of which three Cities we reade Ezek. 47, 15. with which also agrees the place Numb. 34. 8. where for Chauram, betweene T sedad, and Chat sar-Henan, Ziphron is named. From

this Chauram is the name of Auranitis regio, in losephus and Tyrius, whose bounds (as also the bounds of Geffur and Mahaohath or Macati, which were likewise 46

borderers to Manaffes toward the North-east) are vnknowne : only that Gessur was of might, it appeares in that David married Mahaca the Daughter of Tholmay King of

Geffur: by whom he had the most beautifull, but wicked, and vnfortu-

mono nate Absalon.

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A Tree of Wyart System will

Harmon Lingual Communication

Charles of the Alice of the Charles XI. It is not the

The Historie of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of the I fraelites that dwelt on the East of Fordan.

10 of the Citie of Damascus and the divers fortunes thereof.



-go , mid oin v zuc

Amasevs of all other in this border, and of that pare of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beautie, antiquitie, and riches, and was therefore called the Citie of iov or gladnes; and the House of pleasure; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Colmographers. The Hebrewes, faith Iofephus, thinke it to have been built by Iofeph.1.14. Has the sonne of Aram: of which opinion S. Hierome vpon Efai feemeth to be: though in his Hebrew questi- In Ifai.17. ons hee affirmeth that it was founded by Damascus,

the sonne of Eliener Abrahams Steward, athing very Gen.15.2. valikelie, seeing the citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by Abrabams calling this his Steward Eliezer of Damafeo. David was the first that subjected itto the Kingdome of Iuda, after the ouerthrow of Adadezer their King, but in Salomons time. Rezon recovered it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principalitie : but David having overthrowne Hadadezer king of Sophena, (otherwise Syria Soba or Zobah) Razon or Rezon with the remainder of that broken armie, in-30 uaded Damascena, and possest Damascus it selfe, and became an enemie to Salomon all 1.Rez. 11,0,40.

The next King of Damaseus was Adad the Edomite, who flying into Egypt from 1. Reg. 11. David, and Joab, when they flew all the males in Edom, was there entertained, and married Tabhnesthe King of Egypts wives lifter: of whom Taphnes in Egypt was fo called. This Adadreturning againe, became an enemie to Salomon all his life, and (as some writers affirme) inuaded Damascus, and thrust Rezon thence-out. In the line of Adad that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hecreafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of Syria) to whom the Asyrians & then the Gracians facceeded. This citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the riners 40 of Abanah, and Parphar: whereof one of them prophane writers call Chryforthous the 2. Reg. s. golden river. Tunius takes it for Adonis. The countrey adioyning is very fruitfull of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very firing Caftle, built as it feemes by the Florentines, after it became Christian : the lillies Herold. 6. Bell. being found cut in many marbles in that Citadell. Against this Citie the Prophets Sacre Amos, Efai, Hieremy and Zacharias, prophecied that it should be taken, burnt, demo- 1.3.8.10.8 17. lifted, and made a heape of stones. In the time of the last Rezon and tenth King of 49.89. the Damascens, Teglatphalassar inuited by Achaz king of Inda, carried away the na- 2.Reg. 16. turals of Dama/cus into the East: leaving of his owne nation to inhabit it. After that it was veterly ruined by the Babylonians, faith Hieremie vpon Efai: which thing Efai. 17. 50 was performed by Salmanafar, according to tunius in his note upon that place, fine yeeresafter the prophecie. In time it was restored by the Macedonians, and the Ptolomies: but long after when Syria fell into the handes of the Romans, it was taken tolerhants

rome living, as he affirmeth upon the Attes, it was the Metropolis of the Saracens:

Mm 3

by Metellus and Lollius. In the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop: S. Hie-

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Onuphrius in

Vitri c. 46. Wil. Tur. Rell Sac I 17-6-1.23.4.5.

Rievold, Bell. Sac. 4.C.14.

Herold 1.6.C.4.

being taken by Haomar their King from the Romanes, in the yeere of our redemption 636. And in the yeere 1147. Conrad the third, Emperour of Rome, Lewes King of Fraunce, Baldwine the third King of Hierusalem, Henry Duke of Austrea, brotherto Conrad Frederick Barbaroffa afterward Emperour, Theodorisk Earle of Flaunders, and other Princes affembled at Ptolomais Acon, on the fea coaft, determined to recouer Damascus: but being betrayed by the Syrians, they failed of the enterprize.

In the yeere 1262. Halon the Tartar incompassit, and having formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the walls, and threatned extreme torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, Agab the sonne of Halon was by his fa- to ther made King thereof.

In the yeere 1400. Tamberlaine Emperour of the Parthians, inuaded that region, and befreged the citie with an armie of 1200000. ( if the number be not mistaken i He entred it and put all to the fword, filling the ditch with his prisoners, those that retired into the Castie which scemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Castle adioyning : he forbare the demolishing of the citie in respect of the beautic of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. Ithad within it 9000 lanternes of gold & filuer: but while he inuaded Leypt, they againe furprized Damsfeus. Lastly in his returne after three moneths siege hee forst it: the Mahometans proftrating themselves with their priests, desired mercie: But Tamber- 20 laine commaunding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 20000 and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Tropkey of his victorie heraised three towers with great Arte, builded with the heads of those whom hee had flaughtered. After this it was restored and repossest by the Soldane of Agypt, with a garrison of Mammalukes: And in the yeere 1 5 1 7. Selimus Emperour of the Turkes wrested it out of the hands of the Egyptians: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans, and Christians, of all neighbouring nations.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power:



Ow beeit that Damaseus were founded by Hus the sonne of Aram, or by Damascus the sonne of Eliezer Abrahams steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Common wealth till Davids time. For it flood without the boundes of Canaan : and therefore neglected by Moses, Iolua, and the Iudges, as impertinent to that Storie: But were it so

that it had some reguli, or pettie Kings ouer it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as 40 David ouerthrew Adadezer prince of Sophena or Syria Zoba: the same Nation which Plinie calleth Nubai, inhabiting betweene Batanea and Euphrates. Now the better to vnderstand the storie of those Syrian Princes, whom soone after the Kings of Damassus made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe, That on the North-east parts of the holy land there were three chiefe principalities whereof the Kings or Commaunders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Commonwealth of Ifrael, namely Damascus or Aram, Sophena or Syria Zoba, and Chamath, or Chamath-Zoba, of which these were the Princes in Dauids and Salomons times: Razon or Rezon of Damascus, Adadezer of Syria Zoba, and Tohu of Chamath. But it seemeth that Damascus was one of the cities subject to Adadezer when David inuaded him, though when Saul made warre against Zoba, Damascus was not named. And as Iosephus affirmeth, 50 the leader of those succours, which were leuied and sent to Hadad-Hezer from Damascus, had the name of Adad: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. Aramites of Damascus: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of Adadezer, Rezon, the Comander of

1.Sam.14.47.

3082. 2. Sam.8.

CHAP.11. S.2. his armic, taking advantage, made himselfe King of Damaseus: Adadezer and Adad of Damaseus being both slaine. About the same time Tobu King of Chamath or Ituraa, 1.Reg. 11. hearing that his neighbour and enemic Adadezer was vtterly ouerthrowne, sendeth for peace to Danid, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but in dolo faith S. Hierome; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of Damascus, the Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited : but they for the most part were in league and peace with the Indeans and Ifraclites. But to returne to the kings of Syria, I mean of Syria, as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing Dama/cena, Soba or Zoba, and chamath, or Itaraa, to which I may adde Gelbur, because it is so accounted in the 2. of 10 Sam. 15. as ioyning in the Territoric to Damafeus (for Syria at large is farre greater. of which Paleftina it felfe is but a Prouince, as I have noted in the beginning of this Trast.) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those Adads of Syria Zoba, and Damascus. Some acount Rezon, other Adad of Idumea: of whome it is written in the first of Kings, that David having invaded that Region, and left loab therein to destroy all the male childreen thereof: Adad of the Kings seed, fled into Agypt; and was there

married to Taphnes the Queenes fifter, as before, who hearing of Danids death, and of the death of his Captaine Ioab (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned againe, and as Bunting thinketh, this Adad did expell Rezon out of Damafsus; and was the first of the Syrian Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For as 2. Sam. 8.3. 10 I take it, Adadezer the sonne of Rebob, whom Saul invaded, was the founder of that 1.Sam.14.47. Principalitie: and the first of Adads, who forsaking his Fathers name, as hee grew powerfull, tooke vpon him the style of Adad, the great God of the Asyrians, faith Macrobius, which lignified onenesse or Vnitie. I also finde a Citie called Adada in the same part of Syria: of which, whether these Princes tooke the name, or gaueit, I am ignorant. For Adad ezer, Ben-adad, Eli-adad were the same in name, with the differences of Ezer, Ben, and Eli, adioyned. And that Adadezer was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that David vndertooke the warre : second-'ly, because he lenied 22000. Aramites out of the Territory of Damaseus: as out of his 30 proper Dominions: for had the Damascens had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given vs his name; thirdly, because Syria Zoba, of the most of Plinhbans. which Adadezer was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of Arabia the Defart as farre as to Euphrates, according to Plinie: and the greatest part of Arabia Petras according to Niger. Wholocuer was the first, whether Adadezer, or Adad of I-

fides the cuil that Adad did, the cuil that Hadad did, seemeth to be referred to Hadad of Idumea, lately returned out of £gypt: to wit, 23. yeares after he was carried thither. The third king of Damaseus, and of Zobah both, was Hezion, to Hezion succeeded Tabrimmon, or Tabremmon, to him Benhadad, as is proued in the first of Kings. For 1.King.15,18. 10 Asa King of Iuda the sonne of Abiam, the sonne of Roboam, the sonne of Salomon, being vexed and invaded by Baa/ba, the successour of Nadab, the sonne of Ieroboam, fent to Benhadad the sonne of Tabrimmon the sonne of Hezion, King of Aram, that dwelt at Damaseus, to inuade Israel (while Baasha sought to fortific Rama against Asa: thereby to blocke him vp, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of Ifrael) who according to the desire of As, having received his presents, willingly inuaded the Countrie of Nepthalim, and tooke divers Cities, and spoiles thence : As in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which Bas flat had brought to for- 1. Reg. 15. U. 18.

dumaa, Rezon was the second: who was an enemie to Ifrael all the dayes of SALOMON. Be-

tifie Rama withall, and converted them to his owne vie. This Benhadads Father Tabremmon was in league with Asa: and so was his Father 50 Hezion; for Asa requireth the continuance of that friendship from Benhadad, his fonne: though it feemeth that the gold and filuer fent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this Tabremmen invaded Ifrael, before the enterprize of his sonne Benbadad, it is conicctured. For Benhadad when he was prisoner

with Achab, spake as followeth. The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will 1, Reg. 20, v. 34. restore:

restore: and thou shalt make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus: as my

tather didin Samaria. And herein there arifeth a great doubt (if the argument it felie were of much importance) because Tabremmon was Father indeede to Benhadad which inuaded Baa/ba, at the request of A/a; But this Benhadad that twice entred

vpon Achab, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of Benha.

did, the first of that name, the confederate of afa and Abiam, as before, than the sonne of Tabremmen. For betweene the invasion of Benhadad the first, in Baashas

time, and the fiege of Samaria, and the ouerthrow of Benhadad by Ashab, there past

49. yeeres, as may be gathered out of the raignes of the Kings of Ifrael. So that if

vecres, ere he was taken by Ashab, which make eighty lacking one, it is whikely that

Benhadad at fuch an age would make warre. Belides all this, the first Benhadad came

with no fuch pompe; but the second Benbadad vaunteth, that hee was followed with

22 (Kings: and therefore I resolve, that Benhadad the sonne of Tabremmon invaded

Baalha and Omri, and Benhadad the second invaded Achab, at whose hands this Ben-

hadid received two notorious overthrowes: the first at Samaria, by a fally of 700, if

raelites: the second at Aphee, where, with the like number in effect the I/raelites flaugh-

tered 100000, of the Aramites; besides 2,7000, which were crusht by the fall of the

wall of Aphec. And this Benhadad, Achab againe letteth at liberty: to whom hee

but being returned, he refuseth to render Ramoth Gilead, a frontier towne, and of great

importance. Now three yeeres after (for folong the league lafted) Ramoth not be-

ing delivered, Achab invadeth Gilead, and affiegeth the Citic, being affifted by Iola.

phat. The Aramites came to succour and fight: in which Achab is wounded, and dy-

eth that night. After this, Benhadad sendeth the commander of his forces called

Waaman, to loram the sonne of Achab to be healed of the leprose, and though Elizew

had healed him, yet hee picketh quarrell against Ioram: and when Ioram by Elizeus

his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet.

as is aforesaid. After Benhadad besiegeth Samaria againe, and being terrified thence

to Elizeus, to know his estate, if he might line. Azael returning, smoothereth him.

Zonar as and Cedrenus call this Benhadad Adar, and the sonne of Adar: Amos and Hiere-

antiquity, ignorant, faith hee, that scarce yet 1100 yeeres are compleate since their

which IEHOSAPHAT, IEHORAM, and AHAZIAH his fathers, Kings of Indahad

dedicated; and which hee him (elfe had dedicated: and all the gold which was found in the

treasuries of the Lord, and in the Kings house. This was the second time that the

Temple was spoyled to please the Adads of Damaseus. For Asa did present Benbadad 50

with those treasures, when he inuited him to warre vpon Baasha King of Israel. And

notwithstanding this composition betweene loss and Azael, yet a part of his

Armie spoyled the other Provinces of Iudea, and slaughtered many principall

from heaven he departeth home, and fickeneth, and fendeth Azael with great gifts 20

rendreth those townes, that his father had taken from the Predecessour of Jehab, 20

we allow 30. yeeres of age to Benhadad, when hee invaded Baasha, and after that 49. 10

extremitie, as he left him but fifty horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand footemen of all his people.

### ò. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.



Fter Hazael, Benhadad the second, or rather the third of that name, the sonne of Hazael, reigned in Damaseus: who fought against Israel, with ill successe: for low King of Ifrael, the sonne of the vnhappy 10- 2. Reg. 12. achaz, as he was foretold by Elisha the Prophet, beat Benhadad in three 10/eph.ant.c. severall battels: and he lost all those Cities to Ifrael, which his Father

Hazael had taken violently from Ioachaz.

After this Benhadad the sonne of Hazael, there succeeded three others of the Infeph. Ant. 1.7. fame name, of whom the Stories are loft, onely 2V icholaus Dama scenus cited by Iosephus, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that Ieroboams the fecond, the fonne of lows recovered Dama (cus it felfe, to Iudah faith the Geneua, 2.King.14.28. but better in I v N I V s , vtgrecuperabat Damascum, & Chamatham Iehuda pro Ifraele; that is, and how be recovered for Ifrael, Damascus and Chamatha of Indea; for thele Cino ties sometimes conquered by Danied, did of right belong to the Tribe of inda.

And it is likely that this conquest upon the Adads was performed: the first of these three adads then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as lehoas the King of the ten Tribes had thrice ouercome the Syrians in the time of Benhadad the fonne of Hazael and had recovered the Cities which Hazael had wonne from Ifrael ; and fo left his Kingdome to his fonne Ieroboam the fecond, it feemeth that this Ierobeam without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly

followed his fathers good fortune, and inuaded Damafeus.

Razin, or Rezin, after Iosephus Rases, after Zonaras Raason, the 10. Adad, maketh league with Pekah, or Phacas King of I/rael, against Achaz King of Iuda; both carrie 30awaya great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege Achaz in Hierulalem: but in vaine. Then Adad alone inuadeth Elath, and beating out the Iewes, maketh 2.K.ing. 16.5. ita Colonie of Syrians. Wherefore Achaz brought Tetglaphalaffar against Razin, who Ef. 1. tooke him, and beheaded him, and wonne Damascus: with whom ended the line of 10seph. Ant.l.g. the Adads and the Kingdome of Damaseus: the Asyrians becomming masters both ofthat and Ifrael. These Adads as they reigned in order are thus reckoned.

1 Adadezer the sonne of Rehob.

Rezin the sonne of Eliadad, or Razin.

Hezion.

Tabremmon.

405 Benhadad, who invaded Baasha.

6 Benhadad the second, taken prisoner by Achab.

Hazael, whom Elisha foretold, with teares, of his advancement; the same who overthrew Isram King of Ifrael, at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a second Hazael which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because that Hazael which tooke Geth, and compounded the warre with loss, made the Expedition thirty yeeres, and perchance more, after the first Hazael which stifled his master Benhadad, and had flaine Ioram the sonne of Achab King of Israel. For Ioas began to reigne in the 7. yeere of Iehu King of Ifrael; and after he had reigned 23. yeeres, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long wee know not) it is faid that Ha-Ozael tooke Geth, and turned his face towards Ierusalem. It is also some proofe that Hazael which tooke Geeb, was not the same with Hazael that murdered Benhadail, because he could not at that time but be of good yeeres, being as it seemeth the second person in the kingdome, and Commander of Benhadads men of warre. To this Hazael, be he the first or second, succeeded 8 Ben-

1.Reg. 17.

1.Reg. 20.

1.Reg. 22.

3227. 3232.

2.Reg.5. 2.Reg.6.

2.Reg.6. 2.Reg.7.

3234.

Amo.t. Hier. 49. mie mention the towres of Benhadad. Iofephus writeth that Benhadad and his succesfour Aziel were worshipped for Gods by the Syrians to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in Damascus. The Syrians also boasted much of their

Ant.1.8.c.8.

Hazael or Azael, the first King of the race of the Adads of Damaseus, was anointed by Elifba, or Elizeus, when he was fent by Benbadad to the Prophet, to know whether Benhadad should recouer his present sicknesse: Hee waged warre with Ioram; who 40 received divers wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Gilead: from whence returning to be cured at Iefrael, he and the King of Iuda, Abaziah, or Ochozias, are flaine by Iehu, as before is faid. After the death of Ioram, Azael continued the warre against lehu, and wasted Gilcad, and all those portions of Gad, Reuben, and Manasse, 0. uer lordan. Hee then inunded Iuda, and tooke Gath, but by gifts from low hee was auerted from attempting Hierusalem: for hee presented him all the hallowed things

warres with the Ifrae ites.

2.Reg.12.17. 3.R eg.12 .

i.Reg.15.

persons. Lastly, Azael vexed loahas the sonne of lehu, and brought him to that

E∫ai 37.

CHAP.12. S.I.

of the Historie of the World,

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8 Benhadad the third, whom Ioash King of Israel thrise ouerthrew.

Resin or Rezin the last, who loyned with Pekah King of Ifrael, against Jude, at which time Achaz King of Iuda waged for his defence Teglatphalaffar.

Now betweene Benhadad the third, and Rezin the last, Nicholaus Damascenus findes

three other Kings of the Adads, which make twelue in all.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but reguli, as those of Emath, and Geffur, we finde that Tohu was King of Emath or Chamath in Davids time, to whom he fent his sonne Ioram with presents, after Davids victory against Adadezer. Also Senacherib speaketh of a King of Emath, but names him not.

ò. IIII.

Of other leffer Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought under the Africans. neuer recourred them selues againe.



F Geffur wee finde two Kings named; to wit, Talmai, and his Father Ammihur. To Talmai, whose daughter David married, it was that Ab-(alon fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of Sophena or Syria, Soba or Calofyria, there are two named, Rehob or Rochob 20 the Father of Adadezer, and Adadezer himselfe, and it is plaine that af-

ter his death the feat of the Kings of Soba was transferred to Damaseus, a Citie better fitting their greatnesse. After Rezin became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of Syria, (which became so potent, and iouned Soba, Da. malcus, Emath, and the Defart of Arabia with other Provinces into one, under Rezin the second of the Adads ) as it began with Danid, so it ended at once with the Kingdome of Israel. For Ahaz King of Iuda waged the Assyrian Teglatphalassar against Pekab King of Ifrael, and against Rezinthe last King of Damascus : which Teglath first inuaded Damascena, and the region of Soba, and tooke Damascus it selfe, and didput to death Rezin the last, carrying the inhabitants captine. This was the second time 20 that the Asyrians attempted Ifrael. For first, Phul Belochus entred the borders thereof (Menahem gouerning Ifrael) who stopt the enterprize of Phul with a thousand talents of filuer: for this Phul Belochus, whose pedigree wee will examine hereaster, being scarce warme as yet in his seate at Babylon, which hee, with the helpe of his companion Arbaces, had wrested from Sardanapalus: having besides this King of Syria in his way, who feemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of Israel for that present time. But his some Teglath following the purpose of his Father Belochus, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betweene Israel and Iuda, Pekab commaunding in the one, and Achaz in the other, his neighbour Rezin being also wrapt in 40 that warre, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of Johan King of Inda, his imprest and entertainement. So, first attempting Damaseus, which lay in his path towards Ifrael, bee carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possess himselfe of the Cities of Nephthalim; leading with him a great part of the people captine. And his sonne Salmanassar, whom Ptolomie calleth Nabonassar, after the revolt of Holea, forced Samaria: and rent that Kingdome afunder. So as the line and race of Ninus in Surdanapalus, whom Belochus supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the Syrian Adads in Rezin: whom Teglath flaughtered; the Kingdome of Israel in Hosea, whom Salmanassar ouerturned; happened neere about a time: that of Ninus in the dayes of Belochus, and the other two in the dayes of Teglatphalassar, 50 and Salmanaffar his sonne. For Sardanapalus perished, Osa ruling luda; and the other two Kingdomes were dissolved a dehaz yet living.

Lastly, the Kingdome of Indait selfe, being attempted by Sennacherib, the sonne of Salmanaffar in vaine, and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at length vtterly ouerturned. Hierusalem and the Temple burnt 132. yeeres after the captinitie of Ifrael, and Samaria: the destruction of Ifrael being in the ninth yeere of Holea: that of Inda in the eleventh of Zedechia. Now the Emperours of Asyria and Babylon held also the Kingdome of Syria, from the eight yeere of Salmanasjar, to the last of Baltassar, whom Herodotus calleth Labynitus: in all about 200. yeeres. After 3603. these the Persians from Cyrus to Darius their last King, held Syria about 200. yeeres.

Then Alexander Macedon tooke this among other Provinces of the Persian Empire, and his fucceffours the Seleucide reigned therein, till it became subject vato the nower of the Romanes, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turke, as shall bee shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering vpon the Ifraelites, with whom they had most to doe both in warre and peace, being the only people, whose History in those ancient times carried an affored face of trueth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of BENIAMIN, and of Hierusalem.

Of diners memorable places in the Tribe of Beniamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, · Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah and Gibha.



F the Tribe of Beniamin, the twelfth and yongeft sonne of Iacob, whom hee had by Rachel, there were mustred at Mount Sinai 35000. able bodies : all which perishing in the Defarts, there entred the holy Land of their Issues 45 600. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territory on this side Iordan, betweene Iuda and Ephraim: The Cities within this Tribe necreft Iordan, are Lod, Hadid, and Ono: of which Lod and Ono were built by Shemeda Beniamite: 1.Cbron.8.12. they were all three reinhabited with Beniamites, after the returne out of Captinitie, as is mentioned, Nehem.

11.35. and Efd. 2.35. where Adrichomius reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes besides Hadid in Nehemia, a Citie called Lodhadid: This Hadid or Chadid was rebuilt by Simon Mac. 12.38.

Samarim or Tlemaraim, named of Tlemary one of the sonnes of Canaan, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land standeth Iericho, one of the Toparchies, and the last of Iude; seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore elsewhere called the citic of Palmes. From the time of I os v A, Iof. 6, 19, who vetterly destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the time of Achab: in whose dayes Chiel 1. c. chron. 6.60. of Bethel laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of Abiram his eldest sonne, and called Hale-30 built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest sonne Segub; according to the curse meib, whence of Iosva: in which and other respects, Hos. 12.14. calleth Iosva a Prophet. In they make a new Citie Alafter-times it was destroyed by Vespasian, and rebuilt by Adrian.

To the Southeast of Iericho stood \* Halmon of the Leuites, of which Iof. 21.18. To Tribehad githe South Betharaba, of which Iof.e. 15. and c. 18. Then that Gilgalof which there is uen fue Cities to the Lenites,

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fo much mention in the Scripture, where Iofua first ate of the fruits of the land. circumcifed all those borne in the Defarts, and celebrated the Passeoner.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymological this name (for it seemes by the place; Deut. 11. 30. that the name was knowne be-"I. Sam.7.15. fore the comming of the Ifraelites into Canaan) is noted 10, 5.9. Ob deut intonem probri Egyptiaci, because their fore-skinnes (the people beeing there circumcifed) were theireads Do- tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called Collis preputiorum. This mum Det 19716, and interprets Gilgal was also called Geliloth, as appeares by comparing the places, 10f. 15.7. and 18. it, Kiriath-itha- 17. for it was in the borders of Iordan, of which Iof. 22:13. and Geliloth lignifieth rim where the borders. \* It flood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, over against the For (faithhe) two Hills Garizim and Hebal: vpon the one of which the bleffings, and on the other the curfings were to be read to the people, both beeing the mountaines of Ephraim. Further, for the lituation of this Gilgal, it is to be noted, that both it, and Mitbaof Beniamin (of which also weereade oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the land of Canaan: for which reason \* Samuel chose these two wherethe Arke places, to either of which hee came yeerely to give judgement to the Ifraelites; of which two, Gilgal (as is faid) was neere lordan on the haft fide of this Tribe; and prace dottinot freake of testi. Mitspa neere the West Sca, towards the land of the Philistims.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also Samuel vsed yeerely dietall meetings: and be- to come, is \* Bethel: which also was seated in this Tribe of Beniamin. Butto refids the Priefts turne to Gilgal which was the first place, where the Arke resided, after they pastouer Iordan (from whence it was carried to Silo, and thence to Kiriath-ieharim, & at length to Hierusa'em) here in Gilgal it was that Iosua pitched vothe twelve stones, which were taken out of the channell of lordan, when it was drie, that the Ifraelites might passe over it: by which Storie, as it is set downe Iof. 4. it appeares, that the same day that they passed over Iordan; they lodged at Gilgal. At the same Gilgal, to omit many other memorable things, it was that Samuel hewed Agag the King of the Amalekites in pieces. And as for Mitspa, whither also Samuel came yeerely to give Judgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the reuenge of the Leuites wife against Gibba, and the Beniamites, Iud. 20.1. and another against the Philips, 1. Sam. 7.12. Thither also Iudas Maccabaus gathered the Iewes, (when Hieru-30 thei: though Jalem was possess by the Heathen) as it is 1. Macc. 3.47. in which place this reason it for the place of their meeting is added; Quia locus Orationi fuerat Mitspaanted Israeli. Touching where the arke this Mitspa, to avoid confusion, it is to bee remembred, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: Mitspa of Juda, of which Ios. 17.28. \* Mitspa of Gilead, of which we have spoken already in the Tribe of Gad: Mitspa of the Moabites, where Dauid for a while held himselfe, commending his parents to the King of Most, I. Mulps or One- Sam. 22.3. and laftly, this chiefe Mitspa of the Beniamites. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before Hierusalem was recovered from the lebusites, peares by that which is added and also in the time of the Machabees (as we have said) when Hierusalem was held by 40 the wicked vnder Antiochiu, so also in the time of Hieremie, after the destruction of for 10fua notes the Temple by the Chaldeys, Gedaliab whom Nabuchodonofor left in 1enry, as Gouershe three quarnour ouer those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to Weft, and East, the great hurt of the lewes) he was slaine by the treason of Ismael, one of the royall bloud of Inda, as it is Hierem 14.

Neere vnto this Mit [pa, the \* Scripture mentioneth Beth-car, after called Aben-Hezer, that is, the Stone of helpe: where Samuel pitched up the pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the Philistims.

Touching Bethel which (as it seemes) was the third place where Samuel held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Instice, that it was anciently called Luz, and how it was taken by the issue of loseph (though it belonged to the portion of Ben. 50 iamin, as it is Nehem. 11.31. and 10f. 18.22.) and how another Citie called Luz \* neere adiouning to it, was built by the man of the Citic which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is Indg. 1. and of the occasion of the name from Iacobs vision: and how 1erobosm

Ieroboam, by erecting one of his calues heere, of Bethel (which fignifieth the house of Borrowing God) made it \* Beth-auen, that is, the house of Vanitie, Hof. 4.15. and 10.5. as also oncienbour ther memorablethings of this place, they are so well knowne, out of the Histories of towne in the the Scripture, that we may well passe them over.

The territorie of Bethel, which at the first belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Inda and Israel Tribes, from the time of the great victoric of Abia against Ierobo.m (of which 2. Chr. betweene Has 13.) was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdome of Iuda: and so it continued as appeares by the Storie of tofhus: which performed the Prophecies against \*Seec.9.5.1.
the altar of Bethel, 2. Reg. 23. whence those coaltes 1. Mace. 11.34. are called Aphemaibal vnderno rema, which Greeke word fignifieth as much as, Athing taken away, to wit, from the fland the place tenne Tribes. It was one of the three Seigniories or Prasectures which Demetrius in 1. Mace. 11. 34. his Epiftle mentioneth, as added by him to the Dition of the Iewes, out of the Samed for one maritan Country. Apart of it, as appeares 2. Chron. 13. 19. was Hephrauin, which Iof. of the three 18.23. is called Hophram, belonging to this Tribe of Benjamin.

Not farre from this Bethel, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities often men-usyeelds to the tioned in the Scriptures, Rama, Gibha, and Gebab. Of the name Rama, \*it is noted lewes out of alreadie, in the description of Ephraim, that there were many townes so called, the country of because of their high situation. But whereas they finde out Rama in the Tribe of lying toward Inda (as it seemes because Mat. 2. it appeares that it bordered Bethlehem) and also the East to Icout of Brothard and Breidenbach make Silo to have beene called Rama, and finde yet da toward the another Rama in Zabulon; these three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of Rama West and Ain the Tribe of Affer, as it seemes, wee have testimonie Iof. 19.29. and of another in which even Nephtbalim, lof. 19.26. of a third Rama, where Samuel dwelt in Mount Ephraim 1. Sam. now we spake)

25.1. which more often is called \* Ramatha, and 1. Sam. 1. 1. Ramathaim Tfophim: for lying in the which the Septuagint haue Aramathaim-Sophim, taking the Article affixed in the be- the two other. ginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke lofeph of Arimathaa Matt. 27.57. A fixt Rama it feemes there was denominated.

CHAP.12. S.I.

Of a fourth Rama we reade 2. Reg. 8. 29. which is Ramoth in Gilehad. The first, Tribe of Sime which is most often mentioned, is Rama of Beniamin, seated as wee said, neere Bethel on toward the 30 the vttermost South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cause 16(19,8: 8: scal. Baasha in the time of Asa King of Inda, fortified it, to hinder those that did flie from led Kama of him to Afa. Of this Rama or Ramatha I should rather thinke Iofeph was, that buried otherwise Ba-Chrift: because it was neerer to Hierufalem, and after the captinitie belonged to Iu- halath-beer. dea, as it appeares Efd. 2. 26. where in that it is joyned with Gebah, it is plaine that he fruction, that speaketh of that Rama with whose stones (after Baasha had ceased to build it) Asa (as is Governing itis 1.Reg. 25.22.) built Gebah adiovning to it; both being in Beniamin. And as Rama a genitive case was the South-border of the tenne Tribes, so was Gebab the North-border of the whence the Kingdome of Iuda: whence 2. Reg. 23.8. wee reade that Iofiah through all his King- vulgar out of dome, even from Gedah, which was the North-border, to Beer-sheba which was the the Septinging South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie Gibba which was the Citie of Saul (the wickednesse of which nees tor which Citie in the time of the Indges had almost veterly rooted out this Tribe) Adricho- Innius hath Colmiss confounds with Gebab, making one of two (as they are enidently diffinguished this word is Efai. 10.27. of which word Gibba, in another forme Gibbath, he imagineth Gabaath an- oftumes an Ap other Gitie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this citie also to Rama fying a Hill) of Beniamin, appears Ind. 19.12. where the Lenite with his wife notable to reach to Ra. but Additioning ma, tooke vp his lodging at Gibha. By that place of 1.84,22.6 it seemes that there was taking notice of this, builds in this Gibba some towre or Citadell called Rama: where Junius reades in excelso, for in his Citic Gaba-Rama: but it may be that the name of the Kings place in this citie, was Rama: as it alb you this Text & placeth 30 feemes that in Rama of Samuel, the name of the chiefe place where Samuel with the it in Benjamin, Colledge of Prophets abode, was Naioth. The great Citie of Hai ouerthrowne by Iof. when as the which 10f.7.2. is placed neere Beth-auen vpon the East of Bethel, was in this Tribe, as words adioynet that Is proved Nehe.7. 10.20. though it be not named by Iofnac. 18. for it was burned by this Hill was in him and laid desolate, as it is 10f. 8.28. In solitudinem in tumulum perpetuum; Another the Mountains of Ephraim.

Citie

in the Tribe

\* 1,Sam.7.11.

CHAP.12. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

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"The word Nethinim or Nethinei, is as much as dati ( as it were a Deodati jer as Innine expounds it dedi-1.chr.9.z.and in Efdras and Nebemias of-

Citic of chiefe note reckoned Iof. 18.25. in this Tribe was Gibhon, the chiefe Citic of the Heuites: whose cunning to bind the Israelites by oath to sauc their lines, is set downe lof. o. whence they were reckoned among the \* Nethinai or Profelites : and were bound to certaine publique seruices in the house of God: which oath of sauing these Gibeonites broken in part after by Saul, was by God punished by a famine 2. Sam. 21.1. This Gibeon or Gibhon with Almon and Iebah ( of both which wee have Spoken) and with Hanothoth the natall place of Hieremie the Prophet, were faid tof. 21.28. to be given to the Leuites by the Beniamites. Necreto this Hanothoth was Nob. as appeares. I. Reg. 2 26. where Ebiatbar the Priest, which was of Nob before it was destroyed by Saul, is sent to his grounds at Hanothoth: It is reckoned in the Tribe of 10 Beniamin, Nehem. 9.31. and though in the time of Sant the reliding place of the Atke was at Kiriath-icarim: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloudshed, which Saul raised in this place (as it is set downe I. Sam. 21. and 22.) in the judgement of Innius, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Microsus also in this Tribe Nelsem 9.31. was a place of same, of which Esai, 10.28. where also he nameth Gallim, and Migrom in this Tribe. In Micmas Saul had his Campe I. Sam. 13.2. (when he left Gibha to Ionathan) and there also was Ionathan Macchabeus his aboad. I. Macc 9.72. Of Gifcala in Galilee Iofephus makes often mention, but of any heere in Beniamin, which they make the natall place of S. Paul, whence (they fay) when it was taken by the Romans, hee failed with his parents to 20 Tharfis, of this I finde no good warrant. Other places of leffe importance I omit, and come to the Citic of Hierusalem, and the Princes and Gouernours of this Citie: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of Beniamin, whence lof. 18.28. it is

named among the Cities of Beniamin.

of divers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

\* See in the hirher halfe of Manaffe.



T what time Hierusalem was built ( which afterward became the Prin 20 cesse of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine that Melchisedec was the founder thereof in Abrahams time. But according to others, that Citic out of which Melchifedec incountred Abraham (in his returne from the overthrow of the Affyrian and Per-

San Kings or Captaines, when Lot was made prisoner) flandeth by the river of lordan, in the halfe Tribe of Manaffe bordering Zabulon, which was also called Salem, and by the Greekes Solima.

Hierusalem (whensoeuer or by whomsoeuer built) was a principall Citie in Iesus his time: yet not fo renowned as Hazor the Metropolis (in thosedayes, and before) of all the Canaanites. Adonizedek (whom Iofus flew) was then King of Hierufalem. 40 That it was belonging to the Iebusites it is manifest : for how long soener they held it before Moses time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeeresafter him: cuen till Danid wanne it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the Ichufai (the children of Ichufaus the fonne of Canaan) built ; after whom it was called Ichu. And so much did that Nation relie on the strength of the place, as when Danid attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should

2.5am.5.2.6.

defend it. Danid, after he had by Gods affiftance poffest it, and turned out the Ichufites, gaue it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a Citadell or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from 50 Iebussalem, the Citic of the lebusites, to Hierusalem, which the Greekes call Hierosolima. After Dauids time Salomon amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. of cent. App. lit For besides the worke of the Temple, which was no lesse admirable than renowned Strab geogd. 16. among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and walles, could not any where in the world

bee exampled: and besides that it had 150000, inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60, foote of depth, cut out of the very rocke : and 250, foote of breadth: whereof the like hath feldome beene heard of, either lince or before.

After the death of Salomon, and that the Kingdome of the Jewes was cut afunder, Shilhac King of Legypt, and his predecellous, having bred up for that purpose, Adad 2. Chron.12. the Idumean, and Ieroboam, Salomons servant; and both married to Agyptians: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: Siffrat first invaded the Territorie 2.King.14. of Iuda, entred Hierusalem, and fackt it, and became Master not onely of the riches 10 of Salomon, but of all those spoiles which Danid had gotten from Adadezer, Tohu, the Ammonites, and other Nations. It was againe fackt and a part of the wall throwne downe by Ion King of Ifrael; while Amasa the twelth King thereof go- 2. King. 16.

Not long after Achaz the fifteenth King of Inda impourished the Temple. and presented Teglatphalassar with the treasures thereof. And Manasse the sonne of t.chion 5.26. Ezekiah, the sonne of Achaz, by the vaunts made by Ezekiah, to the Embassadors 2.King. 15. of Merodach, loft the remaine, and the very bottome of their treasures. It was againg spoiled by the Babylonians, loakim then reigning. But this vngratefull, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflicti-20 ons, but perfitting in all kinde of impictic, filling the Citic even to the mouth with innocent bloud, God railed vp that great Babylonian King Nabuchodonofor, as his 2.Ring.19. scourge and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Palaces therein, and the walles and towers which imbraced them, even and levell with the duft, carried away the spoiles with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heavie yoake of bondage and servitude full 70. veeres, insomuch as Sion was not onely become as a torne and plowed-vp field, Hierufalem a heape of Rone, 25,26.39. and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and briers, but (as Hierome speaketh) Euen the birds of the avre scorned to flie ouer it, or the beafts to tread on that defiled foile.

Then 70. yeeres being expired, according to the Prophecie of Daniel, and the Jewes Hier. to 3. trad. by the grace of Cyrus returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and difficultie enough: and the Citic meanely inhabited, and without walls or other defences, for some 60. and odde yeeres, till Nehamia by the fauour of Artaxerxes rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citic spoiled by Bagoses, Nebem. 12. or Vagofes, the Lieutenant of Areaxerxes: after by \* Ptolomaus the first; then by 34.60. Antiochus Epiphanes : and againe by Apollonius his Lieutenant. By Pompey it was the Egyotian taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though Crassus in his Parthian expe- Kings after Adition tooke as much as he could of that which Pompey spared.

But the damages which ir fustained by the violence of facrilegious Tyrants, were fembling his o commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountic of good Princes, the voluntary Religion, came contribution of the people, and the liberalitie of strangers. Before the captiuitie, the lem to offer Sapeople of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large cifice. Iofiz. offerings to repaire the Temple of Salomon. The wrong done by Ptolomaus Lags to ant.1. the second Temple, was requited by the bountie of his sonne Ptolomaus Philadelphus. The mischiese wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes and his followers, was amended partly by the great Offerings which were fent to Hiernsalem out of other Nations. Finally all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well feeme forgotten in the reigne of Herod that viurping and wicked, but magnificent cylin. King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous so workes did so adorne them, that hee left them farre more stately and glorious than they had beene in the dayes of Salomon.

Of the destruction of Ierusalem by the Romans.



N this flourishing estate, it was at the comming of our Sautour Christ lefus; and after his death and afcention, it to continued about 40. yeers.

Rurthen did Titus the Roman, being firred vp. by God, to be be Butthen did Titus the Roman, being firred vp, by God, to be the re-Butthen did Illie death; and to punish the lewes innui ingination, uenger of Christ his death; and to punish the lewes incompassed with the Roman armie, and became Lord thereof. Hee incompassed is the lewes. from all parts, were come vp to the cele-

began the fiege at fuch time as the lewes, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the Paffeouer: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thou- 10 fands of all forts; and no manner of prouision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civill diffension, opprest them within the walles; aforcible enemic assailed them without. The Idumeans also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the leves Kingdome, thrust themselves into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when Nabuchodone for tooke it. And to be short. there perished of all forts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the vi-Effit. 4.4.4.5. Ctoric, eleuen hundred thousand soules : and the Citic was so beaten downe, and demolifhed, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleeue that there had beene any fuch place or habitation. Onely the three Herodian towres (workes most magnificent, and ouertopping the rest) were spared, af 20 well for lodgings for the Roman garrifons, as that thereby their victorie might bee the more notorious and famous : for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after-ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more thining that thereover became victorious.

After this; fuch lewes as were scattered heere and there in Iudea, and other Prouinces, beganne againe to inhabite some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and ftrengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the Roman State : but after 65. yeeres, when they againe offered to reuelt, and rebell, Alim. Adrianus the Emperour flaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three Herodian Towres, with all the reft, making it good which Christ himselfe had 39 foretold; That there should not stand one stone upon another, of that vngratefull Citic. Afterward, when his furie was appealed, and the Prophecie accomplished, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein flood Mount Caluarie, and the Sepulchre of Christ, and excluding of the reft the greatest portion, hee againe made it a Citie of great capacitic, and called it after his owne name, Elia Capitolia. In the gate toward Betbel, he caused a Sowe to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which he did in despight of the Iewes Nation: making an Edict, that they should not from thencefoorth euer enter into the Citie, neither should they dare so much as to beholdit from any other high place ouertopping it.

But the Christian Religion flourishing in Palastina, it was inhabited at length, by all 40

Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. yeeres.

It was afterward in the 636. yeere after Christ, taken by the Agyptian Saracens,

who held it 400 and odde yeeres.

G.Tir.l.8.c.5. 18.19.00

Gul.Tir.Bel.Sa.

Onuphrina Chre.

L.I A.C.12.

In the yeere 1099 it was regained by Godfrey of Buillon, by affault, with anexceeding flaughter of the Saracens, which Godfrey, when hee was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because Christ, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recouery, it remained under the successours of Godfrey 88. yeeres: till in the yeere 1197. it was regained by Seladine of Agyps: and laftly, in the yeere 1517. in the time of Selim, the Turkes caft out the Agyptians, who now hold it, and call it Cuzumbarec, or the Holy Citic, 50 Neither was it Ierusalem alone that hath so oftentimes beene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the world have with their inhabitants, in seuerall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath beene Gods inst will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the

impletic of men, by famine, by the fword, by fire, and by flauerie; but hee bath renenged himselfe of the very places they possest; of the walls and buildings, year of the foyle and the beafts that fedde thereon.

For, even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect, lost all her fertilitie, and fruitfulnesse; witnesse the many hundreds of thousands which it fedde in the dayes of the Kings of Iuda and I/rael; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heaven, the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very foile it felfe bath felr and dorb feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beast that belonged to 10 Amalek, no not any small number of them to be facrificed to himselfe, neither was it enough that Achan himselfe was stoned, but that his moueables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

> **6.** IIII. Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient lewes.



CHAP.12. S.4.

F the original of the tewes, prophane writers have conceived diverfly and injuriously. Quintilian speakes infamously of them, and of their leader; who (faith be) gathered together a pernitious Nation. Diodore and Strabo make them Agyptians. Others affirme that while Is gouerned Agypt, the people were so increased, as Ierosolymus,

and Indas ledde thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions; which might be meant by Moses and Aaron : tor the name of Moles was accidentall, because hee was taken up and faued out of the waters. But Infline, of all other most malicious, doth derive the Iewes from the Syrian Kings; of Julin 1,26. whom, Damascus, saith hee, was the first : and to him succeeded Abraham, Moses, and Ifrael. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that Ifrael had tenne fonnes, among whom hee divided the land of Iuda; fo called of Iudas his eldeft, who had the greatest portion. The yongest of the sonnes of Israel hee calleth In leph: who being brought up in Egyps, became learned in magical! Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and fignes prodigious, and this Isleph (faith hee) was father to Moles: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished Egypt. Further, hee telleth how these menthus banished, when in the Defarts they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the feuenth day, for this cause euer after observed the seuenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselues, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also that they might not marrie 40 out of their owne Tribes, left discourring their uncleannesse, they might also bee expelled by other Nations, as they were by the Egyptians. There and like fables hath Justine.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grofly belie them, in affirming, That in the inmost Oratoric of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Alle, which they adored. But herein Tacitus forgetteth himselfe, having in the fift booke of his owne Historietruely confessed of the lewes, that they worshipped one onely God: and thought it most prophane to represent the Deitie by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or representation, no not so much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like 50 this hath Alexander Polyhistor, in Stephanses; who also makes Indas with Idumea, the

Claudius Iolaus drawes them from Iudeus, whose parents were Sparton and Thebis; Cited by Secwhence it came that the Spartans or Lacedamonians challenged kindred of the Lie- phonus in the brenes: but they did it as descended of Abraham, faich Tosephue. Some of these re- dea.

ertive Apol.

Calch.f.62.

ports seeme to have been gathered out of divine letters; though wrested and peruer. ted, according to the custome of the Heathen. For so have they obscured and altred the Storic of the Creation, of Paradife, of the Floud; and given new namesto the children of Adam in the first age: to Nosh and his sonnes, in the second: and so to Abraham, Ifaac, and Iacob, Moses, and the rest of the fathers, and leaders of the Hebrewes: all which fainings, as touching the lewes and their originals, lolephus against Appion, and Tertullian have sufficiently answered. For that the Hebrewes were the Children of Arphaxad and Heber, no man doubteth : and so Chaldeans originally, taking name either of Heber, the sonne of Sale, or else (faith Montanus) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth Stephanus, the Greeke Grammarian, 10 deriue the Hebrewes or lewes, from Abrabon; having mistaken the name of Abraham, who was the sonne of Heber, in the sixt descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of Abram: for after Iacob, otherwise Israel, the chiefe part were called Ifrael, another part after Efau or Edom, Edomites; at length the remnant of lacob, being most of the Tribe of Iuda, honoured the name of Indas, the some of Iaceb, and became Indaans or Iewes: as also for a time in the name of Ephraim the sonne of Ioseph, the chiefe of the Patriarches of the ten Tribes; the rest of the tenne Tribes were comprehended : but were first rooted out when the Kingdome of Ifrael fell. The Iudeans continued their names, though they fuf. fered the same seruitude not long after, under Nabuchodonosor.

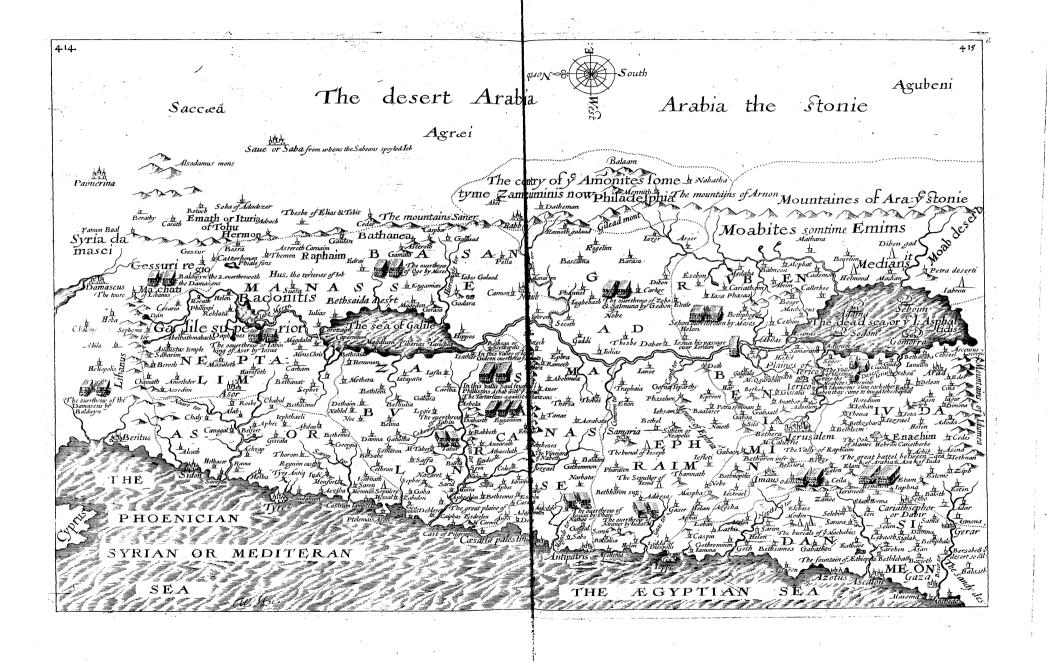
The gouernement which this Nation under-went, was first paternall: which continued till they served the Egyptians. They were secondly ruled by their Captaines and leaders, Moses and losue, by a policie Diuine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to ludges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had Saul for the first: Of whom and his successours, before

wee intreate, wee are first to speake of their Gouernment vnder Iudges, after the death of Iosua: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

3

CHAP.40

50



### CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the world, from. the death of Iosva to the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of IEPHTHA.

è. I. Of the inter-regnum after Iosva's death: and of OTHONIEL.



HEN losus was now dead, who with the aduice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that Common-weale: It pleased God to direct the Tribe of Iuda (in whom the Kingdome was afterward established) to undertake the Warre against the Canaanites, ouer whom (with Gods fauour, and the affiftance of Simeon) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only flew ten thousand, but made Adonibezek prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the Canaanites and Perizites.

This tyrants crucltie as else-where bath been fignified, they returned in the farme to kinde vpon his owne head: and so by the torments which hee now telt in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods inft indgement against him selfe.

The tribes of Iuda and Simeon did also master and possessed during this interregnum (or as some thinke, before the death of Iosua) the Cities of Azotus, Askalon, Ekron and Hierusalem, which they burnt, and the Iebusites afterward reedified. They tooke also the Cities of Hebron, Debir, or Kiriathsepher, and Zephath, afterwards Horma. And although it beenot set downe in expresse words that any one person commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as Moses and Iosua did: yet it seemeth that Caleb was of greatest authoritie among them: and that hee with the aduice of o Phinees directed and ordered their warres. For if any thinke that they proceeded without a chiefe, the good successe which followed their undertakings witnesseth the contrarie. And it was Caleb euen while losus gouerned, as appeares los. 10.39. that propounded the attempt of Debir, to the rest of the Captaines: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his Daughter Achfah: which hee performed to Othoniel his yonger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next vnto the ordinance of God) it gaue him the greatest reputation among them, and may be effeemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soone after. But while those of Juda made warre with their borderers, from whom they onely recoucred the mountainous Countries (for they so could not drive out the inhabitants of the Valley's, because they had Chariots lof gron) 1ud.1.19.

Therest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories: in which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of Tofeph recouered Bethel, or Luz, from the Hittites, so did the Amorites recouer from Dan all 1ud.1.25. the plaine Countries, and forst them to saue themselves in the Mountaines. And India 32.



ders being also consumed, who better aduised them in the Inter-regnum) did not on.

ly joyne themselves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was

more detestable) they served the Idols of Bael, and Asteroth, with other the dead

gods of the Cancanites and Amerites. And therefore did the Lord God whom they

had prouoked with their Idelatrie, deliuer them into the handes of the Aramite

of Mesopotamia: whom Chushan Rishathaim at that time commanded. But after

they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeeres, it pleased him

Leader: who by God affifted, delivered his brethren from oppression: and infort

to have compassion on his people, and to raise vp Otheniel to bee their Judge and to

now the Israelites vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious ouer their enemies (the El

time also the Cities of Melus, Paphus, and Thursus, were built.

Ide and Dactylus flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the vie of iron : but Genesis hath taught vs the contrary, and that Tubalcam long before Gen.4.22. wrought cunningly both in iron and braffe. Not long after this time, Amphion and the name of Zethus gouerned Thebes: whom divers Chronologers finde in Ehuds time. But S. Au- Vulcan by Agustine making a repetition of those fables, which were deutsed among the Gracians pheresis of the guitine making a repetition of those labes, which were defined among the sweet let-and other Nations, during the gouernment of the ludges, begins with Triptolemus, two first let-ters. of whole parentage there is a little agreement. Fines vpon the thirteenth Chapter Aug. decinit. of S. Augustine de Cinitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opi- Dei, 1816.13. o nions of this mans progenie, where he that defires his pedigree may finde it. La-

Hantins and Eulebeus make him native of Attica: and the sonne of Eleusius King of Eleusina: which Eleusius by carefull industrie had fed the people of that Territoric in the time of a great famine. This, when vpon the like occasion Triptolemus could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Gallev orlong Boat, which carried in her Prowea grauen or carued Serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to returne and to relieue his people with Corne, from fomeneighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by

Serpents through the ayre.

Whether the times of these Kings which lived together with Othoniel, and after 20 him with the rest of the Judges and Kings of Ifrael and Juda, be precisely set downe, Icannot anow; for the Chronologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I defire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of betterindgement. For whether Eusebius and all that follow him, or his opposites (who makethemselues so conversant with these ancient Kings, and with the very yeere when they beganne to rule) have hit the marke of time of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authorsthemselves, from whom the ancientest Chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne workes, but coniecture: Secondly, because their owne 20 dilagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans vnderstanding, saue his owne, but that he is greatly distracted, after what patterne to

erect his buildings. This disagreement is found not onely in the raignes of Heathen Kings and Princes; but euen in computation of those times which the indisputable authoritie of holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of Abrahams birth; and after in the times of the ludges and the oppressions of Israel, in the times from the egression to the building of Salomons Temple, in the Persian Empire, the seventie Weckes, and in what not? Wherefoeuer the account of times may fuffer examination, the arguments 40 are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have sought by so many wayes to vincouer the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condenst than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this or that yeere, I anow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion: which I submit to better iudgements. Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad unquem quarenda; In ancient

things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth, fayes Diedore.

Iud. 3.10.

IHA.17.6 18.

the Aramites to returne into their owne Defarts, and into Mesopotamia adioyning, alter which the Israelites had peace fourtie yeeres, during all the time of Otheniels 20. ucrnment. This Othoniel is thought by Tostatus to have been the yonger brother of Caleb, for as much as in the booke of Indges he is twice called Othoniel the Sonne of Cenaz, Calebs yonger brother. Others doe rather interpret those wordes ( Calebs vonger brother) as if they fignified the meanest of his kinred. Indeed it is not like. ly, that Calebs Daughter should marrie with her owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that Otheriel should have beene the meanest of the kinred. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of Caleb, (2s some learned men ex. 10 pound it ) and as the very words of Scripture seeme to enforce. For Caleb was the Sonne of lephunneth, and Othoniel the sonne of Cenas, Calebs yonger brother; thatis, he was not brother to Caleb, but his yonger brothers forme, to whom it was not one ly lawfull, but commendable to marrie with his Coulin German Calebs daughten.

How long it was from the death of Island to the government of Othoriel, it can not be found: but it seemes to have been no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. Leifb was then taken last thought) by the Danies; and the best writers are of opinion, that betweene the time of Iofus and Otheniel that civil warre brake out betweene the Beniamites and the rest of Israel, for the forcing to death of the Leustes wife. For it is written that in 30 those dayes there was no King in Ifrael, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes. And as Iuda led the people against the Canaanites during the Interregnum, so was hee commanded to doe against Beniamin, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craued, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should beedon, which sheweth it to have been when Iofnah was dead, and before the government of Otheniel, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Gouernours, were frent under fuch oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attended such a civill Warre, if their power had been as great, asit was in the menaging of this action, wherein they so weakned the body of their flate, by effusion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such to numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

d. 11.

Of the memorable things of this Age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

Hereliued in this Age of Othoniel, Pandion or Pandareus, according to Homer, the fift King of Athens: who beganne to rule in the twentieth yeere of Othoniel, and gouerned fortie yeeres. Hee was Father to Eri- 50 theus: his Daughters were Progne and Philomela, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus alo about this time obtained Thebes: of whose Daughter Semele was borne Dionysius, or Liber Pater 2 vnder whome Linus the Musician lived. In his

CHAP.12. S.3.

d. III.

Of EHVDs time, and of PROSERPINA, ORITHYA, TEREVS. TANTALYS, TITYYS, ADMETUS, and others that lived about those times.



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Free the death of Othoniel, when Ifrael fell backe to their former Idola. trie, Godincouraged Moab to inuade and suppresse them: to performe which he joyned the forces of Ammon, and Amalee vnto his owne, and fo (as all kinde of miseric readily findeth out those whom God hath 10 abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to

make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest ouer Ifrael: whom God himselfe exposed to those perils: within which they were so speedily folded vp. In this mis ferable estate they continued full eighteene yeeres under Eglon King of the Moabites. and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his cares from their crying repentance: but raised up Ehud the sonne of Gera to deliver them: by which weake man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the inflnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the Israelites were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, heeresolued to attempt vpon the per- 20 fon of Eglen, whom if he could but extinguish, he affured himselfe of the following victorie: especially giving his Nation no time to reestablish their government or to choose a King to command, and direct them in the Warres. According to which refolution, Ebud went on as an Embassadour to Eglon, loaden with presents from the Ifraelites, as to appeale him, and obtaining private accesse vpon the pretence of some secret to be reuealed, he pierst his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the doores of his closet vpon him, escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, hee had prepared the ftrength of Ifrael in readinesse. For suddenly after his returne, he did repasse Jordan. and invading the Territorie of Moab, overthrew their Armie confifting of 10000.33 able and firong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that Samgar his Successour had miraculously slaine 600. Philistims with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of Ifrael lived in peace vnto the end of four clore yeeres from the death of Othoniel, which terme expired in the Worlds yeere 2601.

In the dayes of Ehud, Naomi with Elimelech her husband, and with her two sonnes. trauailed into Moab, and so the storie of Ruth is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the four core yeeres which are given to Ehud, it was that Oreus King of the Molosians: otherwise Pluto, fiale Proferpina, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of Hipponium in Sieilia: or (according to Paulanias) by the River Cephilus, which elsewhere he calleth Chemer, if he meane not two distinct Rivers. This stealth 40 being made knowne to Pyrithous, with whom Hercules and Thefeus joyned themfelues, they agreed together to recour her: but Plato or Orcus (whom otherscall Aidonius) had (as they fay) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on Pyrithous, and tare him in pieces, and had also worried Theleus, but that Hercules speedily rescued him: and by strength tooke and mastered the Dogge Cerberus: whereof grew the fable of Hercules his delivering of Thefeus out of Hell. But Zezes, as I take it, hath written this storie somewhat more according to the truth. For These and Printhew, Saith he, attempted to ficale Proferpina Daughter to Aidonius, King of the Molossams, who had Ceres to Wife, the mother of Proferpina. Proferpina being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to aidonius, Theseus 50 and Pyrithens were both taken; and because Pyrithous was the principall in this conspiracie, and Thefew drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was giuen for foode to Aidonius his great Dog Cerberus, the other held prisoner, till Hercales by the infligation of Euriftheus delivered him by firong hand. The Molosis which

which Stephanus writes with a fingle (S) were a people of Epirus inhabititing neere the Mountaines of Pindus: of which Mountaines Octa is one of the most famous, where Hercules burnt himselfe. The River of Acheron (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the Tame Hills. There is another Nation of the Molosi in The fall: but the le are neighbours to the Caftiopai, faith Plutareh in his Greeke que-

The rape of Orithya the Daughter of Ericthem, King of Athens, taken away by Boreus of Thrace, is referred to the time of Ehud. The Poets alcribe this rape to the North winde, because Thrace is situate North from Athens. In his time also Tereus to rauished Philomela, of which the sable was denised of her connection into a Nightingale. For Tereus hauing married her fifter Progne, conducting Philomela from Athens to fee her lifter, forft her in the passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that shee might not complaine; perswading Progne his Wife, that Philomela died in the mid-way: all which her brother in law's mercilesse behauiour towards her, Philomela expressed by her needle vpon cloth, and sent it Progne. In reuenge whereof Progne caused her onely sonne ligs to be cut in pieces, and set before Tereus her husband, so drest as it appeared to be some other ordinary soode: of which when he had caten his fill, thee caused his head, hands, and feete, to bee presented vnto him : and then fled away with such speede towards Athens where her Father Pandion yet lived, as 20 the Poets fained, that thee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, Strabo findes to bee Daulis in Phocis: and the Tombe of Tereus, Paulanias L. 9. hath built neere the Rockes Mergi, in the Territory of Athens. By which, as also by Pau, in Att. the name Daulis, where the fethings are supposed to have beene done (whence also Philomels is called Daulius ales) it appeares that it is true, which Thucydides notes by Thuc 1.2. way of digreffion in his Peloponne fian Warre, That this Tereus was not King in that which is now called Thracia, or in Odry/a, (as the Poets call him Odryfus) but that Phocis a Countrie in Greece not farre from Attica a Citie whereof is called Daulia, was in Pandions time inhabited by Thracians : of which this Tereus was King : whence Pandion, to have amitic with his neighbours, made him his sonne in law : as it is good 20 to beleeue, faith Thueydides, that Pandion King of Athens made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom hee might have fuccour, rather than with any Terem, that should have held the Kingdome of Odrysa, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for Progneto be turned into, may seeme to have beene partly because, as Pausanias sayes; Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines; As if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and to her lifter, did for euer hate that place.

Necre this time Melampus (who is faid to have vnderstood the voyces of Birds and Beafts) flourished, being also effected for an excellent Physician. Hee restored to their former health the Daughters of Pretus King of the Argines, who (as the Paulla. 40 Poetsplease) were made mad by Iuno: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into Homer, odiff 12 the Woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries, where the ground was light, they did vie often to plough with Kine.

In the 47. yeere of Ehud, Tros began to raigne in Dardania, and gaue it his owne name; about which time Phemone the chiefe Priest of Spollo in Delphos, denised the Paulo Heroicall Verle.

Of the same date was Tantalus, King of Lydia: whom Eusebius makes King of Phrygia: and also of that part of which the people were anciently Meones. Of Tantalus was deuised the fable that some Poets have applied to the passion of lone: and function to the concrous that dare not inion his riches. Eusebins calls this Tantalus the unit 12. Zeres ja sonne of lupiter, by the Nymph Pleta: Diaconus and Didymus in Zezes, giue him an- bif. 10. chilis. other Mother. He was said to be the sonne of Inpiter: as some will haue it; because he had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening wisedome and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the Gods, having nothing more precious: he caused his own Sonne to be flaine and dreft for the banquet : of whom Ceres ate part of one of the shoulders:

CHAP.13. S.3. of the Historie of the World.

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shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seeke after Divine know. ledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children of all else the most dearest. And where it was deuised, that hee had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirft, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the reft. Of whom Ouid:

> Quarit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat TANTALVS, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here TANTALV sin water seekes for water, and doth misse The fleeting fruit hee catcheth at : His long tongue brought him this.

10

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that hee discourred the fecrets of the Gods: that is, because he taught wisedome and vertue to mortall men: which storic Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly express in Verse. Others expound this fable other wife and fay, That Tantalus, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirstie of more abundance, was neuer satisfied. Of whom Horace against couctous nesse:

> TANTALVS à labis sitiens fugientia captat Flumina quidrides? mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur.

The thirsting T ANTALV s doth catch at streames that from him see. Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive where it is fained of Tantalus, that he gave the Nectar and Ambrofia of the Gods to vaine and unworthy men, that he was therfore by them in that 20 fort punished. Of which Natalis out of Pindarus:

> Immortalitatem quod furatus, Coetaniis conuinis Nectar Ambrofiamá, dedit.

Because that stealing immortalitie, He did both Weltar and Ambrofiagiue Toguefts of his owneage to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Divinitie ought not to bee imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleaned meates in a foule stomake, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserved mysteries are often peruerted by an vncleane and defiled minde.

Mark.4.11.

Mark.4.34. Greg.in Orat.de de Dee. 1.Cer.12.

To you it is given (faith Christ in MARKE) to know the mysterie of the Kingdome of God, but unto them that are without, all things bee done in parables. So is it said of him, that he expounded all things to his Disciples apart. And therefore doth Gregorie Nazianzene inferre vpon a place of S. PAVL: Qued fi PAVLO liquisset effari ea, querum ipli cognitionem calum tertium & vlque ad illud progresso suppeditavit, fortalle de Dec, nobis aliquid amplines constaret; If PAVI might have ottered the things, the knowledge 50 whereof the third heavens, and his going thither didbring unto him, peraduenture we might know somewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, faith Reuclin, thought it not the part of a wife man, Afino lyram expowere, ant mysteria, que ita reciperet, ve Sue tubam, & fidem graculus, & unquenta Scarabeus : quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo dininorum arcana patefacerent, que meditando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur; To fes an Affe to a harpe, or to learne mysteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a trumpet, or a lay a viall, or Scarabies and uncleane flies foueraigne ointment. Wherefore he commanded filence to his disciples, that they should not disclose duine mysteries to the common fort, which are easier learnt by meditation than by babbling. And therefore did the Agyptians communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certaine Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their fecrets might bee hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.

But to proceede with the contemporaries of Aod, or Ehnd, with him it is also said. that Tityus lived whom Apollo flew, because he sought to force his Mother Latona. Euphorion hath it thus, that Tityus was the Sonne of Elara, the Daughter of Orchomenus; which Elara being beloued of Jupiter, to avoid Juno's revenge, he hid Elara in the earth, where shee was delivered of Tityus: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. Paulanias speaking of the grave of this Gyant, affirmes that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But Tibullus hath a louder lie of his stature out of Homer.

> Porrectusá, nouem TITY v s per ingera terra, Asianas atro viscere pascit aues.

Hom.Od.11.

Nine furlongs stretcht lies TITYVs, who for his wicked deeds, The hungrie birds with his renewing liuer daily feeds.

This Strabo doth thus expound; that Apollo killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of Panopea, a Citie in Phoes, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still lived, and had his stell renewed.

Admetus King of The Salie lived also in this Age, whom it is said that Apollo first 30 served as a Herd-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but having flaine Hyacinthus, he croft the Hellefoont, and fled into Phrygia: where together with Neptune, hee was entertained by Laomedon, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of Troy, not by making the bricks leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in Ouid, which

> Ilion aspicies, firmatag, turribus altis Mania, APOLLINE AE Structa canore lyra.

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high Built with the harpe of wise Arollo's Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke. And that he also laboured at the building of the Labyrinth in Greece, all the Megariens witnesse, faith Paufanias.

In these daies also of Ehud, or (as some finde it) in the daies of Deborab, lived Perseus, the sonne of Inpiter and Danae, by whose Souldiers (as they sailed out of Peloponnefus, to seeke their adventure on Africa side) Medusa, the Daughter and Successor of Phoreus, being weakely accompanied as shee hunted, neare the Lake 10 Triton, was surprised and slaine: whose beautie, when Perfeus beheld, he caused her Tritona Lake of head to be imbalmed, and carried into Greece: the beautie whereof was such and Africa, which so much admired, and the beholders so assonished which beheld it, as thereof Pallantias. grew the fiction, that all that looked on Medufa's head, were turned into Didym, in pereg-

Oo

Cecrops, the second of that name and 7. King of Athens, and Acrifius the 13. or

the time of this ludge: of which the first ruled 40, yeares, and the second 31 yeares.

Also Bellerophon lived in this age, being the sonne of Glaucus, the sonne of Silphus:

Eufer.inchron. after Eufebius, the 14. King of the argines, began also their raignes, as it is said, in

ð. IIII.

Of DEBORA and her Contemporaries.

ReFter Ifrael had lived in peace and plentie to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giver of all goodnesse, and many of they againe began to forget the giver of all goodnesses, and many of those being worne out, which were witnesses of the former mileries, those of the former those of the first being worner those of the first being the second of the first being those of the first being th and of Gods deliverance by Ehud, and after him by Samgar, the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements.

For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle securitie; so is securitie as fruitfull in to begetting and bringing forth both danger and subuersion: of which all estates in the world haue tafted by interchange of times. Therefore when their finnes were againe ripe for punishment, labin King of Hazor, after the death of Ehnd, inuaded the Territorie of Ifrael, and having in his service 900. yron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twentie yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp Deborah, the Prophetesse, who incouraged Barac to leuie a force out of Nepthalim. and Zabulon, to incounter the Canaanites. That the men of Nepthalim were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seeme to have proceeded partly from the authoritic that Barac had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grieuance, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because Hazor and Haroseth the chiefe holds of Jahin, were in Nepthalim. So in the daies of Iepiha the Gileadites tooke the greatest care, because the Ammonites with whom the Warre was, pressed most vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of Ehad to deliver Ifrael from the Moabite : and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of Canaan, and to kill the valiant Sifera by Itel the Kenites wife: fo was it his will at other times, to workethe likegreat things by the weakest meanes. For the mightie Assirian Nabuchodonofor, who was a King of Kings, and reliftlesse, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchlesse prideinto the base humilitie of a Beast. And to approue that he is the Lord of all 30 power, he sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of Senacherib by his Angell: or as he did the Ægyptians in Moses time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned Pharao by the waves of the Sea: and the Canaanites by haile-stones in the time of Iofua: sometimes by the ministerie of men. as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, Chedorlaomer, and his companions, by the houshold servants of Abraham. He caused the Moabites and Ammonites to set vpon their owne confederate the Armie of the Edomites; and having slaine them to kill one another in the fight of Ieho (aphat: and of the like to these a volume chron.2.20) of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did Deborah the Prophetesse speake vnto Barac in these wordes: But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, Jud.4.9. 40 for the Lord shall sell Siser A into the handes of a Woman. In which victorie all the strength of the Canaanite labin fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which Warre it seemeth that Iabin himselfe also perished, as appeareth by the last

Verse of the fourth of Indges: After all which Deborah giveth thankes to God, and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfulnesse, and great mercies, shee sheweth the weake estate whereinto Israel was brought for their Idolatrie by the Canaanites, and other bordering Nati-

ons, in these wordes: Was there a shield or speare seene among fortie thousand of Israel? Ind. s. v. 18. she also sheweth how the Israelites were seuered and amased, some of them confined ouer Iordan, and durst not ioyne themselves to the rest; as those of Reuben in Gilead: V.17. 50 that the Asherites kept the Sea-coast, and forsooke their habitations towards the Land, and the children of Dan who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safetie, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curfeth the inhabitants of Meroz, who dwelling neare the place of the battaile (belike fearing the successe) came not out to affist Israel, and then bleffeth Inel

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who inticed by Antes or Sthenobia, the wife of Pratus of the Argines, to accompanie her, but refuling it, shee accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: wherupon Pretus sent Bellerophon into Lycia, about some affaires of weight, between him and his Sonne in law lobates : gining fecret order to lobates to dispatch him:but Jobates thinking it dishonorable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him against Chimera, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the Gods (as the report is) 10 pittying his innocencie, fent him the winged Horse Pegasus, spring vp of the bloud of Medufa, formerly flaine by the Souldiers of Perfeus in Africa, to transport him, a horse that none other could master or bridle but Minerua: voon which beast Bellerophon ouer-came Chimiera: and performed the other fernices given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward Lyeia, the Lyeians lay in ambush to have slaine him : but being victorious also ouer all those, he arrived to tobates in safetie! whom Jobates for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which he grew fo infolent, as he attempted to flievp to heauen vpon his Pegafus: whose pride Jupiter disdaining, caused one of his stinging flies fo to vexe Pegafus, as he cast off Bellerophon from his back, into the Valley of 20 Cilicia, where he died blinde : of which burthen Pegafus being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven : and being fed in Inpiters ownestable, Aurora begd him of Iupiter to ride on before the Sunne. This tale is diverfly expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and vndeserued aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded according to that which is faid of Bellerophon: that when he was exposed to extreme hazard, or rather certaine death, he found both deliuerance and honor: but waxing ouer-proud and prefumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of forrow, and euer-during miserie. Secondly by others, That vnder the name of Chimara, was meant a cruell Pyrate of the Lycians, whose ship had in her 30 prow, a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beafts this Monster Chimara was faid to be compounded, whom Bellerophon pursued Plutar, in claris with a kinde of Galley of such swiftnesse, that it was called the slying Horse: to whom the inuention of failes (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other

L. 5. Æneid.

Ion also, from whom the Athenians (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their pa-Homer, in bymno rent lauan) deriue their name of lones, is faid to have beene about Ebuds time: Homer calls them laones, which hath a neere refemblance to the word lauan. Perhaps 40 Lib 18. 6.12. de ci.Dei, Lis 18. 6.12. de ci.Dei, Lis 18. 6.12. de ci.Dei, Lis 2.15 it might be so that Ion himselfe tooke name from Isuan: it being a custome observable in the Histories of all times, to reviue the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue.

expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnlikely, that Chi-

mara was the name of a ship, for so Wirgil calleth one of the greatest ships of

The inuation of India by Liber Pater, is by some reported as done in this age: but S. Augustine makes him farre more ancient: placing him betweene the comming out of Ægypt, and the death of losua.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to Ehud, and Samgar, Pelops flourished: who gaue name to Peloponnesus in Greece, now called Morea.

è. IIII.

Pau in Carin-

the wife of Heber the Kenite, who nailed Sifera in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the Israelites. For though the Familie of Heber were inforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondencie with Iabin the Camaanite, yet when occasion offered them meanes, they witnessed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, shee derideth the Mother of Silera who promised her some the victorie in her owne hopes : and fancied to her selfe, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, shee dire-Aeth her praises and thankes to God only victorious.

From the beginning of labins oppression to the end or that peace, which Deborath and Barac purchased vnto Ifrael, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the King- 10 dome of Argos which had continued 544. yeares was translated to Mycana: The translation of this Kingdome Viues out of Paulanias writeth to this effect: After Danam, Lynceus succeeded in Argos, after whom the children of Abas the sonne of Lynceus divide the Kingdome: of which Acrisius being eldestheld Argos it selfe: Pratus his brother possest Epbyra or Corinib, and Tirynthos, and other Cities with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in Tirynthos, which wit-

nesse Pratus possession, saith Pausanias.

Now Acrisius was foretold by an Oracle, that hee should be slaine by the sonne of his Daughter Danae: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Ladie being exceeding faire, it is 20 fained that Impiter turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begather with child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other Worthie man, corrupted her keepers with gold: and enioved her, of whom Perleus was borne; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (faith Ctesias) or in shewing his grand-father the invention of the discus, or leaden ball, slew him vnwillingly. After this Perfeus, to avoide the infamie of Patricide in Argos, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle Pratus: and built Myeana. This imprisonment of Danae, So. phoeles reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brasen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie Horace haththis wittle observation.

Inclusam DANAEN, turris abenea, Robustag, fores, & vigilum Canum Triftes excubia, munierant satis Nocturnis ab adulteris : Si non Acrisium Virginis abditæ Custodem pauidum, IVPITER & VENVS Risiffent, fore enim tutum iter & patens, Conuer lo in pretium Deo. Aurum per medios ire satellites, Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius Itu fulmineo.

The brasen Tower with dores close bar'd, And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard, Kept safe the Maidenhead Of DANAE from secret loue: Till smiling VENVS, and wise I ove Beguild her Fathers dread. For chang'd into a golden showre, The God into her lap did powre Himselfe, and tooke his pleasure. Through gardes, and stonie walls to breake, The thunder-bolt is farre more weake, Then is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argines were these.

and machus the first King, who beganne to raigne in the first yeare of Jacob . and the 61-of Ifaao: from which sime to the end of sthenelus, Castor milreckoneth 400. verres. This Kingdome before the translation, Eufebius accounteth to have stood 544 yeares, othersibut at 417. 10 was the Daughter of this Inachus: whom the 

steadered signamaid storberenew, guisal be see on a manufigur of the contract of t con war to mist bus more ti Picifus. I adepoin the last to be and write and the Albanes and the first of the state of the st Danaus, Lynceus, Andre S The Carlos of the Salar of the Carlos of the ពួកគ្នាល់ ! Abas,
Acrifius,
Pelops: Carlo Carlo 

After the translation to Mycene, Mar. Scotus finds these Kings. Perfeus,

Sthenelus, Eurystheus,

Aireus and The sonnes of Pelops by Hippodamia : Aireus by Thyestes SEurope had Agamemnon and Menelaus.

Agamemnon, Helial w 33444

Agyshus,

Egyshus,

Orestes,

Tisamenus,

Penthilus and Cometes.

Of these Kings Mercator and Bunting leave out the two first, and the last: beginning with Eurystheus: and ending with Penthilus. In Tisamenus time the Heratlide returned into Peloponnesus: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of Barac and Debora, were Midas who raigned in Phrygia: and ilus who built ilium: with others mentioned in our Chronologicall table, as contemporaries with Debora.

### ). V.

Of GIDEON, and of DAEDALVS, SPHINX, MINOS, and others that lived in this Age.



agynd fan i'

EBOR A and Barae being dead: the Midianites affifted by the Amalekites infefted Ifrael. For when vnder a Indge who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had injoyed any quiet or prosperitie: the Indge was no looner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatrie.
Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did so master them in a

30 fhort time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to faue themselues, they crept into caues of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardest accesse: their enemies possessing althe plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in haruest Jud. 6. time by themselues, and the multitude of their cattle, destroying at that grew vp. coucring the fields as thick as graffe-hoppers : which feruitude lafted feuen yeares.

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Then the Lord by his Angell stirred up Gidcon the sonne of Josph, afterward called lerubbaal; whose feare and vinwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precifely fer down in the holy Scriptures: as also now it pleased God by a few select persons; namely 300; out of 32000; men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hosts; Each of these 300, by ou deens appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terrour than force, with which he gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarum: who hearing foloud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) fo many lights about them, esteemed the Armie of Ifrael to be infinite, and strucken with a sodaine seare, they all fled without a stroke firicken: and were slaughtered in to great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the Ephramites began to quarrell with Gideon, because he made warre without their affistance, being then greedie of gløtie, the victorie being gotten: who (if Gideon had failed and fallen in the enterprise) would no doubt have held themselves happie by being neglected. But Gideon appealing them with a mild answere, followed after the enemie, in which pursuit being tired with trauaile, and wearie euen with the flaughtering of his enemies, he defired reliefe from the inhabitants of Succests, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) he might ouer-take the other two Kings of the waidianites: which had saued themselves by flight. For they were source Princes of the Nations, which had inuaded and wasted Ifrael: to wit, Oreb and Seeb, which 20 were taken already, and Zebah and Salmunna which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of Succoth, fought the like reliefe from the inhabitants of Penuel, who in like fort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatned therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the profequation of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that hee would teare the flesh of those of Succoth with Thornes and Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of Pennel: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their bretheren the I/raelues, especially after so great a victorie: if I may presume to make coniecture; it seemes likely, first that those Cities set ouer tordan, and in the way of all inualions, to be made by the Moabites, and Ammonites, and Midianites, into Ifrael, had either 30 made their owne peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that Zeba and Salmunna were escaped with a great part of their armie, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rate to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both enuie and maligne others, if they performe any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safetie of their owne Countrie, though themselues may bee assured to beare a part of the smart of contrarie successe. And such malitious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrie should suffer hazzard, and want, than that fuch men as they mislike, should be the authors or actors of any glorie or good 49

to either.

Now Gideon, how or wherefoeuer it were that hee refreshed himselfe and his wearie and hungrie Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunitie, and pursued his A place in Ba- former victorieto the vttermost : and finding Zebah and Salmunna in Karkor (suspe-Aing no farther attempt vpon them) he againe surprised them, & slaughtered those 15000. remaining: having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he tooke Zebah and Salmanna prisoners: whom because themselves had exequuted Gideons bretheren before at Tabor, he caused them both to be slaine: or (as it is written) at their owne request slew them with his owne hands: his Son whom he first commanded to doeit, refusing it, and in his returne from the consummation 30 of this meruailous victorie, he tooke reuenge of the Elders of Succoth, and of the Citizens of Penuel: forgiuing no offence committed against him:either by strangers or by his bretheren the I/raelites. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his owne children found foon after his death, according to that which hath been faid before. The

debts of crueltie and mercie are neuer left vusatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of Succeth, with great and vnusuall torments, so were his owne 70. sonnes al, but one. murthered by his owne bastard Abimilee. The like Analogie is observed by the Rabbines, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the Leyptians, who haning caused the male children of the Hebrewes to bee slaine, others of them to bee cast into the river and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure. destroying their owne first borne by his Angell, and drowning Pharaoh and his armie in the red sea. And hereof a world of examples might bee given, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the people reverence Gideon in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraignetie ouer them, Ind. 8.242 and to establish him in the Gouernment; which hee refused, answering; I will not reigne ouer you, neither shall my childe reigne ouer you, but the Lord shall, &c. But he defired the people that they would bestow on him the golden eare-rings, which every man had gotten. For the Ismaelites, neighbours, and mixt with the Midianites, vied to weare them: the waight of all which was a thousand and seuen hundred Shekels of gold, which makes of ours 2380.l. if we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. Exod. 28. And because he converted that gold into an Ephod, a garment of gold, blue silke, pur- Indg.8.28. ple, scarlet, and fine linnen, belonging to the High Priest only, and set up the same in 20 his owne Citie of Ophra or Ephra, which drew I/rael to Idolatrie, the same was the

destruction of Gideon and his house.

There was another kinde of Ephod belides this of the High Priefts, which the Lenites vied, and so did Dauid when he daunced before the Arke: and Samuel, while

he was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demaund how it was possible for Gideon with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, wee may remember that although Gideon with 300. gaue the first alarme, and put the Midianites in rout and disorder : yet all the rest of the armie came into the slaughter, and pursuite, for it is written; That the men of Ifrael being gathered together out Ind. e.g. vizza 30 of Nephtalie, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites: for this armie Gideon left in tents behinde him, when hee went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyle of his 300. trumpets came after him to

There lived with Gideon, Ageus, the sonne of Pandion, who reigned in Athens: Eurishens King of Mycena: Atreus and Thyestes the sonnes of Pelops, who bare dominion over a great part of Peloponnesis, and after the death of Euristheus, the Kingdome of Mycena fell into the hand of Atreus. This is that Atreus, who holding his brother in icalousie, as an attempter, both of his wife and crowne, slew the children of Thyestes, and causing their flesh to be drest, did therewith feast their fa-40 ther. But this crueltie was not vnreuenged. For both Atreus and his sonne Agamemnon were flaine by a base sonne of Thyestes, year the grand-children, and all the

linage of Atreus died by the same sword.

In Gideons time also those things were supposed to have beene done, which are written of Dadalus and Icarus. Dadalus, they say, having flaine his Nephew Attalus, fled to Mines, King of Crete, for succour, where for his excellent workemanship he was greatly esteemed, having made for Minos a Labyrinth, like vnto that of Agypt. Afterward he was faid to have framed an artificiall Cowe for Pasiphae the Queene, that she, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by putting her selfeinto the Cow, satisfie her lust, a thing no lesse vnnatural than incredible, had not that shameso leffe Emperour Domitian exhibited the like beaftly spectacle, openly before the people of Rome, in his Amphitheater, of purpole, as may seeme, to verifie the old fable. For so it appeares by those verses of Martial, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vitious times.

Kunttain

Iunctam Pasiphaen Dicteo credite Tauro Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem. Nec le miratur Cafar longeua vetuftas Quicquid famicanit, donat arena tibi.

Burconcerning that which is reported of Pasiphae, Servius makes a leffe vnhonest construction of it, thinking that Dadaluswas of her counsell, and her Pandar for the enticing of a Becretarie of Minos called Taurus, which fignifieth a Bull, who begat her with child, and that the being delivered of two fonnes, the one refembling Tanrus, the other her husband Minos, it was fained that the was delivered of the Mon- 10 22.6.5.11 few airnoting, halfen Mittand halfen Bull. But this practife being discouered, and Dedaus appointed to be flaine, he fled out of Crete to Cocalus King of Secil in which paffage he made fuch expedition, as it was fained that he fallioned wings for himfelfe and his loane to transport them. For whereas Minos pursued him with boats which had oares onely, Dedalus framed failes both for his owne boate, and for his formes, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention, Icard bearing himselfe overbold, was overborne and drowned.

It is also written of Dadilus, that he made Images that could move themselves, and goe, because he cartied them with legs, armes and hands, whereas those that preceded him, could onely present the bodie and head of those men, whom they 20 cared to counterfait, and yet the workemanship was esteemed very rare. But Plutarke, who had seene some of those that were called the Images of Dadalus, found

them exceeding rude.

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Herind,Plat. Paullib.9.

With Gideon also flourished Linus the Theban, the sonne of Apollo, and Terpsichore, who instructed Thamaris, Orpheus, and Bercules. Hee wrote of the Creation, of the Sunne and Moones counferand of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end

he was flaine by Hermiles his scholler with his owne harpe.

Againe, prthis age those things spoken of sphinx and Oedipus, are thought to have beene performed. This sydims being a great robber by sea and land, was by the Corinthian Armie, led by Oedipus, ouercome. But that which was written of her 39 propounding of riddles, to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccessible mountaine neere Thebes, which she defended, and by Oedipus dissoluing her probleme his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding Swift, and with the bodie of a Lyon for her crueltie. But that which Palaphatus reports of sphere, were more probable, did not the time disproue it, for he calls her an Amizonile, and the wife of Cadmus: who when by her help he had cast Draco ont of Thebes (neglecting her) he married the lifter of Draco, which Sphinx taking in despightfull part, with her owne troope shee held the mountaine by Thebes, from whence the continued a tharpe warre vpon the Thebans, till by Oedipus ouerthrown. About this time did Mines thrust his brother out of Crete, and held sharpe warre 40 with the Megarians, and Athenians, because his sonne Androgeus was slaine by them. He possest himselfe of Megara, by the treason of Seylla, daughter of Nisus the King. He was long Master of the sea, and brought the Athenians to the tribute of delivering him every years feuen of their sonnes; which tribute Thefeus released, as shall bee shewed when I come to the time of the next Judge Thala. In the end hee was flaine at Camerinus or Camerus in Sicilea, by Cocalus the King, while he purfued Dadalus and was effeemed by fome to be the first law giver to those Ilands.

To this time are referred many deeds of Hercules, as the killing of Antaus the gyant, who was faid to have 60, and odde cubites of length, which though Plutarke doth confirme, reporting that there was such a bodie found by Sertorius the Roman, 10 in Lybia, where Hercules flew Antaus: yet for my felfe. I thinke it but a lowd lie. That antaus was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, Ensebius affirmeth: and because hee cast so many mento the ground, hee was fained to beethe sonne of the Earth. Plinie saith, that he inhabited neere the gardens Hesperides in Mauritania. S.

Euseb.in Chr.

Arif .pol.l.1.

Eufeb. in Chren.

Augustine affirmes that this Hercules was not of Greece, but of Lybia: and the Hydra Aug. deci. dei, also which he ouercame, Plato expoundeth to be a subtle Sophister.

#### ò. V I.

### Of the expedition of the Argonauts.

Bout the cleuenth yeere of Gideon, was that famous expedition of the Argonauts: of which many fabulous discourses have beene written, the fumme of which is this.

Pelias the sonne of Neptune, brother by the mothers side to Ason, who was Iafons father, reigning in Ioleus a towne of Theffalie, was war-

ned by the Oracle of Apollo to take heede of him that ware but one shoe. This Relias afterward facrificing to Neptune, inuited Islan to him, who comming halfily, lost one shoe in passing ouer a brooke: whereupon Peliss demaunded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an oracle should aduise him to take heede: to which question when Iason had briefly answered, that he would fend him to Colchos, to fetch the golden fleece, Pelias immediatly commaunded him to vndertake that service. Therefore Island prepared for the voyage, having 20 ashippe built by Argus, the sonne of Phryxus, by the Counsell of Pallas: wherein hee procured all the brauest men of Greece to faile with him : as Typhis the Master of the shippe, Orpheus the famous Poet, Castor and Pollux the sonnes of Tyndarus, Telamon and Peleus, sonnes of Acus, and fathers of Aiax and Achilles, Hercules, Theseus, Zetes and Calais the two winged sonnes of Boreas, Amphiaraus the great Southsayer, Meleager of Calidon that flew the great wilde boare: Afcalaphus and Ialmenus or Almenus the sonnes of Mars, who were afterwards at the last warre of Troy, Laertes the father of Vlyffes, Atalanta a warlike virgine, Idas and Lynceus the sonnes of Aphareus, who afterwards in fight with Castor and Pollux slew Castor, and wounded Pollux, but were flaine themselves: Lynceus by Pollux, Idas by Iupiter with 30 lightning.

These and many other went with Iason in the ship drgo: in whose prowe was atable of the beech of Dodona, which could speake. They arrived first at Lemnos; the women of which iland, having flaine all the males, purpofing to lead an Amazonian life, were neuerthelesse contented to take their pleasure of the Argonauts. Hence they came to the Country about Cyzicus: where dwelt a people called Doliones: ouer whom then reigned one Cyzicus: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that looking thence by night they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Hauen, nor being knowne by the Doliones, to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering ene-40 mies: by which meanes they fell to blowes, infomuch that the Argonautes flew the most part of the Doliones together with their King Cyzicus: which when by day light they perceived, with many teares they solemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe and arrived shortly in Mysia, where they left Hercules and Polyphemus the sonne of Elates, who went to seeke Hylas the darling of Hercules, that was raui-

fled by the Nymphes.

Poliphemus built a towne in Mysia, called Cios, wherein he reigned. Hercules returned to Argos. From My sia the Argonautes failed into Bythinia, which then was peopled by the Bebryces, the auncient inhabitants of the Country, ouer whom Amycus the sonne of Neptune was then King. He beeing a strong man, compelled all stran-50 gers to fight with him, at whorlebattes, in which kinde of fight hee had flaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by Pollux. The Bebryces in reuenge of his death flew all vpon Pollux, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sailed from hence to Salmy dessus, a towne in Thrace (somewhat out of their way) wherein Phineus a Soothfayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with

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the Harpyes. The Harpyes were faid to be a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for Phineus, came flying in, and denouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonautes craued his aduise, and direction for their voyage: you shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliuer me from the Harpyes, and then afterwards to aske my Counfaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be couered, and meat set on; which was no sooner set downe, then that presently in came the Harpyes, and played their accustomed prancks: when Zetes and Calais the winged young men faw this, they drew their fwords, and purfued them through the ayre; fomefay 10 that both the Harpyes and the young men died of wearinesse in the flight, and purfuit. But Apollonius faith that the Harpyes did conenant with the youthes, to doe no more harme to Phineus, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turne Phineus gaue them informations of the way, and aduertifed them withal of the daungerous rockes, called Symplegades, which by force of windes running together, did shut vp the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them into the pasfage: and if that passed safe, then to adventure after her: if not, then by no meanes to hazard themselues in vaine. They did so, and perceiving that the pigeon had only lost a piece of her taile, they observed the next opening of the rockes, and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, onely the end of the poope was 20

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the Symplegades have flood still: for the Gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a shippe, they should be fixed. Thence the Argonautes came to the Mariandyni, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river Parthenius, where Lyens the King entertained them courteoully. Here Idmon a Soothsayer of their company was flaine by a wild boare; also heere Typhis died : and Anexus vindertooke to steare the ship. So they passed by the river Thermodon, and mount Caucasus, and came to the river Phasis, which runnes through the land of Colchos. When they were entred the hauen, Iason went to Attes the King of Colchos, and told him the Commaundement of Pelias, and cause of 30 his comming, desiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which Letes, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if he alone would yoake together two brazen hooft bulls, and plowing the ground with them, fowe dragons teeth, which Minerua had given to him, being part of those which Cadmus did sowe at Thebes. These bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire : Vulcan had given them to Actes.

Whilest Isson was in a great perplexitie about this taske, Medas the daughter of Æetes, fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre foorth, that being excellent in Magique, she came privily to him, promising her helpe, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this Iason agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue she to him a medicine wherewith she bad him to anoint both his bodie and his ar- 10 mour, which would preserve him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would arise out from the ground, from the teeth which hee should fowe, and set vpon him. To remedie which inconvenience, shee bad him throw · stones amongst them as soone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that he might easily slay them. Iason followed her counsaile; whereto when the euent had answered, hee againe demaunded the Fleece. But Letes was so farre from approuing such his desire, that hee deuised how to destroy the Argonautes, and burne their ship, which Medea perceiuing, went to Isfon, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung vpon an Oke in the groue of Mars, where they say it was kept by a Dragon, that ne- 10 uer slept. This Dragon was by the Magique of Medea cast into a sleepe: so taking away the golden Fleece, she went with Iason into the ship Argo, having with her, her brother Absyrtus.

Æetes vuderstanding the practifes of Medea, provided to pursue the ship, whom

when Medea perceived to be at hand, the flew her brother, & cutting him in Dieces. the feattered his limbs in divers places, of which Letes finding some, was faige to fecke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe: the parts of his some hee buried in a place, which thereupon he called Tomi; the Greeke word ligni, eth Dintion. Afterwards he fent many of his subjects to seeke the ship Argo, threatning that if they brought not backe Medaa, they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the Argonauts were driven about the Scas, and were come to the River Eridanus. which is Po in Italie.

Jupiter, offended with the flaughter of Abfortus, vexed them with a great tem-10 peft, and carried them they knew not whither 5 when they came to the Hands Absyrides, there the ship Argo (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them, and said, that the anger of Jupiter should not cease, till they came to Aufonia, and were clented by Circe, from the murther of Absyrtus. Now, they thereupon fayling betweene the coasts of Lybia, and Gadia, and passing through the sea of Sardinia and along the coast of Hetruria, came to the Ile of Aea, wherein Circe dwelt, who clenfed them. Thence they fayled by the coast of the Syrens, who fang to allure them into danger: but orpheus on the other fide fang so well that he flayed them. Only Butes swamme out vnto them, whom Venus rauished, and car-

ried to Lylibaum in Smile to dwell. Hauling past the Syrens, they came betweene Soylla and Charpbilis, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoke. But Thetis and the Nereides, conneyed them fafe through at the appointment of Juno. So they coasted Sicilie where the beenes of the Sunne were, and touched at Corerra, the Hand of the Pheaces, where King Aleinous reigned. Meane while, the men of Colshos, that had beene sent by Letes in quest of the ship Argo, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themselues to new habitations: some of them dwelt in the mountaines of Coreyra, others in the Ilands Abfretides, and some comming to the Pheaces, there found the ship Argo, and demanded Medea of Alcinous : whereto Alcinous made answere, that if thee were not Infons 30 wife, they should have her, but if shee were alreadie married, he would not take her from her hulband. Arete, the wife of Alcinous, hearing this, married them : wherefore they of Colchos not daring to returne home, flayed with the Pheaces; so the Argonautes departed thence, and after a while came to Crete. In this Iland, Minos reigned, who had a man of braffe given to him (as some of the Fablers say) by Vulcan. This man had one veine in his bodie reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was closed vp with a brazen naile, his name was Talus: his custome was torunne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When hee faw the thip Argo passe by , hee threw stones at it , but Medea with her Magique destroyed him. Some fay that shee flew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that 40 promiting to make him immortall, face drew out the naile that stopt his veine, by which meanes all his bloud ranne out, and he died; others there are that fay he was flaine by Paan, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the Argonautes sayled to Agina, where they were faine to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from Eginathey sailed by Enbarand Locas home to Ioleos, where they arriued, having spent soure whole moneths in the expedition.

Somethere are that by this journey of Iason understand the mysterie of the Philosophers stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other super-fine Chymilis draw the tweluelabours of Hercules. Suidas thinkes that by the golden Fleece, was meant a booke of Parchment, which is of sheepe-skin, and therefore called golden, 50 because it was taught therein how other metalls might bee transmuted. Others would fignifie by Iafon, wisdome, and moderation, which ouer-commethall perils: but that which is most probable is the opinion of Derailus, that the storie of such a passage was true, and that Iason with the rest went indeed to rob Colchos, to which they might arrive by boate. For not farre from Cancas fus there are certaine steepe

14:12.9.4.

17erf.5.

CHAP.12. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold; as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting vie to fee many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth through, which Strabo witneffeth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and Currents, in the passage betweene Greece and the bottome of Pontus, are Poetically conuerted into those fierie bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasse, the Syrens, Seylla and Charybdie, were other hazards and aduentures which they fell into in the Mediterran fea, difguised, as the rest, by Orpheus, under poeticall moralls : all which Homer afterward vsed (the man of brasse excepted) in the description of Vlyses his travailes, on the 10 fame Inland-feas.

Of ABIMELECH, THOLAH, and IAIR, and of the Lapytha, and of THESEVS, HYPPOLYTVS, &c.



Free the death of Gideon, Abimeleeb his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the Sechemites, remembring what offers had been made to his father by the people, who defired to make him and his their 20 perpetuall Princes; and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modestie) that some of his brethren might take on

them the Soueraigntie, practifed with the inhabitants of Sechem (of which his mother was natiue) to make election of himselfe, who being easily moued with the glorie, to have a King of their owne, readily condescended; and the better to enable Abimelech, they bortowed 70. pleces of filuer of their Idoll Baalberish, with which treasure he hyreda company of look and desperate vagabonds, to affish his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. brethren, the sonnes of Gideon, begotten on his wives, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but Iotham the youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which hee executed on 20 one flone, a crueltie exceeding all that hath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for euerlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preservation of every being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hathno end. All other passions and affections, by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes relisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth enery vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of Saran, looketh only towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing ( how fearefull and inhumanesoeuer) which may serue it : remembring nothing, what soeuer instice, pietie, right or 40 religion can offer and alleadge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the errour or weakenesse of the undertakers, and rather praiseth the aduenture than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and began in Angels: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more auncient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the Deuill which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practife the other, as befitting enery age, and mans condition.

Iotham, the youngest of Gideons sonnes, having escaped the present perill, sought by his best persuasions to alienate the Seebemites, from the assisting of this merciles 50 tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happie estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive as vnlawfull, what others had not power to give, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people)

had appointed them by whom and how to bee gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oline, which contented it selfe with it's fatnesse, the Figge tree with sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good inyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soueraigntic. He also foretold them by a Propheticall spirit; what should be fall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and confume the Cedars of Libanon.

Now (as it is an casie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right led on ) Gail the sonne of Ebed withdrew the Citizens of Sechem, from the service of Abimelech: who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it: 10 and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll Baalbersth was worshipped. and put all the people of all forts to the flaughter. Lattly, in the affault of the Cattle or Tower of Teber, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone thrown ouer the wall by a woman, and finding himselfe mortally brused, hee commaunded his owne page to pierce his bodie, thereby to avoid the dishonour of being slaine by so

While Abimelech vsurped the Gouernment, the Lapetha and Centaures made warre against the Thebanes. These Nations were descended of Apollo, and were the first in those parts that deuised to mannage horses, to bridle and to sit them: in somuch as when they first came downe from the mountaines of Pindus, into the plaines, those 20 which had neuer scene horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of which had neuer icene notioned before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the Mexicans when Ferdinando Cortes the Spaniard first inuade incredib. ded that Empire.

After the death of Abimelech, Thola of Iffachar gouerned Ifrael 23. yeeres, and after him Iair the Gileadite 22. yeeres, who scerneth to bee descended of Iair the sonne of Manafe, who in Moses time conquered a great part of Gilead, and called the same after his owne name, Haboth Lair. For to this Lair there remained thirtie of those Cities, Num. 12.41. which his ancester had recourred from the Amorites. Of these Iudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times, Ifrael lived with- 1udg.10. out disturbance and in peace.

When lair judged Israel, Priamus beganne to reigne in Troy, who at fuch time as 2901. Hercules lacked Ilium, was carried away captine with his lifter Helione into Greece, and being afterward redeemed for ransome, hee rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned Troy; and so farre inlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreme Lordin effect of all Asia the lesse. He married Heenba the daughter of Cisseus King in This. of Thrace, and had in all (faith Cicero) fiftie fonnes, whereof seventeene by Hecuba, of whom Paris was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt Hesione, tooke Helena the wife of Menelaus the cause of the warre which followed.

Theleus the tenth King of Athens began likewise to reigne in the beginning of Jair: some writers call him the sonne of Neptune and Athra: but Plutark in the Storie of 40 his life findes him begotten by Ageus, of whom the Grecian sea betweene it and Asia the leffe tooke name. For when Minos had mastered the Athenians, so farre as he forst them to pay him scuen of their sonnes every yeere for tribute, whom hee inclosed within a Labyrinth, to bee devoured by the monster Minotaur : because belike the sonnes of Taurus, which he begat on Pasiphae the Queene, had the charge of them: Among these seven Theseus thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliner the rest, and to free his Countrie of that slaueric occasioned for the death of Androgeus,

And having possess himselfe of Ariadnes affection, who was Minos daughter, hee received from her a bottome of thred, by which hee conducted himselfe 50 through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the Labyrinth, made in all like . that of the Citie of Crocodiles in Agapt; by meane whereof having flaine Minotaur, hee found a readie way to returne. But whereas his father Ageus had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in safetie, hee should vie a white faile in figne thereof, and not that mournefull blacke faile, vnders which

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which they left the port of Athens. This instruction beeing either forgotten or neglected, Ageus descrying the shippe of Theseus with a blacke saile. cast himselfe ouer the rockes into the Sea, afterward called of his name &-

One of the first famous actes of Thefeus, was the killing of Seyron, who kept a pas. fage betweene Megara and the Peloponnesian Isthmos, and threw all whom hee maftered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward hee did the like to Cercyon, by wreftling, who vied by that Arte to kill others. Hee also ridde the Country of Procrustes, who vied to bend downe the strong limbes of two trees, and fastened by cordes such as hee tooke, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and 10 by their springing backe tarethem asunder. So did hee roote out Periphetes and other mischieuous theeues and murtherers. Hec ouerthrew the armie of the Amazons, who after many victories and vaftations, entred the Territoric of Athens. Thefew having taken their Queene Hyppolita prisoner, begat on her Hippolytus; with whom afterward his mother in law Phadra, falling in loue, and hee refuling to abuse his fathers bed, Phedra perswaded Thefew that his sonne offered to force her: after which it is fained, that Thefeus befought Neptune to reuenge this wrong of his fonnes, by some violent death. Weptune taking a time of aduantage, sent out his Sea-Calues, as Hippelytus passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as cafling the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which 20 miscrable and vndeserned destinie, when Phadra had heard of, shee strangled herselfe. After which it is fained, that Diana entreated Asculapius to set Hippolytus his piecestogether, and to restore him to life: which done, because hee was chaste, thee led him with her into Italie, to accompanie her in her hunting, and

It is probable that Hippolytus, when his father fought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and received many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds As (culapius, to wir, some skilfull Phisician, or Chirurgion healed againe, after which hee past into Italy, where he lived with Diana, that is, the life of a hunter, in which hee most delighted. But of these ancient prophane Stories, 30 Plutarch faith well, that as Cosmographers in their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange beaftes, birdes, and fiftes, and with Mathematicall lines, to doe the Gracian Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that Thefeu did many great things in imitation of Hercules, whom hee made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the Athenians, from being disperst in thinne and ragged villages: in recompense whereof, and for deniling them lawes to line under, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say per Ostracismum, by the Lawe of Lottes, or names written on shelles, which was a de-20

nice of his owne.

Hec stole Helen (as they say) when she was 50. yeeres olde, from Aphidna, which Ciric Castor and Pollux ouerturned, when they followed after Thelew to recover their lifter. Erasistratus and Pausanias write that Theseus begat her with child at Arges, where thee crected a Temple to Lucina: but her age makes that tale vulikely to bee true, and fo doch Ouid, Nontamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum, &c. The rape Eusebius findes in the first of lair, who governed Ifrael 22. yeeres, to whom succeeded lephta or lepte fixe yeeres, to whom Ibzan who ruled scuen yeeres, and then Habidon eight yeere : in whose time was the fall of Troy. So as, if Theseus had a childe by her in the first of lair, (at which time we must count her no lesse so than fifteene yeere olde, for the women did not commonly beginne fo young as they doe now) shee was then at least two and sistie yeere olde at the destruction of Trey: and when shee was stollen by Paris eight and thirtie: but herein the Chronologers doe not agree. Yet Eusebius and Bunting with Halicarnasseus

Strab.lib.9: In Epift. Helen. Iud. 10.3.

CHAP.13.S.7. of the Historie of the World.

doe in effect consent, that the Citie was entred, and burnt in the first yeere of Demonhoon King of Athens, the successour of Mnestheus, the successour of Theseus. fenenteene dayes before the Summer Tropique, and that about the eleventh of September following, the Troians croft the Hellespont into Thrace, & wintred there, and in the next foring that they nauigated into Sicilia, where wintring the second yeare, the Euleb. Chron. next summer they arrived at Laurentum, and builded Lauinium. But S. Augustine hath Hallis. otherwise, that when Polyphides gouerned Siegon, Mnestheus Athens, Tautanes Affria, Habdon Ifrael, then Eneas arrived in Italie, transporting with him in twen- Aug.de.Ciu.Dei tie shippes the remainder of the Troians: but the difference is not great: and hercof "1.18,6.19. 10 more at large in the storie of Troy at hand.

In Sicronia Phastus the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeeres, beginning by the common account in the time of Thola. His successours, Adrastus, who reigned foure yeeres, and Polyphides who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of lair, fo is also Mnestheus King of Athens, and Atreus, who held a great part of Peloponnelus. In Affyria, during the government of these two peaceable Judges, Mitreus and after him Tautanes reigned. In Egypt Amenophis, the sonne of Ramses, and af-

terwards Annemenes.

ø. VII. Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age.



N this age was the warre of Thebes, the most ancient that ever Greeke Poet or Historian wrote of : Wherefore the Roman Poet Lucretius, affirming (as the Epicures in this point held trucky against the Peripateticks) that the world had a beginning, vigeth them with this

– Si nulla fuit genitalis origo Rerumá, & mundi, semperque aterna fuère, Cur (upra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troia, Non alias alij quoque res cecimere poeta?

If all this world had no originall, But things have ever beene as now they are: Before the fiege of Thebes or Troyes last fall, Why did no Poet fing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times Greece was very saluage, the inhabitants being often to chaced from place to place, by the captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than hee could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they vsed little, neither did they plant many trees, or fow more corne than was necessarie for their suftenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in Greece, when Homer did write, who measures the valew of gold and braffe by the worth in cattell; saying that the golden armour of Glaucus, was worth 100. beeues, and the copper armour of Diomedes worth nine.

Robberies by land and fea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the vsuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not so many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For Mycena the principall Citie in Peloponnelus was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the reft were proportionable: briefly, Greece was then in her infancie, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of Peloponnessus, the inhabitants might have enjoyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the

Athenians because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them : yet that the land in generall was very rude, it will eafily appeare to such as consider, what Thurydides the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the præface to his Historie. Wherefore, as in the selatter times, idle Chroniclers vie when they want good matter, to fill whole bookes with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to reade, so did they who spake of Greece in her beginnings, remember onely the great flouds which were in the times of Ogyges, and Deusalion: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulterie committed by their Gods, and the mightic men which they begat, without writing ought that sauou- 10 red of humanitic before the time of the warre of Thebes: the briefe whereof

OEdipus the sonne of Laius King of Thebes, having beene cast foorth when hee was an infant, because an Oracle foretolde what evill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of Thebes, by marriage of the Queene locasta, called by Homer Epicaste: on whom, not knowing her to bee his mother, hee begat two sonnes, Eteocles and Polynius; But when in processe of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee vinderstood the gricuous murther and incest hee had committed, he an tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang her selfe. Some say, that OEdipus having his eyes pulled out, was expelled Thebes, bitterly curling his sonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howfoeuer it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should reigne one yeere, and theother another yeere; and so by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obserued. For when Polynices had after a yeeres Gouernment resigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when Eteocles had reigned the first yeere, hee refused to give over the rule to Polynices. Hereupon Polynices fled vnto Arges, where Adrassus the sonne of Talaus then reigned, vnto whose pa- 10 lace comming by night, hee was driven to feeke lodging in an out-house, on the

There hee met with Tydeus the sonne of OEneus, who was fled from Calydon: with whom strining about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. Adrasus hearing the noyse, came foorth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceining in the shield of Tydeus a Bore, in that of Polynices a Lyon, heeremembred an olde Oracle, by which hee was aduised to give his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did bestow his daughter Argia vpon Tydeus, and Dipyle vpon Polynices, promiting to reftore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuving an armie, and affembling as many valiant Captaines as hee could draw 40 to follow him, hee was desirous among others to carrie Amphiaraus the sonne of Oicleus a great Soothfayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But Amphiaran, who is faid to have foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, saue onely Adrassus, did both vtterly resuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. Polynices therefore dealt with Eriphyle the wife of Amphiarans, offering vnto her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that shee should cause her husband to assist him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbad his wife to take any gift of Polynices. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a iewell, that she could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controuerfie, betweene Amphiaraus and Adrassus, was by way so of compromile put vnto the decision of Eryphile, either of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter so, as a woman should, that loued a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was more easie to foresee than avoide destinie, sought such comfort as reuenge might affoord, giuing in charge to his sonnes, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother and make strong warre voon the Thebanes.

Now had Adrastus affembled all his forces, of which, the feuen chiefe leaders were, himselfe, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, and Hippomedon (in steade of whom some name Mecifleus) all Argines, with Polynices the Theban, Tydeus the Etolian, and Parthenopeus the Areadian fonne of Meleager and Atalanta. When the armie came to the Nemean wood, they met a woman whom they defired to helpe them to some water, the having a child in her armes, laid it downe, and led the Argines to a to foring : but ere shee returned, a Serpent had flaine the childe. This woman was Hyplipyle the daughter of Theas the Lemnian, whom shee would have saved when the women of the Ileslew all the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an Amazonian life. For fuch her pietie, the Lemnian wives did fell her to Pyrates, and the Pyrates to Lycurgus Lord of the Country about Nemea, whose yong sonnes Opheltes or Archemorus, she did nurse, and lost as is shewed before. When vpon the childs death shee hid herselse for seare of her master, Amphiaraus told her sonnes where they should finde her: and the Argines did both kill the Serpent which had slaine the childe, and in memorie of the chaunce, did inflitute folemne funerall games called Nemeso, wherein Adrastus wanne the prize with his swift horse Arion, Tydeus no with whorlebats, Amphiaraus atrunning and quoiting, Poly nies at wrealing, Parthenopaus at shooting, and one Laodocus in darting. This was the first institution of the Nemean games, which continued after famous in Greece for very many ages. There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one Opheltsu, a Lacedemonian. Some fay by Hercules, when hee had flaine the Nemean Lyon : but the common opinion agrees with that which is here fet downe.

From Nemes the Argines marching onwards, arrived at Citheron, whence Tydeus was by them fent Embassadour to Thebes, to require of Eteocles the performance of Couchants betweene him and Polynices. This message was nothing agreeable to Eteodes, who was throughly resoluted to holde what he had, as long as here could: 30 which Tydeus perceiving and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the Thebans, hee made many challenges, and obtained victoric in all of them, not without much enuie and malice of the people, who laide fiftie men in ambush to intercept him at his returne to the armie, of which fiftie hee slewe all but one, whom hee fent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witnesse of his valour. When the Argines understood how resolued Eteocles was, they presented themselues before the Citie, and incamped round about it. Thebes is said to have had at that time feuen gates, which belike stoode not farre a sunder, seeing that the Argines (who afterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster vp more thousands then Thebes had gates) did compasse the towne. Adrastus 49 quartered before the gate Homoloides, Capaneus before the Ogygian, Tydeus before Crenis, Amphiaraus at Proetis, Hippomedon at Ancheis, Parthenopeus at Electra, and Polynices at Hyplista. In the meane season, Ercocles bauing armed his men, and appointed Commaunders vnto them, tooke aduice of Triefias the Soothfayer, who promised victorie to the Thebans, if Menecius the sonne of Creon 2 principali man of the Citie, would vowe himselse to bee slaine in honour of Mars the God of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and so envious at his Creators glorie, that hee not onely challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and factifice with all Diuine worship, but commaundeth vs to offer our selues, and our children vnto him, when hee hath fufficiently clowded mens understanding, 50 and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde denotion. And fuch abominable sacrifice of men, maides, and children hath hee exacted of the Syrians, Carthaginians, Galles, Germanes, Cyprians, Agyptians, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with supersition. But as they grewe more wife, so did hee waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not

leffe malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King Diphilus in Cypres without aduice of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Country relt contented with an Oxe in flead of a man. Tiberius forbad humane facrifices in Africk. and crucified the Pricits in the groues where they had practiled them. Hercules taught the Italians to drowne men of hay in stead of the living : yet among the faluages in the West Indies these cruell offerings have been practised of late ages: which as it is a sufficient argument that Satans malice is onely covered and hidden by this subtiltie among civill people: so may it serve as a probable Coniceture of the barbarismes then reigning in Greece. For Menacius, as soone as he understood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, bestowed himselse (as he thought) vpon Mars, 10 killing himselfe before the gates of the Citie. Then was a battaile fought, wherein the Argines prevailed fo farre at the first, that Capaneus advancing ladders to the walls, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was cast downe, or (as writers have it) was stricken downe by Jupiter with a thunder-bolt, the Argines fled. Many on each part were flaine in this battell, which caused both sides to desire that Eteocles and Polynices might trie out the quarrell in fingle fight; whereto the two brethren according, flew each other.

Another battel was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of Alacus behaued themselues very valiantly: Ismarus one of the sonnes slewe Hippomedon which was one of the feuen Princes: Parthenopaus being another of the feuen ( who 20 was saide to have beene so faire that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slaine by Amphidicus, or as some say, by Periclymenus the sonne of Neptune; and the valiant Tydeus by Menalis pus: yet ere Tydeus died, the head of Menalippus was brought vnto him by Amphiaraus, which hee crucly tore open and swallowed vn the braines. Vpon which fact, it is said, that Pallas, who had brought from Iupiter such remedie for his wound, as should have made him immortall, refused to beflow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortall, did perish through the beastly rage that hee shewed at his

The hoast of the Argiues being wholly discomfitted, Adrastus and Amphiarau 20 fledde: of whom Amphiaraus is said to have been swallowed quicke into the earth, necre to the river Imenus, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens fight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carkaffes or drowned in the river and his bodie neuer found nor greatly fought for. Adrastus escaped on his good horse Arion, and came to Athens; where sitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recouer their bodies. For Creon having obtained the Gouernment of Thebes, after the death of Eteoclet, would not suffer the bodies of the Argines to be buried : but caused Antigone, the only daughter then living of OEdipus, to bee buried quicke, because shee had sought out and bufied the bodie of her brother Polynices, contrary to Creons Edict. The Athenians 40 condescending to the request of Adrastus, did send foorth an armie vnder the Conduct of Thefens, which tooke Thebes, and restored the bodies of the Argines to Sepulture: at which time Euadne the wife of Capaneus, threw herfelfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Captaines which were flaine at Thebes, that any leffe reuenge should beetaken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie : wherefore tenne yeeres after having levied forces, Ægialeus the sonne of Adrastus, Diomedes of Tydeus, Promachus of Parthenopaus, Sthenelus of Capaneus, Therfander of Polynices, and Euripylus of Meciftens, marched thither under the conduct of Alemson the sonne of Amphiaraus: with whom also went his brother Amphiloctus. Apollo promised victorie if Alema- yo on were their Captaine, whom afterward by another Oracle he commaunded to kill

When they came to the citie, they were inconntred by Laodamas the fon of Eteoles then King of the Thebanes, (for Creon was only Tutor to Laedamas) who though hee

did valiantly in the battaile, and flue Egialeus, yet was he put to the worst, and drinen to flie, or (according to Apollodorus) Hain by Alemaon. After this dilaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they convayed themselves with their wines and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander vp and downe, till at length they built the Towne called Estiea. The Argines, when they perceived that their enemics had quitted the Towne, entring into it, sacked it, threw downe the walls, and layd it waste; how beit it is reported by some that the Towne was faued by Thir fander, the fonne of Polynices, who causing the Citizens to returne, did there raigne ouer them. That hee faued the Citie from vtter destruto dion, it is very likely, for hee reigned there, and led the Thebanes to the Warre of Troy, which very shortly after ensued.

#### d. VIII.

Of IEPHA A, and how the three hundred yeeres which hee speaketh of, IVD. II. V.28. are to bee reconciled with the places, ACT. 13.20. I.REG. 6. I. together with some other things touching Chronologie about thefe times.

Fter the death of Iair (neere about whose times these things happened in Greece, and during whose government, and that of This lived in peace and it nice of God, and became more wicked and Idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped Baal and Asteroth, they

now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adioyning, and imbraced the Idolls of the Aramites, of the Zidonians, Moabites and Ammonites: with those of the Iud.10. Philistims. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the Aramites, by the Amalekites, and Midianites: so now he scourged them by the Ammonites, and after- The persecuti-

20 ward by the Philistims. and by the Philistims.

Now among the Ifraelites, those of Gilead being most oppress, because they bor18. yeeres, and dered upon the Ammonites, they were inforst to seeke lephta, whom they had for-ended in the merly despised and cast from them, because he was base borne; but hee (not with- world 1820. flanding those former iniuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of de- in which veere uilish hatred and reuenge, was content to leade the Gileadites to the Warre, vpon lephta began. condition that they should establish him their Gouernour after victorie. And when 1sid.xx. he had disputed with Ammon for the Land, disproued Ammons right, and sortified the title of Ifrael by many arguments, the fame preuailing nothing, he beganne the warre; and being strengthened by God, ouerthrew them: and did not onely beate 40 them out of the plaines, but for fithem outr the mountaines of Arabia, euen to Min- 111d.11.33. mib, and Abel of the vineyards, Cities exprest heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victory it is faid, that he performed the vaine vow, which hee made, to facrifice the first living creature hee incountred, comming out of his house to meete him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and onely desired two Moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of Gilead; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion that shee was not offered, is more probable, which Bor in Iud.

Borrhaus and others proue sufficiently. After these things the children of Israel, of the Tribe of Ephraim, either enuious 50 of lephta's victorie, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most grieuous slauery that cuer I/rael suffered, quarrelled with Iephta, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had contested with Gideon. Iephta hereupon enforft to defend himfelfe against their fury, in the incounter slew of them two and fortie thousand, which so weakened the bodie of the Land, as the Philistims Indita.

2025. 2942. had an casie conquest of them all not long after: Iephta, after he had judged I/raelsix veeres, died : to whom succeeded lbzan, who ruled seven yeeres : after him Elon was their Iudge ten yeeres: in all which time Ifrael had peace. Eufebius finds not Elon. whom he calleth Adon, for in the Septuagint, appround in his time, this ludge waso.

Ind.11,28. AR.13.20.

1.King.6.1.

se, proposito.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall bee necessary vpon the occasion of

lephta's account of the times Ind. 11.28. (where he sayes that Ifrael had then posses the East side of Iordan 200. yeeres) to speake somewhat of the times of the ludges. and of the differing opinions among the Diuines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point feeming repugnant, or difagree- 10 ing : the first is in this dispute betweene lephra and Ammon, for the right and posses. fion of Gilead: the second is that of S. Paul, Act. 13. the third that which is in the first of Kings. Iephta here challengeth the possession of Gilead for 300. yeeres: Saim Paul gineth to the Indges, as it seemes, from the end of Iosua, to the last of Heli, 450. yeeres. In the first of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of Ifrael out of A. eypt, to the foundation of Salomons Temple, there were confumed 480. yeeres. To the first Beroaldus findeth Jephia's 200. yeeres to bee but 260. yeeres, to wit, 18.0f Iofua, 40. of Otheniel, 80. of Aod and Samgar, 40. of Debora, 40. of Gideon, 3. of Abime-Idfacit numero lech, 23. of Thola, and 22. of Jair: But Jophia (faith Beroaldus) putteth or proposeth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: Sievt dieat annum agi propè trecentesimum, ex 20 quo nullus litem ea de re mouerit Israeli; So hee speaketh (saith he) as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundreth yeere, fince If rael possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right. Codeman on the contrary findes more yeeres than lephta named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were fpent in I/raels captivity, at feuerall times, of which (as Codoman thinketh) lephta forbare to repeate the whole summe or any great part, lest the Ammonite should have justly objected, that 71. of those yeeres, the Israelites were in captiuitie and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300. yeeres it was enough for prescription, hee o-

To justifie this account of 365. yeeres, besides the 71. yeeres of captinity or af- 20 fliction, to be added to Beresldus his 266. he addeth also 28. yeeres more, and so ma-3 keth vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeeres hee findeth out thus: 20. yeeres hee gives to the Seniors betweene lofua and Othoniel: and where Beroaldus alloweth but 18. yeeres to Iolus his gouernment, Codoman accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to lofephus; whereas S. Augustine and Eusebius give him 27. Melanchton 22. The trueth is, that this addition of 28. yeeres is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though wee admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of somepart of the yeeres of affliction (to wit, 34. yeeres of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeeres of Beroaldus, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300. yeeres. Neither is it arange that Iephia should leaue out more than halfe of 40 these yeeres of affliction: seeing asit is already said, the Ammonites might except against these 71. yeares, and say, that during these yeeres, or at least a good part of them, the Ifraelites had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. Martin Luther is the Authour of a third opinion, making those 300. yeeres remembred by Tephes, to be 306. which odde yeeres, faith hee, Tephes omitteth. But because the yeeres of euery Judge as they reigned, cannot make vp this number of 30 6. but doe onely compound 266, therefore doth Luther adde to this number, the whole time which Mofes spent in the Defarts of Arabia Petras; which sortie yeeres of Mofes added to the number which Beroaldus findeth of 266. make indeede 206.

But I fee nothing in the Text to warrant Luthers judgement herein: for in the di- 50 spute betweene lephta and Ammon for the Land of Gilead, it is written in the person of Ammon in these words: Because Israel tooke my Land, when they came up from Agypt from Arnon unto labor, &s. now therefore reflore those Lands quietly or in peace. So by this place it is plaine that the time is not to bee accounted from Moles departure

ort of Agypt: but from the time that the Land was possest. For it is said, Quidecpt Ifrael terram meam; Because Ifrael tookemy Land: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be ereferred to the time of the taking: which Iephras answereal so confirmeth in these words: When If rael dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Townes, and in Aroer and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 200. yeeres: why did yee not then recover them in that space? fo as this place speakes it directly, that Ifrael had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead 300. yeeres: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that I rach had to possesse it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we doe not vse to reckon the time of our conquests 10 in France, from our Princes intents or purpoles, but from their victories and pol-

Junious nevertheleffe likes the opinion of Luther, and fayes, that this time of 300; yeeres hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of tephtas narration: when he makes a briefe repetition of Moles whole journey: to wit, at the fixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of Indges, in our translation in these words: But when Ifraclesme up from Agypt, co. and therefore Mofes his forty yeeres (as he thinkes) Inius in the 18 are to be accounted, which make the number of 305, yeeres and not only the time of Indinot. in which I/rael possest Gilead, according to the Text and lepht as owne words: of which I leaue the judgement to others; to whom also I leaue to judge, whether we nay not beginne the 480. yeeres, from the deliverance out of Agypt to the Temple, euen from the first departure out of Agypt, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of S. Pauls and lephtas account with this reckoning: than any of those that as yet haue been lignified. For first, touching Iephtas 300. yeeres of possession of the East side of Iordan, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the Israelites possessed it, Sehon and Og had dispossessed Moab and Ammon thereof: so that when the Ifraclites had conquered Schon and Og, the right of possession which they had, passed to Ifrael; and so lephta might say that they had possessed those Countries 200, yeeres, reckoning 266. yeeres of their owne possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings Sehon and Og, whose right the Israelites had by the law 30 of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of S. Paul, AEI. 1 3 that from the end of Iosua to Reade the 24. the beginning of Samuel, there past 450. yeeres. And this place Luther understan- of logua, and the beginning of Samuel, there pair 450, yeeres. And this piace Lutter videritation the 2.110.77 dethalfo besides the letter (as I finde his opinion cited by Function Krentzbemius, and Function follows). Beza) for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of 4. Beza in his Moses, to the last yeere of Heli, but 357. yeeres: and this hee doth the better to approue the times from the egression out of Agypt to the building of the Temple, of the Astronomy which in the first King. 6. is faid to be 480. yeeres.

Now for a much as S. Paul (as it feemes) findes 450 yeares from the death of Iosuato the last of Heli, and leaves but 30. yeeres for Saul and Samuel, who governed 40 40, for David who ruled 40, and for Salomon who ware the Crowne three whole yeeresere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore Lather takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of S. Paul: to wit. Then afterward hee gaue unto them Iudges about 450. yeares, unto the time of SA- All. 13:20. MVEL the Prophet: the words than afterward, being electely referred to the death or after the death of Iolua, as shall be hereafter proved. But where S. Luke rehearfing the words of S. Paul, wrote 250. yeeres (faith Luther) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinitie of those two Greeke wordes, whereof the one fignifieth 300, and the other 403, wrote Tetracosicis, for Triacosiois; 400, yeeres, for 300. yeeres; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to 50 which opinion Beza in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary indgement to this hath Codoman: where Luther and Beza beginne at Moles death, he takes his account from the death of Iolua, and from thence to the beginning of Samuel he makes 430 yeeres: to wit, of the Indges (not reckoning Sampsons yeeres) 219. and of vecres ofseruitude and affliction under strangers 111. The reason why he doth not reckon

Lud.11.28.

Ind.13. Lud.IS.II.

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Samplons 20. yeeres, is because hee thinkes that they were part of the 40. yeeres, in which the Philistims are said to have oppressed Ifrael. For it is plaine that during all Samfons time they were Lords ouer Ifrael. So then of the Indges, besides thee III. yeeres of seruitude, Codoman reckoneth (as I haue said) 319. yeeres, which two fummes put together make 430. yeeres, and whereas S. Paul nameth 450. yeeres, he finds 20. yeeres to make vp S. Pauls number, to haue been fpent after the death of Iolua by the Seniors, before the captiuitie of Culhan, or the election of Othoniel: which 20. yeeres added to 430. make 550. according to S. Paul. To approoue this time of the Elders , hee citeth two places of Scriptures , namely the 24. of Iofua , and the second of Judges, in each of which places it is written, that Ifrael ferued the Lord 10 all the dayes of Iosva, and all the dayes of the Elders that over-lived Iosva: fo as to these times of the Elders, Codoman giueth 20. yeeres, which make as before 450.according to S. Paul. Neither would it breede any great difficulty in this opinion, if here also the 20. yeeres of the Seniors, betweene Iosua and Othoniel, should be denied. For they which denie these yeeres, and make Othoniels 40. to beginne presently upon the death of Iofua, as in the beginning of this reckoning they have 20. yeeres leffe than Codoman, fo toward the end of it ( when they reckon the yeeres of affliction apart from the yeeres of the Iudges) in the number of Samplous yeeres, and of the 40. yeeres of the Philistems oppressing the Ifraelites, they have 20. yeeres more than Codoman. For they reckon these 40. yeeres of oppression all of them a-part from 20 Sampfons 20. but Codoman, as is faid, makes Sampfons 20. to be the one halfe of the 40. of the Philistims oppressions; so that if the 20. yeeres of the Seniors, be not allowed to Codoman, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seemes to inforce) that the Philistims in an Inter-regnum, before Sampson judged Ifrael, vexed the Ifraelites 40. yeeres, besides the 20. while Sampson was their Indge, and so the reckoning will come to 450 yeeres betweene the end of Iosua, and the beginning of Samuel, though wee admit not of any Inter-regnum of the Seniors, betweene lofia and Othoniel: For if the times of their affliction be fummed, they make 111. yeeres, to which if wee adde the yeeres of the Iudges, which are 239. we have the iust summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to bee much more probable, than 30 theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and reade with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceine that this time of 350. yeeres, is to beginne immediatly, or soone after the death of Moses: certainely the place of S. Paul doth enidently teach the contrarie, though it bee received for true thauthere was vitium scriptoris in the rest. For these be S. Pauls words: And about the time of 40. yeeres, God suffered their manners in the wildern ofe: And he destroyed seuen Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward hee gaue unto them Indges about 450. yeeres, unto the time of SAMVEL the Prophet. So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of Moses and of his yeeres spent in the wildernesse, then in the nineteenth verse hee commeth to the acts of Iosua; which 49 were that he destroyed seuen Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verseit followeth: Then afterward hee gaue them Indges about 450. yeeres, &c. and therefore to reckon from the death of Moles, is wide of S. Pauls meaning, so farre as my weake understanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any waight in opinion of Codoman touching this place, in the Acts is that it feems irreconciliable with the account, 1. Reg. 6.11. For if indeede there were spent 450 yeeres betweene the end of Iosua and the beginning of Samuel, certainly there must needes be much more than 480. yeeres betweene the beginning of the Israelites iourneying from Agypt, and the foundation of the Temple by Salomon. To this difficultie Codoman answereth, that these 480. yeeres, 1. Reg. 6.1. must be- 50 ginne to bee reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their iourneying from Egypt, which hee makes to be 25. yeeres after the beginning of Othoniels gouernment; from whence if wee cast the yeeres of the Indges, with the yeeres of seruitude (which summes according to his account, of which we have already spoken,

make 397. yeeres) and foto these yeeres adde the 40. of Samuel, and Saul, and the 40. of Danid, and the 3. of Salomon, wee shall have the just summe of 480. yeeres. Neither is it hard (faith he) that the annus egressionis, I. Reg. 6. 1. Should be vinder flood egressionis non incepientis sed finita, the yeere of their comming out of A gypt (for so it is in the originall) or the yeere after they came out of Leppt, may well be underfood for the yeere after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40. vecres after they had let foote out of Agypt, are faid to have been done in their going out of Agypt, as Pfal. 114. When Ifrael came out of Agypt, lordan was driven backe. 10 and Deut.4.45. Thefe are the testimonies which Moses pake when they came out of &gapt. And thus farre it feemes we may very well agree with Codoman, for the interpretation of the word abexitu, to be as much as quam extuiffent, or ab exitu finite: for if Iunius Deut. 4.45. doe well reade quum exiuissent, for in exitu, as it seemes that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoide contradiction in the Scripture, expound abexitu to be, postquam extuissent?

The next point to be cleered, is how their iourneying should be said not to haue had end untill the 25, yeere after the victory of Othoniel. To this Codoman answer reth that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions. which happened not untill this time: at which time the Danites at length seated themselues, as it is declared Ind. 18. For doubtlesse to this time the expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing doth Codoman reconcile the account of Iephta, and S. Paul, with that in the first of Kings. c. 6. Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the Danites was when Ind. 13,1. there was no King in Ifrael: to this Codoman answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that Otheniel lived all those 40. yeeres of rest, of which Ind. 3. 11. fo that by the 25, yeere after his victory, either he might have been dead, or a leaft, as Gideon did, he might have refused all souereigntie, and so either way it might truly be faid that at this time ( to wit, the 25. yeere after Othoniels victorie ) there was no King in I (rael. This opinion of Codoman, if it were as consonant to other Chro-20 nologers grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it felfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps bee received as good : especially confidering, that the speeches of S. Paul have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the confent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told Codoman, that the conquest of Laish, by the Tribe of Dan, was performed in the fine and twentieth yeere of Othoniel? Or what other probability bath he than his owne coniecture, to shew that Othoniel did so renounce the office of a Judge after 40 flue and twenty yeeres, that it might then be truly fayd there was no King in Ifrael, but enery man did that which was good in his owneeyes?

Now concerning the rehearfall of the Law by Moles, and the stopping of Iordan, they might indeed be properly fayd to have been, when I frael came out of Egypt; like as we fay that King Edward the first was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke hee can finde no fuch phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or faith by converting the proposition, when Iordan was turning back, Ifrael came out of Egypt. Indeed most vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions commenced long after, from an expedi-50 tion finished long before, namely to say, that King Edward at his arrival out of Pa: lestina, did winne Scotland, or died at Carlile. How may wee then beleeve that enterprize performed so many yeeres after the division of the Land (which followed the conquest at the journeys end) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of Egipt? Or who will not thinke it most strange, that the most notable

Iof.14.1.

account of time, feruing as the onely guide for certaine ages in facred Chronologie thould not take name and beginning, from that illustrious deliuerance out of Agypt. rehearled often by God himselfe among the principall of his benefits to Ifrael, wherof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewife are the veere and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the yeere vpon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Towne by 600. men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident whereupon codoman buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time farre different from that which he supposeth, and is indeede rather by him placed in fuch a yeere, because it best stood with his interpretation fo to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it felfe.

The second Booke of the first part CHAP. 12. S.S.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Aposile Saint Paul did not herein labour to fet downe the course of time exactly (athing no way concerning his purpole) but only to shew that God, who had chosen I/rael to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by Iudges, and Prophets, vnto the time of Saul, did raise vp our Lord Iesus Christ out of the scede of David the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should have no end. Now in rehearling briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been the true Messas ) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation 20 of times (the Historie being so well knowne and beleeued of the Iewes to whom hee preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeeres consumed in the wilderneffe, whereof no man doubted, faying that God suffered their manners in the wildernesse about 40, yeares. In like maner he proceeded, saying, that from the division of the Land vnto the dayes of Samuel the Prophet, in whose time they required to haue a King, there passed about 450. yeeres. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and cleuen yeeres of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 239 yeeres of the Indges : for this had beene an impertinent digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is a worke not so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that 20 which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480, yeeres is fo express and purposely set downe.

Now that the words of S. Paul (if there be no fault in the Copie through errour of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of Chronologie, but must be taken, as having reference to the memorie and apprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeeres to the reigne of Saul: whereas it is manifest that those yeeres were divided betweene Saul and Samuel, yea, that farre the greater part of them were spent under the gouernment of the Prophet, how socuer they are here included in the reigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning for fake the generall opinion, when it fauoureth not such exposition 40 as they bring out of a good minde, to helpe where the neede is not ouer-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of S. Paul were sufficiently instified by Berealdus, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those dayes, that the III. yeeres of seruitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339 yeeres ascribed to the Indges; which account the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a quasi, where he faith, quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis; As it were foure hundred and fifty yeeres. But Codoman being not thus contented, would needes have it to be so indeede, and therefore distoynes the members to make the secount even. In so doing he dasheth himselfe against a notable Text, whereupon 50 all Authours have builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precifely doth cast vp the yeeres from the departure out of Egypt, vnto the building of Solomens Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given

faith to his owne interpretation of S. Paul, he thinketh it more needfull to find some new expolition for that which is of it selse most plaine, than to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controucrife. Thus by expounding, after a ftrange methode, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himfelfe in those waies wherein before him neuer man walked. Surely if one should vrge him to giuercason of these new opinions, he must needs answere, That Othomel could not gouerne aboue 25. yeeres, because then was the taking of Laish, at which time there was no King in Ifrael; That the Danites must need have taken Laift at that time, because else wee could not reckon backwards from the soundation of the To Temple to any action that might be termed the comming of Ifrael out of Agypt, without excluding the yeeres of feruitude; And that the yeeres of feruitude must needs be included, for that otherwise he himselse should have spent his time vainely, in feeking to pleasure S. Paul with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to vphold a Paradoxe, I leaue it to the decision of any indicious Reader.

And now to proceede in our storie. To the time of Iephta are referred the death of Hercules, the rape of Helen by Paris, and the provisions which her husband Menelaw, raigning then in Sparta, and his brother Agamemnon King of Mycena, made for her recouerie. Others referre this rape of Helen to the fourth yeere of Ibzan: from which time, if the Warre of Troy (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of 20 Ailon or Elon, yet the Greekes had fixe yeeres to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this Warre, longa praparatio belli celerem affert victoriam; That a long preparation begets a speedie victorie: for the Greekes consumed ten yeeres in the attempt: and Troy as it seemes was entred, sackt and burnt in the third yeere of Habdon.

Three yeeres after Troy taken, which was in the fixt yeere of Habdon, Eneas arrived in Italie. Habden in the eighth yeere of his rule died, after he had beene the Father of 40. sonnes and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the Ind. 13.14. 40. yeeres of Ifraels oppression by the Philistims (of which Ind. 13. v. 1.) tooke beginning from the ninth yeere of Jair, and ended with the last of Habdon: I fee no great reason for that opinion. For Ephraim had had little cause of quarrell against Isphta, 30 for not calling them to Warre over Iordan, if the Philistims had held them in feruitude in their owne Territories: and if Ephraim could have brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then opprest : and had it beene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the Philishims with so powerfull an Armie for their owne deliucrance, than against their owne brethten the Israelises? But Ammon being ouerthrowne, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemie. And therefore these 40, yeeres

must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of Sampson and afterward : or elfe they must be referred to the inter-regnum betweene the death of Habdon, and the deliuerance of Israel by Sampson, such as

CHAP.

x.Kjag.6.

### CHAP. XIIII.

## Of the Warre of Troy.

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Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they have observed Historicall truth.



HE Warre at Trey with other Stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most Chronologers is found in the time of Habdon, Judge of Ifrael. whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather 20 choose here to intreate of in one intire narration, beginning with the lineall descent of their Princes, than to breake the Storie into pieces by rehearling a-part in divers yeeres the diversitie of occurrents.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of Troy is vn. certaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that Teucer and

Dardanus were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of Virgil: which if he (as Reineceius thinkes) tooke from Berofus, it is the more probable: if Annius borrowed it from him, then it rests upon the authoritie of Virgil, who 30 faith thus:

AEntid.3.

Creta I ov 1 s magni medio iacet insula Ponto: Mons Idaus vbi, & gentis cunabula nostra. Centum Vrbes habitant magnas, vberrima regna: (Maximus and Pater (firite audita recordor) TEVERVS Rhateas primum est aduectus ad or as: Opsauitá, locum regno. N ondum Ilium & arces Pergamea steterant : habitabant vallibus imis. Hinc Mater Cultrix Cybele, Corybantiag, ara, Idaumá, nemus.

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie: Where I ove was borne, thence is our progenic. There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land An hundreth great and goodly Cities stand. Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame) T EVCER the eldest of our grand-fires came To the Rhoetean shores: and raigned there Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place they fought In lowest vales. Hence CYBELs rites were brought: Hence Corybantian Cymbales did remoue: And hence the name of our Idean groue.

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Снар.14. \$.1.

Thus it feemeth by Virgil, who followed furely good authoritie, that Tencer first gaue name to that Countrie, wherein he reigned ere Troy was built by Dardanus : of which Dardanus in the same booke he speakes thus:

> Est locus Hesperiam Gray cognomine dicunt : Terra antiqua, potens armis atque vbere gleba. OEnotrij coluere viri : nuuc fama minores Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem. Ha nobus proprie fedes: hinc D ARD ANV sortus: Iafiufq; Pater, genus à quo Principe nostrum.

Hesperia the Gracians call the place: An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race. OEnotrians held it, now the later progenie Giues it their Captaines name, and calls it Italie; This seate belongs to vs, hence DARDANVS. Hence came the Author of our stocke, Iasus. .

Also Aeneid.

Atq; equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis) Aurunces ita ferre fenes, hic ortus ve agris DARDANYS Idaas Phrygia penetranit ad wrbes, Threiciamq; Samum, quanunc Samothracia fertur. Hincillum Coryti Tyrrbena ab fede profectum, Aurea nunc solto stellantis regia cali Accipit, & c.

Some old Auruncans, I remember well, (Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell Of DARDANVS, how borne in Italie: From hence he into Phrygia did flie. And leaving Tuscaine (where he earst had place) With Corvius did faile to Samothrace; But now inthronized he fits on high, In golden Palace of the starrie skie.

But contrarie to this, and to so many Authors, approuing and confirming it. Reinescius thinkes that these names, Troes, Teucri, and Thraces, are derived from Tiras 49 or Thirds the sonne of laphet: and that the Dardanians, Mysiaus, and Ascanians, mixt with the Troians, were Germane Nations, descended from Ashkenaz, the sonne of Gomer: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and River of Assaurus in Asia tooke name. That Afbkenaz gave name to those places and people, it is not vnlikely: neither is it vnlikely, that the Ascany, Dardani, and many others, did in after-times passe into Europe: that the name of Teucer came of Tiras, the coniecture is somewhat hard. Concerning Teucer, whereas Halicarna Jaus makes him an Athenian, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. Virgil (as is before shewed) reporteth him to bee of Crete, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully fought, and in this did follow: 50 feeing it no way concerned Augustus (whom other-whiles heedid flatter) whether Teucer were of Crete or no. Reineceius doth rather embrace the opinion of Diodorus, and others, that thinke him a Phrygian, by which report he was the Sonne of Scamander and Ida, Lord of the Countrie, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece Batia was the second wife of Dardanus, founder of Troy. Reineccius further thinkes

Thus

CHAP.14.S.1.

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thinkes that Atlas raigned in Samothracia, and gave his Daughter Electra to Corytus. or Coritus: and that these were Parents to Chryse, first wife to Dardanus. Virgit holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes Dardanus the sonne of Ele-Elra by Inpiter, which Electra was the Daughter of Atlas, and wife to Coritus King of Hetruria, to whom shee bare lasius. Annius out of his Berosus finds the name of Cambobla (con, to whom he gives the addition of Coritus, as a Title of dignitic, making him Father of Dardanus and Iasius; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction betweene these Brethren, which grew to such heate, that finally Dardanus killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into Samothrace. The obscuritie of the hiflorie giues leaue to Annius of saying what he lift. I that love not to vse such liber- 10 tie, will forbeare to determine any thing herein. But if Dardanus were the Sonne of Iupiter, it must have beene of some elder Iupiter than the Father of those that lived about the Warre of Troy. So it is likewise probable that Atlas the Father of Electra was rather an Italian than an African, which also is the opinion of Boccace. For (as hath often beene faid) there were many Iupiters, and many of almost enery name of the Gods; but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my felfe with

making any narrow fearch into these fabulous antiquities, but setdowne the Pedigree according to the generall same; allowing to Teucer such Parents as Diodorus gives, because others give him none, and carrying the

line of Dardanus in manner following.

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Atlas

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Ele-Dar-dan Di-mas Anti-

 $Qq_3$ 

Con-

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Concerning the beginning and continuance of the Troian Kingdome, with the length of enery Kings raigne, I have chosen good Authors to be my guides. that in a Historie, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greekes, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the confent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done, And first for the destruction of Troy, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie whilest it stood, it is reckoned by Diodorus to be 780. yeeres more ancient than the beginning of the 94th. Olympiad. Whereas therefore 372. did passe betweene the beginning of the Olympiads, and the first yeere of the 94th it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeeres, that is, 408. yeeres went betweene the destruction to of Tray, and the first institution of those games by Iphitus, if the authoritie of Dioderus bee good proofe, who elsewhere tells vs, that the returne of the Heraclida, which was 80. yeeres after the fall of Troy, was 328. yeeres before the first

CHAP.14. S.E.

Dionyf, Halic. Antiq. l. z.

Died, List.

Hecreunto agrees the authoritie of Diony fins Halicarna feus, who placing the foundation of Rome in the first of the seventh Olympiad, that is, toure and twentie yeeres Solin Polibific. after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later then the fall of Trov. Solinus in expresse wordes, makes the institution of the Olympiads by Iphitus, whom he calleth Iphiclus, 480, yeeres later then the destruction of Troy. The summers casily collected by necessarie inference out of divers other places in the same 20 Euang.1.10, e.3. booke. Hereunto doth Eusebius reckoning exclusively agree: and Eratosthenes. Cle. Alex. (from. (as hee is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus) makes vp out of many particulars, the same totall summe, wanting but one yeere, as reckoning likewise exclu-

The other collections of divers Writers that are cited by Clemens in the same place, doe neither cohere any way, nor depend vpon any collaterall Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of Trey being in the yeere before the Olympiads foure hundred and eight: wee must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of Eulebius, who leades vs from Dardanus on-wards through the raignes of 20 foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and fine and twentie yeeres, and after of Priamus, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under Laomedon, wee are faine to doe, as others have done before vs, and take it vpon truit from Annius his Authours; beleeuing Manetho fo much the rather, for that in his accompt of the former Kings raignes, and of Priamus, hee is found to agree with Eusebius, which may give vs leave to thinke that Annius hath not heerein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for sceing that no Historie or accompt of time depends upon the raigne of the former Kings, but onely upon the ruine of the Citie under Priamus, it may suffice that wee are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due veere.

True it is, that some objections appearing waightie, may bee alleaged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answeres I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeeres, wherein the Greekes knew no good forme of a yeere; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of Troy was one of the most

The first enterprise that was under-taken by generall consent of all Greece, was the last warre of Troy, which bath beene famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes, and valiant Commanders there affembled: the great battailes fought with variable successe: the long indurance of the siege; the 50 destruction of that great Citie; and the many Colonies planted in fundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the Troians, as by the victorious Greekes after their infortunate returne. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especiall note, have beene delivered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits

of many writers, especially by the Poems of that great Homer, whose verses have giuen immortalitie to the action, which might else perhaps haue beene buried in obliuion, among other worthy deedes, done both before and fince that time. For it is true which Horace faith;

> Vixère fortes ante AGAMEMNONA Multi, (ed omnes illachrimabiles Vrgentur, ignotiq; longa Nocte: carent quia vate facro.

Many by valour haue deferu'd renowne Ere AGAMEMNON: yet lyc all opprest Vnder long night, vnwept for, and vnknowne: For with no facred Poet were they bleft.

Yet so it is, that whilest these writers have with strange sables, or ( to speake the bestofthem Jwith Allegories sarre strained, gone about to inlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawne into suspition that great vertue which they fought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ig-20 norance of the Historie, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that wee feeke for the knowledge of fuch actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did menage them, of Poets, in whose workes are both profit & delight: yet fmall profit to those which are delighted ouermuch, but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked trueth, shall finde matter in Poems, not vnworthy to bee regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of Homer, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authours, written of this great warre. All writers consent with Homer; that the rape of Helen by Paris the sonne of Priamus, was the cause of taking arms: but how he was heereunto emboldened it is doubtfull.

ò. II.

Of the Rape of HELEN: and strength of both sides for the warre.



Erodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; saying, That whereas the Phonicians had rauished 10, and carried her into Agypt, the Greekes to be reuenged on the Barbarians, did first rauish Europa, whom they brought out of Phanicia into Creta, and afterward Medea, whom they tetcht from Colchos, denying to reftore her to her fa-

ther, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of so. By these deedes of the Greekes, Paris (as the same Herodotus affirmes ) was imboldened to doe the like; not fearing such reuenge as ensued. But all this narration seemes friuolous. For what had the King of Colchos to doe with the injurie of the Phanicians? Or how could the Greekes, as in reuenge of Io, pleade any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of Phanicians? Thus, dides a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie, maketh it plaine, that the name of Barbarians was not vied at all in Homers time, which was long after the warre of Troy; and that the Greekes themselues were not then called all by one name, Hellenes, as afterwards. So that it were vnreasonable to think, that they should have sought revenge vpon all Nations, as barbarous, for the iniu-50 riereceiued by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the Greekes, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that even then when as the Greekes had not yet one common name among themselues. Others with more probabilitie say, that the rape of Helen was to procure the redeliuery of Hesione, King Priamus his sifter, taken formerly by Hereules, and giuen to Telamon. This may have beene true. for Telamon (asit feemes) was a cruell man, feeing hisowne fonne Teacer durft not come in his fight, after the warre of Troy, but fled into Cypres, onely because his bro-

ther Miax (which Teucer could not remedie) had flaine himselfe. Yet, were it so,

that Hesione was ill intreated by Telamon, it was not therefore likely, that Priamus her

brother would seeke to take her from her husband, with whom she had lived about

thirtie yeeres, and to whom the had borne children which were to succeede in his

Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that Paris had no regard, either to the rape of Eu-

ropa, Medwa, or Hesione: but was meerely incited by Venus, that is, by his lust, to doe

that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely Greekes from Barba-

customed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and having stollen them, either to sell them away in some farre Countrie, or

keepe them to their owne vic. So did Theleus, and Pirythous attempt Proferving; and

fo did Thefeus (long before Paris ) rauish Helen. And these practices, as it appeares in

Thucydides, were so common, that none durst inhabite neere vnto the Sea, for feare of

pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull then merchandise:

wherefore Tyndareus the father of Helen, confidering the beautie of his daughter.

and the rape which Thefeus had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the

principall men in Greece, to binde them selves by solemne oath, that if shee were ta-

done, hee gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who chose Menelaus.

brother to Agamemnon. So the cause which drew the Greekes vnto Troy in reuenge

of Helens rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her fa-

ther Tyndareus. Hecreunto the great power of Agamemnen was not a little helping;

for Agamemnon, besides his great Dominions in Peloponnesus, was Lord of many I-

lands: hee was also rich in money, and therefore the Arcadians were well conten-

ted to follow his pay, whom hee imbarked for Troy in his owne ships, which were

Thus did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or ledde by the reputation and

power of the two brethren, Agamemnon and Menelaus; or desirous to partake of 30

the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take armes against the Troians. The

Greekes Flect was (by Homers account) 1200. fayle, or thereabouts : but the veffels

were not great: for it was not then the manner to build shippes with deckes; onely they vied (as Thucydides faith) small shippes, meete for robbing on the Sea; the least

of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man (except the Captaines) be-

ing both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the Gre-

cian armic confided of 100000. men, or thereabout. This was the greatest armic

that euer was raised out of Greece: and the greatnesse of this armie doth well declare

the strength and power of Troy, which tenne whole yeeres did stand out against such

number, as Agamemnon laid in the second of Homers Iliades; but their followers and

aydes were very many and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Mijsia, and the greatest

part of Asia the lesse, tooke part with the Troians. The Amazones also brought them

fuccour. And Rhefus out of Thrace, and Memnen out of Affires (though some thinke

out of Ethiopia) came to their defence.

forces: yet were the Troians which inhabited the Citie, not the tenth part of this 40

more then any other of the Greeke Princes brought to that expedition.

ken from her husband, they should with all their might belpe to recouer her. This 20

rians, and Barbarians from Greekes, as Herodotus discourseth, but all people were ac. 10

4.52

d. III.

Of the Gracians iourney, and Embassage to Troy, and of Helenaes being detained in Agypt; and of the Sacrificing of Iphigenia.



CHAP.14.5.3.

Herefore the Greekes vinwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things might bee compounded by treatie, sent Menelans and Vusses Embassadours to Troy; who demaunded Helen and the goods were taken with her out of Menelaus his house. What answere the Trojans made hereunto it is vncertaine. Herodotus from the report of the Agyptian Priells

makes it very probable, that Helen was taken from Paris before his returne to Troy.

The summe of his discourse is this.

Paris in his returne with Helena, being driven by foule weather vnto the coast of Egypt, was accused for therape of Helen by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuarie. Protess then King of Egypt, finding the accusation true by examination, detained Helen, and the goods taken with her, till her husband (hould require them difmiffing Paris without further punishment, because hee was a stranger. When therefore the Greekes demanding Helen had answere, that she was in Egypt, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the Citie taken, they perceived indeed she had not beene there, they returned home, sending Menelaus to aske his wife of Protems. Homer and the whole Nation of Poets (except Eurypides) vary from this Hiforie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more gracefull to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Ladic, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his Odysses, Homer speakes of Menelaus his being in Egypt, before he returned home to Sparta; which voyage it were not easily beleeved, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driven thither by contrary windes, much more may we thinke that Paris was likely to have beene 30 driven thither by foule weather. For Paris immediatly vpon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such windes as hee could get, and rather enduring any was emoteed to my, taking factor and Hauen in the Greeke feas; whereas Menelaus might haue put into any port in Greece, and there haue remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and served for his Na-

One great argument Herodotus brings to confirme the faying of the Agyptian uigation. Priests, which is, that if Helen had beene at Troy, it had beene vtter madnelle for Priamus to fee so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for 40 Hector was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that Lucian spake not more pleasantly than trucly, when he said that Helen, at the warre of Troy, was almost as old as Queene Hecuba, considering that she had beene raushed by Thefeus the companion of Hercules, who tooke Troy when Priamus was very young; and confidering further; that the was fifter to Caffor and Pollax (the and Pollux being faid by some to have beene twinnes) who failed with the Argonautes, having Telamon the father of Aiax in their companie before the time that Hesione wastaken; on whom Telamon begat Aiax, that was a principall Commander in the Troian warre. But whether it were fo, that the Troians could not, or would not reftore Helen, so it was that the Embassadours returned ill contented, and not very 50 well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to have them slaine. The Greekes hereupon incensed, made all haste towards Troy: at which time Calchas (whom some say to have beene a runnagate Troian, though no such thing be found in Homer) filled the Captaines and all the Hoste with many troublesome answeres and divinations. For hee would have Agamemnens daughter facrificed to appeare

Diana, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were facrificed or whether (as some write) the Goddesse was contented with a Hinde, it is not needfull heere to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the deuill, which awaits for all oportunities, is neuer more importunate, than where mens ignorance is most. Calches also told the Greekes, that the taking of Troy was impossible, till some fatall impediments were remooued: and that till tende yeeres were past, the towne should hold our against them. All which not with standing the Greekes proceeded in their enterprise, under the command of Agamemnon, who was accompanied with his brother Menelaus; Achilles the most valiant of all the Greekes, his friend Pa. troclus, and his Tutor Phanix; Aiax and Teucer, the fonnes of Telamon; Idomeneus, 10 and his companion Meriones; Neftor, and his fonnes Antilochus, and Thrafymedes; Fliffes: Mnestheus the sonne of Petreus, Captaine of the Athenians: Diomedes the sonne of Trdeus, a man of fingular courage; the wife and learned Palamedes, Afcalabhue and Jalmenus, the sonnes of Mars, who had failed with the Argonauts; Philottetes alfo the fonne of Paan, who had the arrowes of Hercules, without which Calchas faid. that the Citie could not be taken : Asax the sonne of Osleus, Pepeleus, Thoas, Eumelus. Tylandrus, Euripilus, Athamas, Sthenelus, Tlepolemus the fonne of Heronles; Podalyrius, and Machaon, the sonnes of Asculapius: Epeus, who is saide to have made the wood and Machaon, the ionnes of Expensions. Expensions, who first leapt on shore, den horse, by which the towns was taken, and Protesslans, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatned death to him that landed first.

#### d. IIII.

### Of the Actes of the Gracians at the fiege.

Hese, and many other of lesse note, arriving at Troy, sound such sharpe entertainment, as might casily perswade them to think that the warre would bee more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter, they loft Protesilaus, whom Hellor siew, and many other, without 2ny great harmedone to the Troians: faue onely that by their numbers 30

of men, they wonne ground enough to incampe themselves in, as appeareth in Thueydides. The principal impediment which the Greekes found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Heereupon they were compelled to fend some part of their men, to labour the ground in Cherronesse: others to robbe vpon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeeres, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne receive little loffe by them, having equal numbers to maintaine the field against such Greekes as continued the siege, and a more safe retrait if the enemie got the better.

Wherefore Ouid faith, that from the first yeere, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and Heraclides commends as very credible, the report of Heraclides. That the Greekes did not lye before Trey the first nine yeeres: but onely did beate vp and downe the seas, exercising their men, and inriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemies Country, did blocke up the towne, unto which they returned not, untill

the fatall time drew neere when it should be subuerted. This is confirmed by the enquirie which Priamus made, when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth veere, for he knew none of them; and therefore fitting vpon an high tower (as Homer tels) he learned their names of Helen: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have beene supposed that hee should 50 bee ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeeres together. Betweene these relations of Thueydides and Herodicus, the difference is not much, the one faying that a few of the Greekes remained in the Campe before Troy, whilest the rest made purueyance by land and sea: the other, that the

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whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sea-coastes. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authours: for they make report of many townes and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions Achilles was imployed, whom the armic could not well, nor would have spared, if any seruice of importance had beene to be performed before the Citie. Howfoeger it was,

of the Historie of the World.

this is agreed by generall confent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which Tros was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great petilence arole among the Greekes: which Homer faith that Apollo fent in reuenge of his Priefts daughter, whom Agamemnon had refused to let goe, for any ransome : but Heraeli-10 des interpreting the place, saith that by Apollo was meant the Sunne: who raised petilent fogges, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece

ofground. And it might well bee that the campe was over-petered with those, who hadbeene abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded

their ships within the fortifications.

CHAP.14. S.4.

About the same time arose much contention betweene Agamemnon and Achilles about the bootie, whereof Agamemnon, as Generall, having first chosen for his part a captine woman, and Achilles in the second place chosen for himselfe another. then Aiax, Vlyffes, and fo the rest of the Chieftaines in order: When the Soothsayer Calchas had willed that Agamemions woman thould be restored to her father, Apollo's 20 Priest, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did Agamemnon greatly rage and say, that hee alone would not lofe his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had beene given to Achilles, or that which had fallen to Aux, or to Virifes. Hereupon Achilles defied him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not abic to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to reuenge her losse, otherwise than by refuling to fight, or to fend forth his Companies. But the Greekes incouraged by their Captaines, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his

The Troians were now relieued with great succours, all the neighbour Countries having fent them ayd: partly drawne to that warre by their Commaunders. 30 who affifted Priamus for money, wherewith hee abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in Homer) or for loue of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters; partly also (as we may well guesse) incited by the wrongs received of the Greekes, when they wasted the Countryes adiouning unto Troy. So that when Hellor islued out of the towne, hee was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitic of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the Troian armie, were Hector, Paris, Deiphobus, Helenus and the other sonnes of Priamus : Aneas, Antener, and his sonnes, Polydimas, Sarpedon, Glaucus, Asius, and the sonnes of Panthus, besides Rhesus, who was flaine the first night of his arrivall, Memnon, Queene Penthesilea, and others who came towards 40 the end of the warre. Betweene these and the Greekes were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King Ilus vpon the plaine; and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein Hellor brake through the fortifications of the Greekes, and began to fire their ships; at which time Jiax, the fonne of Telamon with his brother Teucer, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vnwounded, made head against Hector, when the state of the Greekes was almost desperate.

Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was sought by Patroclus, who having obtained leave, drew forth Achilles troopes, relieving the wearie Greekes with a fresh supply. Agamemnon, Diomedes, Vlyffes, and the rest of 50 the Princes, though fore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of Patroclus, repelled the Troians very hardly. For in that fight Patroclus was loft, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of Achilles which he had put on, being torne from him by Hector. It was the manner of those warres, having flaine a man, to firip him and hale away his bodie, not restoring it without ransome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foote, flightly ar-

med, and commonly followed the successe of their Captaines; who rode not voon

horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by

some truftie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captaines, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting them-

selves where neede required, threw first their lauelins, and then alighting fought on

foote, with swords and battel-axes, retiring into the rankes of the footmen, or else

returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began againe with a new

were helmets, brest-plates, bootes of brasse or other metall, and shields commonly of

leather, plated ouer. The offensive were swords and battel-axes at hand; and stones.

arrowes or darts when they fought at any diffance. The vie of their Chariots (be-

fides the swiftnesse) was to keepe them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were

much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and soutch ware hea-

niest: also that from them they might throw their Iauelins downewards, with the

more violence. Of which weapon I finde not that any carried more than one or

two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to returne to their Tents

for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewife of armours they had little change

any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repaire it with the like if he had any

fitting, taken from some Captaine whom hee had slaine, and stripped: or else to

borrow of them that had by such meanes gotten some to spare. Whereas there-

fore Achilles had loft his armour which Hector (as is faid before) had taken from the

or none: every man (speaking of the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if 20

dart as they could get it, if their old were loft, or broken. Their armes defensive to

ð. V.

CHAP.14. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

Of the taking of Troy, the woodden Horfe, the Booke of DARES and DYCTIS, the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.

Inally after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the Citie was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treafon of Eneas and Antenor; or by a woodden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame (which followed the Poets) haue deliuered, it is vncertaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of Troy called Seaa,

was the image of a horse, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gaue occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horse. It may well bee that with some woodden engine, which they called an Horse, they either did batter the walls, as the Romans in after-times vsed to doe with the Ramme: or scaled the walls vpon the sudden, and so tooke the Citic. As for the hiding of men in the hollow bodie of a woodden horse, it had beene a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpole. For either the Troians might have perceived the deceit, and slaine all those Princes of Greece, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this re-20 port they are said to have thought vpon) or they might have left it a fewe daves without the Citic (for it was vnlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and break downe their walles vpon the suddaine to doe it ) by which meanes they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by iffuing foorth vnseasonably discouered the inuention. Whereas further it is faid, that this horse was built so high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that thereforethe Troians were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the Greekes did afterwards enter: it is heereby manifest that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needelesse, considering that 30 without their helpe there was way sufficient for the armie, so that the surprising of

any gate by them was now to no purpose. John Baptifta Gramay in his Historie of Asia, discoursing of this warre, faith that the Greekes did both batter the wall with a woodden engine, and were also let into the Citic by Antenor, at the Seean gate: the townesmen sleeping and drinking without feare or care, because the fleete of the Gracians had hoisted faile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of Tenedos, thereby to bring the Trosans into securitie. That the Citie was betrayed, the bookes of Dares and Dietys must proue, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may bee suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not, as they 40 did, haue followed the reports of Homer and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that warre made against the Common report : had it not been that either those bookes were euen in those times thought friuolous; or else contained no such repugnancie to the other authours as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slaine in this warre, which Dares and Dyctis fay to have beene aboue 600000. on the Troian fide, and more than 800000. of the Greekes, it is a report meerely fabulous; for a fmuch as the whole fleete of the Greekes was reckoned by Homer, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as bee could, to bee somewhat lesse than 1200. faile, and the armie therein transpor-50 ted ouer the Greeke feas, not much aboue 100000. men according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common falhion of men to extoll the deeds of their Auncients: for which cause both Homer magnified the Captaines of the Greekes, that serued in the warre, and virgil with others were as diligent in commending & extolling the Trosans and their Citie, from which the Romans descended. Yea the Atherians

body of Patroclus, he was faine to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of Patroclus his deare friend. At this time Agamemnen reconciled himselfevnto Achilles, not onely restoring his concubine Brifeis, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell Achilles did so behaue himselfe, that he did 20 not onely put the Troians to the worst, but also slew the valiant Hector, whom (if Homer may herein be beleeved) hee chaced three times about the walles of Troy. But great question may bee made of Homers truth in this narration. For it is not likely that Heltor would flay alone without the Citie (as Homer doth report of him) when all the Trojans were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the rivers of Xanthus and Simous, as he must have done in that flight: nor that the Treians perceiving Heller in such an extremitie, would have forborne to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace Achilles, who having (by what meanes focuer) flaine the noble Heller, did not onely carry away his dead bodie, as the customethen was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leatherne thongs into 40 them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragged him shamefully about the field, selling

the dead bodie to his father Priamus for a very great ransome. But his crueltie and

conetousnesse were not long unreuenged; for he was shortly after slaine with an ar-

row by Paris, as Homer fayes, in the Scangate, or as others in the Temple of Apollo,

whither he came to have married Polyxena the daughter of Priamus, with whom he

was too farre in love, having flaine so many of her brethren, and his body was ran-

fomed (as Lycophron faith) at the felfe-same rate that Heltors was by him fold for.

Not long after this, Penthesilea Queene of the Amazons arrived at Troy; who after

some proofe given of her valour, was slaine by Pyrrbus the sonne of Achilles.

long after in the warre which Xerxes the Persian King made against all Greece, did not forbeare to vaunt of the great cunning which Mnefleus the fon of Peteus had shewed. in marshalling the Gracian army before Troy: whereupon, as if it had beene a matter of much confequence, they were fo proud, that they refused to yeeld vnto Gelon King of almost all Sicily, the Admiraltie of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200.good fighting ships, and 20000.men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of Greece, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which have ftriuen to bring their descent from some of the Princes, that warred at Troy: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in fuch their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probabilitie came of 10 the Troians, were the Albanes in Italy; and from them the Romans, brought into that Countrey by Eneas : the Venetians first scated in Padua, and the Countrie adjoyning by Antenor: the Chaonians planted in Epirus by Helenus, the sonne of King Priamus. To which Hellanieus addeth that the posteritie of Hector did resemble fuch of the Trojans as were left, and raigned ouer them about Troy.

#### δ. V I.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

Oncerning the Greekes, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought voon the Troians. For Thuesdides notes, that by realon of their long abode at the liege, they found many alterations when they returned: fo that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient feats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: fome

were flaine anon after their arrinall: others were debarred from the Soucraigntie among their people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seeme to have beene the dispersion of the armie, which weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell injuries, being divided into 20 fo many pieces under seuerall Commaunders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set saile, Agamemnon and his brother fellout, the one being desirous to depart immediatly, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to Minerua. Hercuponthey fell to hot wordes, halfe the fleet remaining with Agamemnon, the rest of them sailing to the Ile of Tenedos; where when they arrived. they could not agree among themselves, but some returned backe to Agamemnon; others were dispersed, each holding his owne course. But the whole Fleet was fore vexed with tempests: for Pallas (as Homer saith) would not bee perswaded in

They who returned fafe were Neftor, and Pyrrhus, whom Orestes afterward flew: alfo Idomeneus, and Philocetes, who nevertheleffe, as Virgilltels, were drinen foone after to feeke new feats : Idemeneus among the Salentines , and Philostetes at Petilia in Italie. Agamemnon likewise returned home, but was foorthwith flaine by his wife and by the adulterer Agysthus, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdome. Memelaus wandring long vpon the Seas, came into Egypt, either with Helen, or (as may rather seeme) to fetch her. Viisses, after ten yeeres, having lost all his company, got home in poore cleate, with much adoe recourring the mastership of his owne house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and faine to fecke out new habitations.

Aiax the sonne Oileus was drowned; Teucer fled into Cyprus; Diemedes to King Dannus, who was Lord of the lapyges in Apulia; some of the Locrians were driven into Africke, others into Halie, all the East part whereof was called Magna Gracia, by reason of so many townes which the Greekes were driven to erect vponthat coast. Finally, it appeares in Homer, that the Gracian Ladies, whose husbands had beene at the warre of Troy, were wont to callit; The place where the Greekes suffered miserie, and the vuluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for Troy and those that warred there : the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath beene said, happened in the time of Habdon ladge of Ifrael, whom Samfon after a variance or Interregrum for certaine yeeres succeeded.

# Снар. XV.

OFSAMSON, ELL, and SAMVEL.

HE birth and actes of Samson are written at large in 2970. the 13.14.15. and 16. of ludges; and therefore I thall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things Igather out of that Storie. First, that the Angell of God forbad the wife of Manoah the mother of Samfon, to drinke wine or flrong drinke, or to cate any vncleane meate, after she was conceived with childe, because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the childe in the mothers wombe. Though this were even the counsell of God himselfe, and delinered by his Angell, yet it feemeth that many

women of this age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept: the most 30 part forbearing nor drinkes, nor meats, how strong or vucleane socuer, filling themsclues with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drinkes farre more sorcible: by reafon whereof, so many wretched seeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the Angell of God refused the facrifice which Manosh would have offered him, commanding him to prefent it vnto the Lord; and therefore those that professe divination by the helpe of Angels, to whom also they facrifice, may affuredly know that they are Deuils who accept thereof, and not good

Angels, who receive no worthip that is proper to God. Thirdly, this Samson was twice betrayed by his wines, to wit, by their impor-40 tunitie and deceitful teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the fecond his life. Quem nulla vis superare posuit, volugtas cuertit; Whom no force couldo-

nermaster, Voluptuon [neffe onerturned. Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliuer Israel from the oppression of the Philistims; though in some fort heereuenged, and defended them; for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his sir stattempt, burnt their Corne in haruestime, and given them a great overthrow instantly vpon it: yet so much did Ifrael feare the Philistims, as they affembled 3000. men out of Iuda, to beliege Samfon in the rocke or mountaine of Etam, ving these wordes: Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers ouer vs? &c. After which they bound him, and deliue-50 red him vnto the Philistums, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no sooner loofened, but hee gaue them another ouerthrow, and flew 1000, with the lawbone of

Laftly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his ownelife, to be auenged of his enemies, when he pulled downe the Rr 2

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Pfal.78.

E.SAMI.S.V.6.

pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for Samson, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience : but it was truely faid of Seneca; Patientia sapelasa vertitur in surorem, Patience often wounded, is connerted into furie: neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

Q. II.
Of Eli and of the Arke taken, and of Dagons fall, and the fending backe of the Arke.

He Storic of Elithe Priest, who succeeded Samson, is written in the beginning of Samuel; who foretolde him of the destruction of beginning of Samuel; who foretolde him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he supports not, neither did hee punish them according to their deserts: whose not, neither did nee punint them according to

phaning and polluting the holy places: though Leui Ben Gerson, to extenuate this filthie offence of forcing the women by the sonnes of Eli, hath a contrarie opinion. In this time therfore it pleased God to cast the Israelites vnder the swords of the Philistims; of whom there perished in the first incounter 4000. and in the second battell 20000. footmen; among whom the fonnes of Eli being flaine, their 20 father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. Hee was the first that obtained the High-Priesshood of the stocke of Ithamar the fonne of Aaron, before whole time it continued successively in the race of Eleazar the eldest brother of Ithamar: for Aaron was the first, Eleazar the second, Phinees the sonne of Eleazar the third, Abisue the sonne of Phinees the fourth, his sonne Bocei the fift, Ozithe sonne of Boccithe fixt, and then Eli, as Iosephus and Lyranus out of divers 1. Kinge. 2.27. Hebrew authours have conceived. In the race of Ithamar the Priesthood continuedafter Elito the time of Salemon who cast out Abiathar, and established Sadock and Achimaas and their successors. The Arke of God which Israel brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the Philistims. For as Dauid witnesseth, God 20 greatly abhorred Ifrael, fo that hee for sooke the habitation of Shilo: even the Tabernacle

where he dwelt among men, and delivered his rower into captivitie. erc.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the Arke whereby himselse was reprefented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did hee permit the Chaldeans to destroy the Temple built by Salomon; the Romans to overthrow the second Temple; and the Turkes to overthrow the Christian Churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the Israelites put more confidence in the sacrament, or representation which was the Arke, then in God himselfe, they would have observed his Lawes, and served him onely: which when souer they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivitie they had no Arke 40 at all, nor in the times of the Macchabees : and yet for their pictie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious, as any that garded themselves by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the Arke was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensigne; David witnessed when he fled from Absalon. For when the Priests would have carried the Arke with him; he forbad it, and caused it to be returned into the Citic. vling these words: If I shall finde favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me againe : if not, let him doe to me as feemeth good in his eyes.

2.5471.15.

The Troians beleeved that while their Palladium or the image of Minerua was kept in Troy, the Citie should never bee overturned: so did the Christians in the last fatall battell against Saladine carrie into the field, as they were made beleeue, 50 the very Crosse whereon Christ died, and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But Chryfoltome vpon Saint Matthew (if that bee his worke) giueth a good judgement, speaking of those that ware a part of Saint Johns Gospell about their neckes, for an amulet or preservative : Si tibi ea non prosunt in

auribus quemodo proderunt in Collo? If those words doe not profit men in their cares, ( to wit, the hearing of the Golpell preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their neckes? For it was neither the wood of the Arke, nor the wood of the Croffe, but the reverence of the Father that gaue the one for a memorie of his Couenant: and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his bloud on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The Philistims returning with the greatest victorie and glorie which ever they obtained, carried the Arke of God with them to Azotus, and let it vp in the house of Dagon their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from aboue to the to ground, and lay under the Arke. The morning following they tooke it up, and let it vp, and fee it againe in his place. And it fell the fecond time, and the head brake from the bodie, and the hands from the armes, shewing that it had nor power, nor vnderstanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason, and knowledge, and the hands (by which wee execute strength) were fundred from the armes. For God and the Deuill inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not indure the representation of the true God, it is not to bee maruailed, that at such time as it pleased him to couer his onely begotten with flesh, and fent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Deuill derided and betrayedmortall men, lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that 20 true light which had neuer beginning of brightnesse, brake through the clouds of a virgins bodie, shining vpon the earth which had beene long obscured by Idolatrie. all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. Plutarch rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god Pan, as hee stileth him; where (asignorant of the true cause) hee searcheth his braines for many reasons of fo great an alteration: yet finds he none out but friuolous. For not onely this olde Deuill did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as Apollo, Iupiter, Diana, and the whole rabble became speechlesse.

Now while the Philistims triumphed after this victorie, God strooke them with the grieuous disease of the Hamorrhoides of which they perished in great numbers. For 20 it is written that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by generall consent ordered, that the Arke should be remoued from Azotus to Gath or Geth another of the five great Cities of the Philistims; to prooue, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly: but when it was brought to Gath and received by them, the plague was yet more grieuous and mortall. For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and hee I. Sam. 4. v. 9 fmote the men of the Citie both small and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of Gath sent the Arke to Ekron or Accaron, a third Citic of the Philistims: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out that themselves and their people should be slaine thereby; For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie. In the end, by 40 the aduice of their Priests, the Prince of the Philishims did not onely resolute to returne the Arke, but to offer gifts vnto the God of Ifrael, remembring the plague which had fallen on the Agyptians, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his service by strong hand. Wherefore confeshing the power of the God of Ifrael to be almightie, and that their owne Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sinne offering, vling these words; So c.s. v.s. yee shall give glorie to the God of Ifrael, that hee may take his hand from you, and from your gods and from your land. And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemie doth approue our cause? according to Aristotle; Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus. So did Pharao confesse the living God, when he was 50 plagued in Agypt: and Nabuchodonofor, and Darius, when they had seene his mira-

This counsell therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden Hamorhoides, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to bee chosen, fuch as had not beene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to bee framed: but they

durft not driue or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make tryall whether in were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the Arke of God were carryed towards Beth/hemesh and into the territorie of I/rael: then they should refolue that from God onely came their late destruction. For the Philistims knew that the milch Kine which drew the Arke, could not bee forced from their Calues, but that they would have followed them wherefoeuer; much leffe when they were left to themselves would they travell a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world if calues be removed from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and defarts by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine travailed directly towards Bethfhemelh : and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one lofus 10 of the same Citic, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the Philistims perceiued, they returned to Ekron: After which, God spared not his owne people the Bethfhemites, in that they prefumed to looke into the Arke. And because they knew God and his commandements and had beene taught accordingly : hee ftrooke them more grieuously than he did the Heathen, for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventic. From hence the Arke was carried to Kirriath-iearim and placed in the house of Abinadab; where it is written that it remained twentie yeere in the charge of Eleazar his sonne, untill Dauid brought it to Hierusalem.

2.Sam.c.6.and I.Chron.c.12. booke ch.12. S.r.in the margent.

Now whereas it is faid, that in the meane while the Arke was in Nob, Milhah, and Galgala, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time seuered from the Arke: 20 or at least, it was for the a present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to Kiriath-iearim.

#### è. III. Of SAMMEL, and of his Government.

5 1.Chro.6.22.

on was called

Epbrata, as ap-

s.whence for

distinction we

Hese Tragedies ouerpast and ended, Samuel, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a childe, became now Iudge and Gouernour of Ifra-el. Hee was descended of the samilie of b Chore or Korash. For Leui el. Hee was descended of the familie of b Chore or Korash. For Leui 20 had three sonnes; Gerson, Cheath, and Merari: Cheath had Amram, had three tonnes; Gerjon, Chean, and Charles of Izaar, Chore: and of and Izaar; of Amram came Mofes and Aaron; of Izaar, Chore: and of

the familie of Chore, Samnel. His father Eleana a Lenite, was called an Ephratean, not that the Leuites had any proper inheritance, but because hee was of c Mount Ephraim, like as Iesse, Danids father was called an Ephrataan, because borne at Ephrata, or Bethelem. Hannah his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers peareth, lud. 12 and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the lewish women, to be called barren in respect of the bleffing of God both to Abraham that his seede should multiply, as reade Ruib. 1.2. the Starres of Heauen, and the lands of the Sea, as in the beginning to Adam, Increase and multiply, &c, and in Deuteronomie the scuenth; There shall bee neither male 40 nor female barren among you.

Samuel was no fooner borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service, to which shee delivered him even from the 35.19. from the dugge. For as the first borne of all that were called Nazarites, might be redeemed till they were fine yeeres old for fine sheekles, and betweene fine yeeres and twentie for twentie sheekles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the Leuites should be called to serve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twen-

> Saint Peter reckons in the Actes the Prophets from Samuel, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom viually this name of a Prophet was given, 50 and yet did Moses account himselfe such a one, as in the 18. of Deuteronomie. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto mee, &c. But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called Seers; as, Beforetime in I frael, when a man went to seeke an answere of God, thus hee spake; Come and let us goe to the Seer:

Ethratei å Bethleehemo Iebude, the towne Esbratha which is Bethleregion of Eobratha, which is in Mount Ephraim, whence Ephratba is put for Silo, which was in the tribe of Eobraim.

Verf.15. I.Samio. CHAP. 16. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Gilgal, and Bethel, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

for her that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appeare by his Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaas, and Iacob; yet in the time of Eli, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether with-drawne his grace from Ifracl: but as the Chaldean Paraphrast hath it, those Sam.13. reuelations before Samuels time, were more clouded and obscure. The places where- See in this in Samuel judged were Malpha or Mit/ha, leated on a hill in Beniamin neere Inda: also

The Philistims taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for Warre at Milpa in the beginning of Samuels government, gathered their Armie and marched to towards the Citie: at whose approch the Ifraelites Arucken with feare, and with the memorie of their former flaughters and scruitude, besought Samuel to pray to God for them; who was \* then performing his facrifice when the Philsslims were in view. \* Plutarch re-But God being moued with Samuels prayers (as he was by those of Moses, when if the second King rael fought against the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia) It pleased him of Rome, that with thurder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the Philistims, was facificing according to the prophecie of Hanna, Samuels Mother. The Lords aduer faries shall be it was told him destroyed, and out of heaven shall be thunder apon them dec. losephus affirmes, that a part that the enedestroyed, and out of heaven shall be thunder von them Gre. tolephus affirmes, that a part mics approchains were swallowed with an earth-quake: and that Samuel himselfeled ed, henothing the Ifraelites in the profequation of their victory. After which Samuel erected a difmaied, an-20 Monument in memorie of this happie successe, obtained by the miraculous hand of wered, Ego au-God, which Tofephus called, Lapidem fortem: Samuel, Ebenezer, or the stone of affi- 1, Samuel, 10. stance: and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victory, the Ifraelites recouered divers Cities of their owne formerly lost, and held long in possession of the Philistims, who for a long time after did not offer any invalion or revenge. And the better to attend ther purposes, and to withfland any of their attempts: the I/raelites made peace with the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backes, and to the North of them, that they might not be affaulted from divers parts at once; hauing the Philistims towards the West and Sca-coast, the Canaanite toward the North and East, and the Idumite on the South. The estate beeing thus settled, Samuel 30 for the ease of the people gaue audience and judgement in divers places by turnes, as hath been elsewhere said.

# CHAP. XVI. Of SAVL.

φ. I. Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.



V т when age now beganne to ouer-take Samuel, and that hee was not able to under-goe the burthen of fo carefull a gouernement, hee put off from himselfe the waight of the affaires on his Sonnes, Ioel and Abijah, who indged the people at Beer/heba, a Citie, the very vemoft towards the South of Indea. And as the place was inconvenient and farre away, fo were themselues no lesse removed from the justice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of couctousnesse, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gaine; to recouer which, they fet

the Law at a price, and fold Iustice and judgement to the best Chapmen. Which

when the Elders of Ifrael observed, and saw that Samuel as a natural man (though a Prophet ) could not so well discerne the errours of his owne, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might bejudged as other Nations were; who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable successe which followed the rule of Eli his sonnes, when those of Samuel by their first blossomes promised to yeeld fruit no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the gouernement from out his race, whom they so much reverenced, but by the choice of a

4.64

Deut.17.

Deut.6.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, Samuel sought counsaile from 10 God: which furely hedid not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not have approoued his election. Now as it appeares by the Text, this speach or motion displeasing him, hee vsed his best arguments to dehort them : which when hee perceived to bee over-feeble, hee delivered vnto them from Gods reuclation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which hee fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath beene borne, and is so still by free consent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will vse their sonnes in his owne service to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not onely not gricuous, but by the Vassals of all Kings according to their birth and condition desired: it be- 20 ing very agreeable to subjects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres, and to till the ground no lesse proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediatly it is threatned; Hee will take up your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Oline trees, and give them to his serwants; with other oppressions; this hath given, and gives dayly occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that Samuel describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination construe this Text farre otherwife, as teaching vs what Subjects ought with patience to beare at their Soueraignes 20 hand. The former opinion is grounded first vpon that place of Deuteronomie, where God fore-sheweth this change of gouernment from Iudges to Kings, and after he had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wines, conetousnesse, and the like: he commandeth that the Kings which were to reigne ouer Ifrael, should write the Law of Deuteronomie, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, It shall be with him, and he shall reade therein all the dayes of his life: that hee may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to doe them: that hee may prolong his daies in bis Kingdome, he and his Sonnes. But to take away any other mans field, fay they, is contrarie to the lawes of God : in the same booke written. For it is said, That which 40 is sust and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayest line. Now if it bee not permitted to carrie away grapes more than thou canst eate out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much leffe lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the ow-Deut.23.2.24. ner, and giue it to another. Neither are the wordes of the Text (fay they) fuch as doe warrant the Kings of Ifrael, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vassalls. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your Sonnes: and againe, This shall beethe manner of the King that shall reigne ouer you. God thereby fore-shewing what power seuered from pietie, (because it is accountable to God onely) will doe in the future. And hercof we finde the first example in Achab, 50 who tooke from Naboth both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, That his people should beeindged with righteous indgement. Wherefore, though the King had offered vnto Naboth composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worthin

money which he refused: yet because hee was falsty accused, and vniustly condemned (though by colour of law) how grieuously Achab was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither wasit a plea sufficient for Achab against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of Ifrael. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, euen as Dauid testifieth of himselfe: Posuisti me in caput gentium : For this of S. Augustine is very true: Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata aquitas non eft aquitas: fed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio; Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, 10 in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation. Such in effect is their disputation, who thinkethis place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary fide, as they are many and forcible, fo are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of The true Law of free Monarchies, which Treatife I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that if practice doe thew the greatnesse of authoritie, even the best Kings of Inda and Ifrael were not fortied by any lawes, but that they did what soeuer they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their owne brethren to be flaine without any triall of law, being fometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though David confessed his 30 offence for the death of Friah, yet Salemon killing his elder brother and others, the

CHAP.16.S.I. of the Historie of the World.

same was not imputed vnto him as any offence. That the state of Ifrael should receive this change of government, it was not only fore-told by Moles in Deuteronomie, but prophecied of by Iacob in this Scripture: The Gen.49. Scepter shall not depart from suda, &c. It was also promised by God to Abraham for a Gen. 15. bleffing: For it was not onely affured that his iffues should in number equal the Gen.17. Starres in heauen, but that Kings should proceede of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the patterne of his solerule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall; and the excellencie thereof in respect of all other gouernments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proued, I shall not neede to ouer-paint that which is gar-

20 nished with better colours already, that I can lay on. In the time of the Judges every man hath observed what civill Warre Ifrael had: what outragious slaughters they committed upon each other: in what miscrable feruitude they lived for many yeeres: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recouer some parts thereof formerly lost. The Canaanites dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrie. The Ammonites held much of Gilead over Iordan; the Philistims the Sea-coasts; and the Iebusites Hierusalem it selfe, till Dauids time: all which that King did not onely conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subjected all the neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the Ifraelites were moued by 40 those reasons, which allure the mon of all Nations to liue vinder a Monarch, or whether by this meanes they fought to bee elected from the fonnes of Samuel, they be- 1. Sam. 8. came deafe to all the perswasions and threats which Samuel vsed, insisting upon this point that they would have a King, both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when Samuel had warrant from God to confent, he sent enery man to his owne Citie and abiding.

ð. II.

Of the election of SAVL.

Fter that Samuel had dismissed the assembly at Mizpah, hee forbare the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who fore-told him the day before, that hee would present unto him a man of the Land of Beniamin, whom hee commanded Samuel to anoint. So

1.032.16.

Samuel went vnto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainement of Saul (whom yet hee knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and Saulalso hauing wandred divers dayes to feeke his Fathers Affes, at length by the advice of his servant travailed towards Ramath, to finde out a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beafts. In which journey it pleafed God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and perfons ) to elect Saul, who fought an affe, and not a Kingdome: like as formerly it had pleased him to call Moses, while he fed the sheepe of lethro; and after to make choice of David the yongest of eight sonnes, and by the Scriptures called a little one who was then keeping of beafts, and changed his sheep-hooke into a Scepter, making to him of all other the most victorious King of Iuda and Ifrael. So Iuhn and Iacob were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles, a dignitic that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours doe: but permanent and euerlasting in Gods endlesse Kingdome.

When Samuel was entred into Ramath, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected and staied his arrivall at the gate. Not long after came Saul, whom God shewed to Samuel, and made him know that it was the same whom hee had foretold him of that he should rule the people of God. Saul finding Samuel in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of Ifrael, much leffe knowing the Honour which attended him, asked Samuel in what part of the Citie the Seer dwelt. 20 Samuel answered that himselfe was the man he sought, and prayed Saul to goe before him to the high place, where Samuel fetting him according to his degree, about all that were inuited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the Kingdome. and of Godsgraces to bee bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed

him King of Ifrael.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two men should incounter him by Rabels Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of losing his beafts, to doubt the losse of his Sonne; that he should then meete three other men in the plaine of Tabor; then a company of Prophets: and that he should be partaker 30 of Gods spirit, and prophecie with them: and that thereby his condition and dispofition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by divine revelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without feare the errours of their Kings, and wrought mirachryf. inpfal.43 cles; of which number were Moses, Iosua, Samuel, and after them Gad, Nathan, Abias, and Thumim in Elias, Elifaus, Isay, Ieremie, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith S. Chrysostome, the ornanceus Omnia tempora percurrant, praterita, presentia, of suura: but they were of those of the stight or the High Prict were in- whom S. Paul speaketh of, 1. Cor. 1. 14. who inriched with spiritual gifts, expounded 40

At Miffeth Samuel affembled the people, that hee might present Saul to them, was ductication, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did Saul acquaint his owne Vncle they were plat therewith, when he asked him what had past betweene him and Samuel: for either gainst the hart to reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall confent. When the Tribes were assembled at Mizpeth, the generall opinion is, that hee was chosen by lot. Chimbi plain that they thinkes by the answere of \*Vrim and Thumim: that is, by the answere of the Priest, werenotthe wearing that mysterie vpon his brest when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the Precious tones calting of lots was not only much vied among the Iewes, but by many others, if not 50 nor any thing made by the by all nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to Artificers. See be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the Iewes also cast lots. Cicero, Plautus, Paulanias, and others have remembred divers forts of lots,

yfed by the Romanes, Gracians, and other Nations: as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to bee under-taken: the two first kindes were called diniforiesthe third, divinatory; and into one of these three all may be reduced: all which kindes how soeuer they may seeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the Prouerbs: The lot is cast into the lap, But the whole disposition is of the Lord. And in like fort fell the Kingdome of Ifrael on Saul, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue Samuel former knowledge of his election: from which election Saul with-drew himseise in modestie, as both Tosephus constersit, and as it may bee gathered by his former answers to Samuel, when he acknowledged himselfe the least 10 of the least Tribe. But Samuel inlightened by God, found where Saul was hidden. and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And Samuel made them know that he was the chosen King of Ifrael, whereupon all the multitude faluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that enuicd his glory (as in all effates there are fuch) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was: of whom Saul, to avoide sedition, tooke no 1. Same. 10.

ð. III.

of the establishing of SAVL by his first victories.

932 O fooner was Saul placed in the Kingdome, but that hee received knowledge that Nahus King of the Ammonites prepared to beliege Rhowledge that it all the state of the great ouerthrow given them by labes Gilead: which Nation lince the great ouerthrow given them by Iephta, neuer durst attempt any thing vpon the Israelites, till the beginning of Saul his rule. And although the Ammonites did alwayes

attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recouer those Territories which first the Amorite, and then I/rael disposses them of; which they made the ground of their inuation in Jephrastime; yet they neuer perswaded themselues of more aduantage 30 than atthis present. For first they knew that there were many of the Ifraelites that did not willingly submitthemselucs to this new King: secondly, they were remembred that the Philistims had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had vsed great care and policie that they should have no Smithes to make them swords or speares: neither was it long before that of the Bethshemesites and places adioyning, there perified by the hand of God more then 50000, and therefore in these respects, euen occasion it selfe inuited them to inlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers : labes Gilead being one of the neerest. Besides it may further be coniccured, that the Ammonites were imboldened against labes Gilead, in respectos their weaknesse: since the Israelites destroyed a great part of them, for not 111d.21. 40 ioyning with them against the Beniamites: at which time they did not onely slaugh-

ter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their yong women, and gaue them to the Beniamites: and therefore they were not likely to have been eincreased to any great numbers: and if they had recoursed them school of this great calamitie, yet the Ammonite might flatter himselfe with the opinion, that I fract having for long time been disarmed by the Philistims, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deepely wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to Saul of their danger, and that the Ammonites would give them no other condition to ransome themselves, but by pulling out their right eies, by which they should be vtterly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath been spoken: Saul, both to value 50 himselfe in his first yeeres raigne, and because perchance hee was descended of one of those 400. Maides taken from the Gileadites, and given to the Beniamites, gave order to assemble the forces of Israel, he wing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers ouerall the coasts, protesting thus: That who seeme not forth after SAVL and after SAM VEL, fo should his Oxen bee ferued: threatning the people

ferted within the Scriptures and the Law.

the pectorall, at the High

1.5am.11.8.

I.Sam.II.

I.Sam.12.

by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven dayes had Saulto affemble an Armie, by reason that the Gileadites had obtained the respite of these seven dayes to give Nahas the Ammonite an answere : who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have severed themselves from Israel, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while Saulassembled the forces which repaired vnto him at Bezec, neere Iordan, that he might readily passe the River; which done, he might in one day with a speedy march arrive at

The fecond Booke of the first part CHAP. 16. S.4.

Tabes, under the Hills of Gilead.

The Armie by Saul led, confifting of three hundred and thirty thousand, hereturned an answere to those of labes, that they should assure themselves of succour 10 by the next day at noone. For, as it feemeth, Saul marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprized the Armie of Nahas the Ammonite. And to the end that he might fet on them on all sides, he diuided his force in three parts, putting them to the fword vntill the heate of the day, and the wearinesse of Sauls troupe inforst them to give over the pursuit. Now the Ammonites were become the more carelesse and secure, in that those of labes promifed the next morning to render themselues and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie successe the people were so farre in lone with their new King, that they would have flaine all those Ifraelites that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly 20 men, as they are violent louers of the prosperous, and base Vassals of the time that flourisheth: and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misaduenture, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

After the Armie remoued, Samuel summoned the people to meete at Gilgal, where Saul was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirme, anointed King: and here Samuel vsed an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precents, and a rehearfall of his owne Iustice, during the beginning of his government to that day. After Saul had now raigned one yeere before hee was established in Gilgal or Galgala, he strengthened himselfe with a good guard of 2000, chosen men, of which he affigned 1000, to attend on Ionathan his sonne at Gibeah, the Citic of his 20 nativitie: the rest hee kept about his owne person in Micmas; and in the Hill of

#### ò. IIII.

Of SAVLS disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the Philistims and Amalekites, which caused his finall relection.



ONATHAN with his small Armie or Regiment that attended him, 40 taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of Philistims: the fame, as some thinke, which Saul past by, when hee came from Rama, where hee was first anointed by Samuel, which they thinke to have beene Cariath-iearim: because a place where the Philistims had a Gar-

rison, I. Sam· Ic. is called the Hill of God, which they understand of Cariath-iearim: but Iunius understands this Garrison to have been at Gebab in Beniamin neere Gibha, where Ionathan abode with his thousand followers. Howsoeuer by this it appeareth that the Philistims held some strong places, both in the times of Samuel, and of Saul, within the Territory of Israel : and now being greatly inraged by this surprize, they affembled 30000. armed Chariots, and 6000. Horse, where with they invaded Iu- 50 des and incamped at Machmas, or Michmas, a Citic of Beniamin, in the direct way from Samaria to Hierusalem, and in the midft of the Land betweene the Sea and Iordan. With this sudden invasion the Ifraelites were strucken in so great a feare, as some of them hid themselves in the caues of the mountaines, other fled over Iordan

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.16. S.4.

into Gad and Gilead: Saul him!elfe with fome 2000, men of ordinarie, and many other people, staid at Galgala in Beniamin, not sarre from the passage of sofua when he led Ifrael ouer Iordan. Heere Saul by Samuels appointment was to attend the comming of Samuel leven daies: but when the lait day was in part spent, and that Saul perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place I.Sam.13.9.) to exercise the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vuto God, contrarie to the Ecclefiastical lawes of the Hebrewes, and Gods Commaundements: others expound the word, obtalit, in this place, by obtaint per Sacerdotem, and so make the sinne of Saul not to have beene any 10 intrulion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commaundement, in not flaying according to the appointment 1. Sam. 10.8. fecondly a diffidence or mistrust in Gods helpe, and too great relying vpon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not beare patiently; and lastly a Contempt of the holy Prophet Samuel, and of the helpe which the prayers of fo godly a man 1.Sam.e.13 might procure him. But what soener was his sinne, not with standing his excuses, he was by Samuel reprehended most sharply, in termes vnsitting his estate, had not extraordinarie warrant beene ginen to Samuel so to doe, from God himselfe, at which time also Samuel feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be confer-

red to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from Saul and his posteritie. 20 After this Samuel and Saul returned to Gibeah, where Saul, when he had taken view of his armie, found it to confift of 600. men : for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but Saul and his sonne Ionathan only. For the Philistims had not left them any Smythin all Israel, that made weapons; besides, they that came to Saul came hafilly, and left such weapons and armour as they had, behind them in the garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how Saul (hould be able the yeere before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour labes Gilead with 300. and thirtie thousand men, if there had not now beene any yron weapon to defend themselues withall, sauc onely in the hand of Saul and Ionathan his sonne. But how-30 focuer, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the Philistims, and all

those craftesmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left vnto the Israelites onely files to sharpen and amend such stuffe as serued for the Plough, and for nought else: yet that they had some kinde of armes it is manifest, or els they durit not have attempted upon the Philishims as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any fword in all Ifrael, but onely that there was not any found amongst those 600. Souldiers which stayed with Saul after Samuels departure: 1. Sam. 13. 22. and it seemeth that when Samuel had publiquely reprehended Saul, that his owne guards for fooke him, having but 600, remaining of his 3000, ordinarie fouldiers, and of all the rest that repaired vnto him, of which many were sled from him before

With this small troupe he held himselfe to his owne Citic of Gibeah, as a place 40 Samuel arrived. of more firength and better affured vnto him, then Gilgal was. Neither is it obscure how it thould come to passe that the Philislims (hould thus disarme the most part of the Israeities, howsocuer in the time of Samuel much had bin done against them. For the victories of Samuel were not got by fword or speare, but by thunder from heauen : and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of Ifrael, no maruaile if they could not in a short peace under Samuel bee replanted againe. For this tiranny of the Philissims is to be understood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder Samuel: and yet vnder him it is to bee thought that by their crafts they

50 proceeded in the policie, not suffering their artificers to teach the Israelites, and so even to the times of Saul kept them from having any store of armour. The same policie did Nabuchodonosor vse after his Conquest in Indea : Dionysius in Sicilie; and many other Princes else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the Ifraelites might repaire in Gilead, for ouer Iordan the Philistims had not

inuaded. The rest of their desences were such as antiquitie vsed, and their present necessitie ministred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the Beniamites exceeded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of Chronicles the twessest the state of those that came to succour Danid against Saul, while he lurked at Siklag, That they were weaponed with bowes, and could we the right and the left hand with stones; and with a sling it was, that Danid himselfe slew the Gyant Goliab.

While the State of Ifrael stood in these hard termes, the Philistims having parted their armie into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at once; Ionathan strengthened by God, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled 10 a mountaine, whereon a companie of Philistims were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may bee gathered by the successe) beeing incamped in the plaine adiovning. And though hee were discourred before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of derifion called up by his enemics: yet hee so behaued himselfe, as with the affistance of God hee flew twentie of the first Philistims that hee incountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and icalousie, they flaughtered one another in flead of enemies: whereupon those Hebrewes which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoiled by them, tooke the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, Saul himselfe taking know-20 ledge of the rout and disorder, together with those Ifraelites that shrouded themfelues in mount Ephraim, fet vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victorie ouer them. Heere was that prophecie in Deuteronomie fulfilled by Ionathan, That one of those which feared God, Should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.

This done, the small armie of Israel made retrait from the pursuit. And though Saul had bound the people by an oath not to take soode till the cuening, yet his sonne Ionathan being inscebled with extreme labour and emptinesse, tasted a drop of hony in his passage: for which Saul his sather would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of Saul and Ionathan, seemes to have reduced vnto the Philifiams remembrance their former ouerthrow likewise miraculous in the daies of Samuel; fo that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the meane while Saul being now greatly encouraged, undertooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely, the Moabits, Ammonits, Edomits, and the arabians of Zobah, against all which he prevailed. Hee then affembled all the forces hee could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiving the commaundement of God by Samuel, hee invaded Amales, wasting and destroying all that part of Arabia Petras, and the defart, belonging to the Amalekits, from Hauilah towards Tieris vnto Shur, which bordereth Agypt; in which warre he tooke Agag their King prisoner. But whereas he 40 was instructed by Samuel to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all other attempted Ifrael, when they left Agypt in Moses time : he not withstanding did not onely spare the life of Agag, but reserved the best of the beasts and spoile of the Countrie, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the living God. Therefore did Samuel now a second time make him know, that God would cast him from his roiall effate to which he was raifed, when he was of base condition, and as the Text hath it, little in his owne eyes. And though the offence was great in Saul for not obeying the voice of God by Samuel, had there bin no former precent to that effect: yet seeing Saul could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to injoyne the Ifraelites to revenge themselves vpo that Nation, he was in all vnexcusable. For 50 God had commanded that the Israelites should put out the remembrance of AMALEC from under heaven. For the crueltie which the predecessors of this Agag vsed against the Ifraelites, especially on those which were our wearied, faint, licke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, & his Nation about 400, yeeres afterward;

and now hee was to pay the debt of bloud, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himselse having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of Samuel witnesse: As thy swordhath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be child-i-sam.15.33. lesse among other women; at which time Samuel himselse (after he had bin by many bootlesse intreaties perswaded to stay awhile with Saul) did cut Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal, and soone after he departed to Ramath, and came no more to see Says, untill the day of his death.

ð. V.

Of the occurrents betweene the rejection of SAVL and his death.

Ow while Samuel mourned for Saul, God commanded him to choose a King for Ifrael, among the sonnes of Islai: which Samuel (doubting the violent hand of Saul) seared in a sort to performe, till it pleased God to direct him, how hee might avoid both the suspition, and the danger. And if Samuel knew that it was no way derogating from the

prouidence of God, that by his cautious care and wisedome he sought to anoid the inconvenience or dangers of this life, then doe those men missake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath given them, doe no otherwise avoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men stupisted in the opinion of fate, or destine, neglecting either to beg counsaile at Gods hand by prayer, or to exercise that wisedome or fore-sight, where-with God hath inriched the mind of man, for his prescruation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) dissaine here to instruct Samuel, to avoid the surie of Saul, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the fonnes of Islai, Samuei by God directed, made choise of Dauid, the yongest, having refused Eliab, the first borne: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength; yet vnto such outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart. Hee also resusting the other sixe brethren, made choise of one whom his Father had alloresting the other sixe brethren, made choise of one whom his Father had allower neglected, and lest in the field to attend his slock; for of him the Lord said to SAMVEL, Arise and anoint him, for this is he: which done, Samuel departed & went to Ramath. Neither was it long after this that Saul began to seek the life of Dauidsin

which bloudy mind he continued til he died, ouercome in battaile by the Philistims. The Philistims having well considered (as it seemes) the increase of Saul his power through many victories by him obtained, whilest they had sitten still and forborne to giue impediment vnto his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as inftly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to Ifrael might be repaied with advantage, it ever opportunitie should serve their often iniu-40 red neighbours against them, as lately it had done against Moab, Ammon, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all Warlike provisions, the Philistims had reason to think themselves equall, if not superiours to Ifrael. The successe of their former wars had for the most part bin agreeable to their owne wishes; as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisedome, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, whereby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore mustered their forces and taken the field, encamping so neere to the Armie which King Saul drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battaile, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, 50 not ioyning in groffe, but maintaining some skirmishos, as refusing both of them to passe the valley that lay between their Camps. Iust causes of seare they had on both fides; especially the Philistims, whose late attempts had beene confounded by the angrie hand of God. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they fought to decide the matter by fingle combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any

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1.Sam.14.

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Dent.25.15.

ftroake from heaven were to be feared. Goliah of Gath a strong Giant, fearing neither

God nor man, undertooke to defie the whole hofte of Ifrael, prouoking them with

despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to

hand, offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold in

selfe as overcome in grosse, and become vassall to the other. This gave occasion to

young David, whom Samuel by Gods appointment had anointed, to make a fa-

mous entrance into publike notice of the people. For no man durst expose him-

felfe to encounter the great Brength of Goliah, vntill Dauid (sent by his father of an

errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offensive or defensive than a sling, wherewith hee overthrewe that to

haughtie Gyant, and after with his owne fword strooke off his head. Hereupon

the Philistims, who should have yeelded themselves as subjects to the Conque-

rour according to the couenant on their owne fide propounded, fled without flav:

and were pursued and slaughtered even to their owne gates. By this victorie

the Philistims were not so broken, that either any of their townes were lost, or their

people discouraged from infesting the Territories of Israel. But David, by whom

God had wrought this victorie, fell into the gricuous indignation of his mafter

Saul, through the honour purchased by his well descruing. For after such time

as the spirit of God departed from Saul and came vpon Dauid, he then became a

uid in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with the sword of his own

conquest taken from Goliab; Saul not only by his wicked Edomite Doeg murthered

and Beepe. And he that had compassion on Agag the Amalekite, who was an enemy

to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattell, contra-

rie to the Commaundement and ordinance of God, both by Moses and Samuel, had

not now any mercie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords servants the Priests of

Israel. Yea he would have flaine his owne sonne Ionathan, for pitying and pleading

hunger made him forget his fathers vnreasonable commination. The companions

of crueltie are breach of faith towards men, and impietie towards God. The for-

mer he shewed in denying David his daughter, whom he had promised him; and a-

gaine in taking her away from him, to whom he had given her; also in that when as

Dauid had twice spared his life in the Territory of Ziph, and Saul twice sworne to do

him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the

meanes he could. His impictie towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell

of the witch of Ender, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For wher-

as when he fought counsel from God he had beene alwaies victorious : from the O-

his necrest and faithfullest scruants, were all slaughtered by the Philistims: his bodic

with the bodies of his fonnes (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung o-

uer the walls of Bethfan : and there had remained till they had found buriall in the

bowels of rauenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of labes stolne their carca-

les thence and interred them. This was the end of Saul, after he had governed Ifrael,

together with Samuel 40. yeres, and by himselfe after Samuel 20. yeeres, according to

Cedrenus, Theophilus, and Iofephus. But yet it seemeth to mee, that after the death of

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a faire entrance to all those victories

which David afterward obtained, for he had beaten the Ammonites with their neigh-

bouring Nations; crusht the Syrians, and their adhærents; broken the strength of the

ten of David, Nabal, and Abigail, after which the death of Saul quickly enfued.

Amalekites; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the Philistims.

racle of the Deuil this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with 40

Dauids innocencie, as also once before for tasting the hony, when his fainting for 30

Of such as lived with SAMVEL and SAVL; of HELLEN and HERCVLES, and of their issues: voon occasion of the Dores, with the Hera-CLIDAE, entring PELOPONES VS about this time.

N the second yeere of Samuel, according to Eusebius, was Dauid borne: after Codoman later, and in the ninth yeere : after Bunting in the tenth. after Codoman later, and in the ninth yeere ratter Bunting in the tenth.

For Danid, faith he, was thirtie yeeres old when he began to reigne:

The was borne in the tenth of the force whence it followeth, that he was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeeres, which are given to Samuel and Saul. About the eleventh of

Samuel, Aneas Silvius the sonne of Posthumus began his raigne over the Latines in Alba, who gouerned that State 31. yeeres. There are who place before him Latinus Siluius, as brother to Posthumus, calling him the fifth from Anens, and fourth King of Alba, whereof I will not fland to dispute. In the eleventh of Samuel, Dercilus fate in the Throne of Afgria, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire 40. yeeres. In this age of Samuel the Dores Obtained Peloponnesus, and at once with the Heraslide, who then led and commanded the Nation, possess a great part thereof 328. yeeres before the first Olympiad, according to Diodorus and Eratosthenes. For all Greece was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the Ionians, Do-20 rians, and Lolians: at length it was called Helles, and the people Hellenes, of Hellen, the sonne of Deusalion, Lord of the Countrie of Pthiotis in Thessalie. But before the time of this Hellen, yea and long after, Greece had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called Hellenes, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many Colonies, and fundric great victories obtained, theissues of Hellen had reduced much of the Countrie vinder their obedience, calling themselues generally by one name, and yet every severall Nation after some one of the posteritie of Hellen, who had raigned ouer it. And because this is the furthest antiquitie of Greece, it will not be amisse to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

30 Japetus (as the Poetsfable) was the sonne of Heauen and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the Greeke tongue such signification:

or perhaps for his knowledge in Astronomie and Philosophic.

Ispetus begat Prometheus, and Epimetheus: of whom all men haue read that haue read Poets. Prometheus begat Deucalion: and Epimetheus, Pyrrha. Deucalion and his wife Pyrrharaigned in Theffalie, which then was called Pyrrha (as Cretensis Rhianus affirmeth) of Pyrrhathe Queene. In Deucalions time was that great floud, of which we have spoken elsewhere. Deutation begat Hellen: whole sonnes were Xuthus, Dorus, and Lolus : of Dorus and Lolus, the Dores and Lolians had name. The Loles inhabited Baotia. The Dores having first inhabited fundrie parts of Thessalie, did af-40 terward scate themselves about Parnassico, and finally became Lords of the Countries about Lacedamon: Xuthus the eldest sonne of Hellen, being banished by his bretheren, for having diverted from them to his owne vie some part of their Fathers goods, came to Athens: where marrying the Daughter of King Erictheus, hee begat on her two sonnes, Acheus and Ion. Of these two, Acheus, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into Peloponnesus : and scating himselse in Laconia, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and leuying an Armie, recoucred the Kingdome of his Grand-father in Thessale.

Jon being Generall for the Athenians, when Eumolpus the Thracian invaded Atliea, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby fuch love and honour of the people, that 50 they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. Hee divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euery one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied, he planted Colonies in Sycionia, then called Ægialos, or Ægialia: In which Countrie Solinus then raigning, thought it fafer to give his Daughter Helice in marriage to Ion, and make him his Heire, than to contend with Sf3

1.Sam.16.V.13. cruell Tyrant, faithlesse, and irreligious. Because the high Priest Abimelech fed De-20

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this Abimelech and 85. Priests of Nob, but also he destroyed the Citic, and smote with 1.548.22.18. the edge of the fword both man and woman, both childe and suckling, both Oxe and Asse.

Theoph. 1.28. Samuel, Saul did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that Samuel died and in the reflection of the 25. chapter, it is

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him. So lon married Helice, and built a Towne called by his wives name in Agizlia, where he and his posteritie raigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaue to that Land the denomination. But in after-times the Dores affilling the Nephewes of Hersules, inuaded Peloponne (u., and ouer-comming the Acheans, possessed Laconia, and all those parts which the Achai had formerly occupied. Hereupon the Achai driven to seeke a new seate, came vnto the Iones, desiring to inhabit Ægialia with them, and alleadging in vaine, that lon and Achaus had beene brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they sought by force to expell the Ionians, which they performed; but they loft their King Tifamenes, the fonne of Orestes, in that Warre.

Thus were the Iones driven out of Peloponnesus, and compelled to remove into Attica, from whence after a while they failed into Asia, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof, on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the least without any universall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the Iones into Asia hath been mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeeres after the warre of Troy, and 60. yeeres after the descent of the Heraclida into Peloponnesus. These Heraclida were they of whom the Kings of Sparta issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeeres. Of their Father Hercules many strange things are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to have beene true, others perhaps must be allegori- 20 cally vnderstood. But the most approued Writers thinke that there were many called Hercules, all whose exploits were by the Greekes ascribed to the sonne of Aleme-

na, who is faid to have performed thefe twelve great labours. First, he flew the Nemaan Lyon: secondly, he flew the Serpent Hydra, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the ouer-taking a very swift Hare: The fourth was the taking of a wild Bore aliue, which hanted mount Erymanthus in Arcadie: The fift was the cleanling of Augias his Oxe-stall in one day, which hee performed by turning the River Alpheus intoit: The list was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake Stymphalis: The seventh was the fetching a Bull from Crete: The eighth was the taking of the Mares which 30 Diomedes King of Thrace fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the Queene of the Amazons: The three last were, to fetch Gerions Beeues from Gades; the golden Apples of the Hefperides; and Cerberus from hell. The Mythologicall interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both ouer-long to be here set downe, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselues. For some by Hercules vnderstand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancie, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make Hercules the Sunne, and his travailes to be the twelve signes of the Zodiac. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well affured, that the expolition cannot have more valikelihood, than the fables: That he tooke Elis, Pylus, O Echalia, and other Townes, being affifted by fuch as either ad- 40 mired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that he slew many Thecues, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His trauailes through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from Hercules Libycus. But fure it is that many Cities in Greece were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his indevours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of Greece (Athens excepted) requited the vertue and deserts of Hercules, with constant protection of his children, persequeted by the King Eurystheus. This Eurystheus was sonne of Schenelus; and grand-child of Perfeus; he raigned in Mycena, the mightieft Citie then in Greece. He it was that imposed those hard taskes upon Hercules, who was bound to obay 50 him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madnesse he had committed vpon his owne Children; but as others say, because hee was his Subiect and Seruant : wherefore there are who commend Eurystheus for imploying the strength of Hercules to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed

by the best writers, that Hercules was also of the stocke of Perseus, and holden in great icalousie by Eurystheus because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services, wherein hee was imployed, so that hee grew great in reputation and power through all Greece; and had by many wines and Concubines aboue threescore children. These children Euryscheus would faine haue got into his power, when Hercules was dead : but they fled vnto Ceyx King of Trachinia, and from him (for he durft not withstand Eurystheus) to Athens. The Athensans not onely gaue them entertainement, but lent them ayd, wherewith they encountred Euryltheus. Iolaus the brothers sonne of Hercules, who had assisted him in many of his trauels, was captaine of the Heraclida. It is faid of him, that being dead, he obtained leave of Pluto to live againe till hee might revenge the injuries done by Euriftheus: whom when hee had flaine in battell, hee died againe. It feemes to mee, that whereas he had led Colonies into Sicilie, and aboade there a long time forgotten: he came againe into Greece to affift his coulins, and afterwards returned back. When the Peloponnesians understood that Eurystheus was flaine, they tooke Atreus the some of Pelops to their King: for hee was rich, mightie, and fauoured of the people. Against him the Heraclida marched under Hyllus the sonne of Hercules. But to avoid effusion of bloud, it was agreed, that Hyllus should fight with Echenus King of the Tegeate a people of Arcadia, who affilted Atreus, with condition, that if Hyllus were victor, hee should peaceably enjoy what hee challenged as his right; otherwise the Herachida should not enter Pelaponnesus in 100. yeeres. In that combat Hyllus was flaine, and the Heraclide compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation : at which time they returned under Aristodemus (as the best authoritie shewes, though some have said, that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the Dores, whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, having expelled the Achai, ouer whom the issue of Pelops had raigned after the death of Eurystheus foure generations.

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Of Homer and Hesion, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age:

Bout this time that excellent learned Poet Homer lived, as many of the best Chronologers affirme. Hee was by race of the Maones, descended (as Functius imagineth) of Berofus his Anamaon, who gave name to that people. But this Functius imagineth Homer the Poet to have function fold beene long after these times, rashly framing his Ara according to 11.col.D.

4 Archilochus in the tract, or rather fragment detemporitus; and makes seven more of second with this name to have florished in diverse Civilian County (1885). 40 this name to have florished in divers Cities in Greece. Whence, perhaps, sprang the Berofus and othis name to have normed in divers Cities in Greece. Whence, per maps, in migrate thers, first active of opinions, both of the time and of the native Citie of Homer. According Basiliand after to this Archilochus, Functius finds Homer about the time of Minasse King of luda, and with Fryer An-Numa of Rome. He was called Melestzenes from the place of his birth, and at length minshis Commentar Ant-Homer, because blind men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the werp is interted. riomer, occause of this Homer in his latter time was blind. \*Clemens Alexandrinus refidei.
Naucle fit47.
cites many different opinions touching the question of the time when Homer lived.
placeth Homer So alfo b Aulus Gellius, and Tationus Affrius in his Oration ad gentes. Paterculus rcc- in the 32. gekons that Homer florished 950, yeeres before the Confulship of Marcus Vinntius: neration in the time of which Mercator casteth vp in the worlds yeere 3046. and after Troy taken, about Samuel. 50 260. yeeres and about 250. yeeres before the building of Rome, making him to strematum 15 260, yeeres: and about 250, yeeres before the bounding of Rome, making that b Nat Alticles, have florished about the time of lehosaphat King of 14.41. But Clemens Alexandrinus cast time 1.47. and Tatianus aboue named, mention authours that make him much ancienter. The c.a. difference of which authours in this point is not unworthic the readers consideration, that by this one inflance hee may guesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the

Rosin disc.tem-Phil.in comm.

Not. Attic.l.z.

Nen. in Chron. Call. I. annal. a This number Mercator corrects, & reads b Enthy in cbr. apud Clem. Alex.

Euf. & Caff. in.

errours in the computations of ancient time: feeing in fuch diversitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For Grates the Grammarien (as Clemens Alexandrinus reports) gaue being to Homer about 80. yeeres after Troy taken. \* As both cle. neere the time that the Heraclida returned into Peloponnesus : and Eratosthenes after Alex and Tati- Troy 100. veeres. Theopompus 500. yeeres after the armie of Greece failed into Phryan. Appr. report his opinigia for the warre of Troy. Euphorion makes him contemporarie with Gyges, who be on rerum Phil, gan to reigne in the 18. Olympiad (which was Solibing faith, that he was oo, veeres before the first Olympiad: which bee feekes to proug by the times of Charillus and his sonne Nicander; Philocorus placeth him 180. after Troy: Ariflarchus 140. in the time of the feating of the Colonies in Ionia. Apol. 10 la dorus affirmes that hee lived while Agesilaus governed Lacedemon; and that Lycurgus in his young yeeres, about 100, yeeres after the Jonian plantations, came to Her in vita Ho. vifit him, neere 240. yeeres after Troy taken. Herodotus findes Homer florishing 622. veeres before Xerxes enterprise against the Gracians: which Beroaldus accounteth at 168 yeeres after the Trojan warre. Eulebius feemes to make him to have beene about the time of iow King of Juda 124, yeeres before Rome built: though elfwhere in his Chronologie he notes, that some place him in the time of Samuel, and others in the end of Dauid, and others in other ages. In his Enangelicall preparation, where out of Tatianus Affrica he citeth fundry opinions touching the time when Homer lived, hee reckoneth many other Greeke writers more ancient than Homer: 20 as Linus, Philammon, Epimenides, Phemius, Aristaus, Orpheus, Musaus, Thamyras, Amphion, and others.

Now whether Homer or Heliodus were the eldere it is also much disputed. Aslus Gellius reports that Philochorus and Xenophanes affirme, that Homen preceded Hefiod: and on the contrarie, that Luc. Accius the Poet, and Ephorus the Historian make He-Farrode imag. fod of an elder time than Homer. Varro leaves it vneercaine which of these learned fablers was first borne: but he finds that they lived together some certaine veeres, wherein he confirmes himselse by an Epigram, written vpon a Treuit, and lest by

> Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. vecres before Rome built: while 30 the Silvy reigned in Alba, about 140, yeeres after the fall of Troy. b Euthimenes findes them both 200, yeeres after Troy taken, in the time of Acastus the sonne of Petias, King of Theslaly. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued, neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but onely to shew the vncertaintie and disagreement of Historians, aswell in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For the curiofitic of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his Iliades with the word Menin, as perhaps containing some great mysterie. In derision whereof Lucian faining himselfe to have beene in hell, and to have spoken with Homer, there asked him the cause why he began his booke with that word: who answered. That he began in that forr, because 40 it came in his head fo to doe.

It feemeth that Senyes, or after Macrobius Senemires, ruled A 27th at this time: for Tanepher fobris was his successour, who preceded Vaphres, father in law to Salomon.

About the end of Sauls government, or in the beginning of Davids time according to Calliodorus, the Amazones with the Cymmerians inuaded Alia, Latinus Sylnius then ruling in Italie. And besides the ouerthrow of that famous State of Trox (which fell 102. yeeres before Davids time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations; but there forung vp, Comewhat neerely together, like Kingdomes into greatnesse not before erected. In Italie, that of the Latines : in the South part of Greece, those of Lacedemon, 50 Countb, and the Achai. In Arabia, Syria Soba, and Damaseus, the Adads made themselues Princes, of which there were tenne Kings, which began and ended with the King of Ifrael in effect; and somewhat before these, the State of the Ifraelites hauing now altered their forme of Gouernment, began to flourish under Kings, of

which Dauid, in a few yeeres, became mafter of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subjected the Iudaans, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a most abiect, and grieuous stauerie; to wit, the Edumeans, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Itureans, and the rest of the Arabians, with the Philistims, Jebusites, Gesburites, Machathites, all which acknowledged David for their Soueraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

### CHAP. XVII.

Of DAVID.

è. I.

Of DAVIDS estate in the time of SAVL.



CHAP.17. S.I.

HE hazards which Dauid ran into while he was yet onely defigned King, and living as a private man, expected the Empire, were very many. The first personall act of fame, was his killing of Goliah in the view of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to Saul, and so highly affected of Ionathan the sonne of Saul, that hee loued him as his owne foule: In fo much as when Saul fought to perswade his sonne, that Danid would affuredly be the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause, Ionathan could neuer be perswaded neuer forst, nor

30 ener wearied from the care of Danids life, and well doing. It was not long after this fignall act of Davids, but that Saul became exceeding icalous of him, though he were become as his houshold servant, and his Esquire, or armour-bearer. Saul being vexed with an euill spirit, was aduised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him voon the Harpe; whereby it was thought that hee might finde ease; which came to passeaccordingly. He entertained David for this purpose, and began to fauour him, giuing him a place of Commaund among the men of warre. But the icalous tyrant soone waxed wearie of his good affections, and sought to kill David. being thereunto moued onely through enuic of his vertue. This passion first brake 40 forth in the middest of his raying fit, at which time hee threw a speare at Danid that

was then playing on his Harpe to doe him eafe. Censorinus remembreth one Asclepius a Physician, who practised the curing of conferred to the Frenzie, by the like Musick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That Pythagor as did also the like by such a kinde of harmonie, Seneca in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesse of Saul came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, howsoeuer it sometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that Musicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul having failed in such open attempts, gaue vnto Dauid the Commaundement 500f 1000. fouldiours, to confront the Philistims withall. For hee durft not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his hatred towards him, hee promised him his daughter Merab to wife : but having married her to Adriel, hee gaue to David his younger daughter Michel, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskinnes of the Philistims: hoping rather (in re-

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1.Sam.19.

1.Sam.21.

1 .Sam. 24.

1.Sam : 6.

Iansen in Pfal.

\* It seemeth

that Simeon

neuer obtai-

ned Siglag till

this time, for it

v.6.therefore

Siglag pertai-

King of Inda

is faid in the

spect of the valour of that Nation, that the Philistims would take Davids head, than hee their foreskinnes. This hope failing, when as now Datids victories begat new feares and icalousies in Saul, hee practised with Ionathan, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still stuftrated. After all this hee fought to murther him in his owne house, but Michol his wife delivered him. So David fought Samuel at Ramah, and being purfued by Saul, fled thence vnto Nob in Beniamin, to Abimelech, then to Ashis the Philistim, Prince of Geth: where to obscure himselfe, he was forc't to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill affured among the Philistims, he couered himselfe in the Cane of Adullam: and after conveying such of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him into Moab. 10 he hid himselfe in the defarts of Ziph, Maon, and the hilles of Engaddi, where hee cut off the lap of Sauls garments, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the defart of Ziph, after his passage with Nabal and Abigail. After which he repaired to Achis of Geth the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the haired, with which his mafter Saul was knowne to profecute him.

Of Achis David Obtained \* Siklag in Simeon, pretending to invade Indea: but hee bent his forces another way and ftrooke the Amalekites, with other enemies of Ifrael, letting none liue to complaine vpon him. Achis supposing that Danid had drawne bloud of his owne Nation, thought himselfe assured of him; and therefore preparing to inuade Israel, summoneth David to affist him, who dissembling his 20 intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the Philistim Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore hee withdrew himselfe to Siklag. At his returne he found the towne burnt, his two wives with the wives and children of his people taken by the Amalekites: Hereupon his fellowes mutined, but God gaue him comfort, and assurance to recouer all

againe: which he did.

This armie of the Philistics commaunded by Achis, encountred Saul at Gilbos, in which hee and his three sonnes were slaine. The newes with Sauls Crowne and bracelets were brought to Danid at Siklag, in his returne from being victorious ouer Amalech, by a man of the same Nation, who answed (though falsily) that himselfe 20 at Sauls request had slaine him. David, because hee had accused himselfe, made no fcruple to cause him to be slaine at the instant : and the sooner because the probabilities gaue strong euidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that euery man ought to bee beleeved of himselfe to his owne prejudice. For it is held in the lawe; Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an euidence of the crime, unlesse some other proofe informe the conscience of the Judge. For a man may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Judge by examination may know to bee impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title de custodia reorum l. si confesfus, et in cap, de pænis l. qui sententiam, therfore doth the Gloffe reconcile these two pla- 40 ces in this fort: Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso consiteatur, & postea maneat in confessione, idelt (atis. If any man in indepement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perseuere in his confession, it is enough. That David greatly bewailed Saulit is not improbable, for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of Ifrael also fell, could not but stirre vp forrow, and moue compassion in the heart of Danid.

The victoric which the Philistims had gotten was so great, that some townes of the Israelites, cuen beyond the river of Iordan, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemie, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may feeme strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious 50 as were the Philistims, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and feeke to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seemes, that the Civill warre immediatly breaking out betweene David and the house of Saul, wherein Iuda was divided from the rest of Israel, gaue them hope of an easie victorie over both; and thereby caufed them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which meanes, both the victors, and the vanguished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

#### ò. II.

Of the beginning of DAVIDs reigne, and the warre made by ABNER for I S B O S E T H.



CHAP.17. S.2.

Fter the death of Saul. Abner, who commaunded for Saul in the war, fought to advance Ishofeth (or Iehoftus according to Iofephus) though hee had no right to the Kingdome of Ifrael: for Mephiboleth the first sonne of Ionathanlined. Against this Abner, and Isboseth, David made a desensive warre, till Abner past lordan, and entred the border of

Inda; at which time he fent loab with fuch forces as he had, to relift Abner: Isbofeth remaining in Gilead, and Dauid in Hebron. The armies encountred each other necre 30 Gibeon, where it seemeth, that Abner made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combat betweene the Lacedamonians, and the Argines, remembred by Herodotus, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left vnslaine. The like triall by a farre lesse number was persormed by the Horati and Curiati for the Romanes and Latines. The same challenge Golish the Philistim made, whom David slew: a custome very ancient. Edward the third offered the like triall in his owne person to the French King; and Francis the French King to Charles the Emperour. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this warre of David with the house of Saul, to wit, so many of Beniamin, and as many of Inda: whose force and valour was so equall, as there survived not any one to 30 challenge the victorie. But the quarrell staid not here: for the armie of Iuda prest Abner in groffe, and brake him. Three hundreth and fixtie men of Abners companions were flaine, and but twentie of Iuda; whereof Alabel the brother of Ioab was one: who when he would needs pursue Abner, and by Abners perswasions could not 2. Sam. 2. be moved to quit him, he was forced to turne vpon him, wounding him to death, with the Broake of his speare. For though Afahel were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild Roe, and as losephus reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great same, if he could have mastered Abner (who as Asahel perswaded himselfe, had by being ouerthrowne and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; That the race Eccles. 40 is not to the (wift.

That this civill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of Samuel the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made Versio. probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the Rabbines conceine that Isboseth had then reigned two veeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For Abner held for the partie of Isbofeth after this, and till such time as there grew icalousie betweene him and Isboseth for Sauls concubine: neither did the death of Isboseth instantly follow; but how long after the murther of Abner it happened, the same

doth not certainly appeare.

50

d. III.

2.Sam.I.

In F.de quæst,l.

ò. 111.

Of the death of ABNER flaine by IOAB, and of ISBOSETH by RECHAB and BAANAH.

2.Sam.3.27.

2.Sam.3.39.

Bner, reconciled to David, was anon by Ioab murdered; for Ioab could not endure a companion in Davids favour, and in the commandement of his forces, by which hee was growne so powerfull, as David forbare to call him to account; for thus much hee confesseth of himselfe: I am this day weake, and these men the sonnes of ZERVIAH beetoo

Verf.19.

hard for mee. In this fort David complained after Abners death, and to make it cleare 10 that hee hated this fact of loab, hee followed him with this publike imprecation: Let the bloud fall on the head of IOAB, and on all his fathers bouse: and let them be subiect to vicers, to the leprofie, to lameneffe, to the fword, and to poliertie, &c. For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by Isab might greatly have indangered Davids estate, Abner being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischaunce therefore Danielopenly bewailed, so that all Ifrael perceived him to bee innocent of that fact. The place which Abner held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to give them great respect, as hath bene alreadic shewed more at large. This office Toab held in the armie of Inda, & thought 20 himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For hee was neere to Danied in kinred, and had beene partaker of all his aduersitie, wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemie should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so icalous of his dignitie and place, that hee afterward flew Amasa his owne kinsman, and the Kings, vpon the fame quarrell, taking it in high disdaine to see him joyned with himfelfe as captaine of the hofte of Inda ; much leffe could bee brooke a superiour, and such a one as had flaine his brother, and beene beaten himselfe in battell. But how soeuer 1920 did hate or despise Abner, David esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in Ifrael, excusing the overlight by which he might seeme 20 to have perished, by affirming that hee died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, But as a man falleth before wicked men, fo (faid hec) diddeft thou fall. And certainly it is no errour of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyeth vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all under the Sunne are subject to worldly miseries and misaduentures. Howsoeuer Isbefeth meant to have dealt with Abner, yet when he heard of his death, hee despaired greatly of his chate, and with him all Ifrael were possest with great feare; insomuch as two of Isbofeths owne Captaines, Rechab and Baanah, murthered Isbofeth, and presenting his head to David, received the same reward that the Amalekite lately did, for pretending to have flaine Saul. Ishofeth being dead, all the Elders of Ifrael 40 repaired to Danid at Hebron, where he was the third and last time anointed by generall consent.

Verf.34.

#### d. IIII.

Of the flourishing time of DAVIDS Kingdome, the taking of Icrusalem, with two overthrowes given to the Philistims, and the conduction of the Arke to the Citie of DAVID.



Hen Danid was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise 50 was vpon the lebulites, who in derilion of his force, and confident in the firength of the place (as is thought) manned their walles with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which David soone after entred : all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of

Zion (which was afterward the Citie of David) hee became Lord of Hierusalem, without any great danger, expelling thence the lebusites, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of Moles and Iofue, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwise: Except thou take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some thinke that it was meant by the Idols of the lebusites : others, that it had reference to the Couenant made long before with Isac, and Isacob: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wreftling with the Angell, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Couenant) be broken, David ought not to molest them. But for my selfe I take it with losephus, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorne of Danids attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres against all the children of

Ilrael, lo (ua, the ludges, and Saul, did not doubt but to defend it also against David. When he had now poffest himselfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatorie Embassadours & presents from Hiram King of Tyre: he entertained divers other concubines & married moe wives, by whom he had ten fons in lerusalem, and by his former wives he had fix in Hebron where he reigned 7. yeeres.

The Philistims hearing that Dauid was now anointed king, as well of Juda as of Israel, they thought to try him in the beginning, before hee was fully warme in his feat. And being encountred by David at two seuerall times in the Valley of Rephaim, or of 2. Sam.s. 20 the Giants, they were at both times overthrowne. After which hee called the place

CHAP.17. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Then David affembled 30000. choice Israelites to conduct the Arke of God from the house of Abinadabin Gibea, to the Citie of Dauid, which businesse was interrupted by the death of Vzzah the sonne of Aminadah, whom the Lord slewe for prefuming to touch the Arke, though it were with intent to flay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnitie brought into the Citie with facrifices, musicke, dances, and all signes of joyfulnesse, in which David himselfe gladly barea part. Heereupon Michel derided him for dancing before the Arke, and afterward told him in scorne , That hee was uncourred as a 30 foole in the eyes of the maidens his feruants; namely that hee forgat his regall dignitie both in apparrell and behauiour; and mixed himfelfe among the base multitude,

dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and firectes: not that shee disliked Danids behauiour (as I take it ) though she made it the colour of her derision. But rather the aboundant griese, which this spectacle stirred vp, beholding, the glorie of her husband to whom shee was deliuered lastly by force, and remembring the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the sonne of Ishai had built this his greatnesse, together with the many new wines and concubines imbraced fince his possession of Ierusalem, made her breake out inthose despitefull tearmes, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, David consulted with the Prophet Nathan for the building of the x.chron.e.v.z. Temple or house of God: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatned, not in vaine, that hee would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beaft. The warres which Danidhad made were just, and the bloud therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly those Princes deceine themselues, who thinke by bloudshed and terrour of their warres, to make themselves in greatnes like to the Almightie, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodnesse, or 50 feeke the bleffednesse promised by our Sautour vnto the peacemakers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of Davids founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon heereceiued both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happie promife of the euerlasting throne, that should be established in his seede.

Τt

- Sam . 5



Oone after this David overthrew the Philistims, which made them altogether powerlesse, and vnable to make any inuasion vpon Israel in halte. For it is written, Accepit franum Amgaris e manu Philifthavorum: which place our English Geneua converts in these words, And DAVID tooke the bridge of bondage out of the hand of the Philistims. The Latine of

Junius gineth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of Amear was meant the firong Citic of Gath, or Geth, and so the Geneua hath it in the marginal note. This 10 Citie of Gath was the same which was afterward Dio-Casaria, set on the frontier of Palastina at the entrance into Iudea and Ephraim. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retrait in all their invasions, which being taken by D4mid and demolished, there was lest no such frontier towne of equals strength to the Lunius in 8. c. of Philistims on that part. The hill whereon Geth or Gath flood, the Hebrewes cal Amme, whereof and of the word Gar is made Amgar, of which Plinie in his first booke, and thirteenth Chap. This exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of Chro.

There was no nation bordering the Iewes that so greatly afflicted them as the Philistims did, who before the time of Saul, (to the end they might not sharpen any wea- 20 pon against them) did not leave one Smith in al their Cities & villages of that kinde, but inforst them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatsoener they needed; so as the Ifraelises till this time of David were seldome free from paying tribute to the Philistims.

E.Sam.E3.

After this he gaue them foure other overthrowes: but the war of the Moabites and Arabians came betweene. In the first of which he was indangered by shibi-benob, the head of whose speare weighed 200. shickles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes : at which time Abifhai succoured Danid and flew the Philistim, 2. Sam, 21. v. 17. whereupon the Councellors and Captaines of David (lest the light of Ifrael might by his loffe be quenched) vowed that he should not thencefoorth hazard himself in 30 any battaile. The second and third incounter and overthrow of the Philistims was at Gob a place neere Gefar, and the last at Gath or Geth. And being now better assured of the Philistims by the taking of Geth, hee invaded Month, from whom not withstanding in his adversitie hee sought succour and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no it is not knowne.

The Rabines faine that Moab flew those kinstolkes of David, which lived under his protection in Sauls time, but questionlesse David well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to Ifrael, and tooke all the occasions to vexe them that were offered. And he also remembred that in the 23, of Deuter. God commaunded Israel not to seeke the peace or prosperitie of the Moabites, which David well observed, for he de- 40 stroyed two parts of all the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victorie obtained, he led his armic by the border of Ammon towards Syria Zobah, the region of Adadezer the sonne of Rebob King thereof. The place is set downe in the descrip-

tion of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

Q. VI.
The warre which DAVID made vpon the Syrians.



T is written in the Text : DAVID fmote also HADADEZER &c. as hee 50 went to recover his border at the river Euphrates. Now whether the words (as hee went to recouer his border) be referred to David or Hadadezer it is not agreed vpon. Iunius thinkes that the article (he) hath relation to David, who finding Tohu opprest by Hadadezer, ouerthrew the one and fuccoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion. that this recouerie hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if Danid had intended any such enterprize towards Euphrates, hee was in farre better case to haue proceeded after his victorie than before : seeing that ( Adadezer being taken) he had now left no enemie on his backe, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountaines vpon him at his returne.

Againe, seeing David was either to passe through a part of Arabia the desart, or by the plains of Palmyrena, his armic confifting of footmen, for the most, if not all: Hee had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his prouisions through those 10 vncultiued places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached Emphrates or any part thereof. But we find that Danid returned to Hiernfalem, after hee had twice ouerthrowne the Syrian armie, not bending his course towards the river Emphrates, but feeking to establish his purchases alreadie made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King Danid, that was going to inlarge his bor-

der, as afore is faid.

The king of Syria Damascena, and of Damascus, wherof that region is so called, hearing that Adadezer was ouerthrowne by the Uraelites, fearing his owne estate, & the loffe of his owne country which adjoyned to Syria Zobah of Hadadezer, fent for an army of Aramites or Syrians to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for 20 Adadezer, and too soone for themselues: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This king of Damascus, losephus (out of Nicholaus an ancient Historian) calleth Adad, who was also of the same name & family as all those other Adads were : which now began to grow up in greatnesse, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the Assyrians, as is shewed heretofore. David having now reduced Damascus vnder his obedience, left a garrison therin, as he did in Edom: having also sackt the adiovning cities of Betah, and Berati, belonging to Adadezer, of which Cities Ptolomy calleth Betah, Tauba: and Berathi he nameth Barathena. Tohu or Thoi whole country of Hamath joyned to Adadezer (as in the description of the Holy land the reader may perceiue) sent his son Ioram to congratulate this successe of David: partly because 30 he had warre with Adadezer, and partly because he seared David now victorious. He also presented David with vessels of gold, silver, and brasse, all which together with the golden shields of the Aramites, and the best of all the spoils of other Nations, Dauid 2, Sam, S. dedicated vnto God at his returne. Junius translated the words (clypeos aureos) by vmbones, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the boffes only. The Septuagint call them bracelets: Aquila, golden chaines. But because Roboam made shields

Temple of Hierusalem, it may be gathered thereby, that those of Adadezer were golden shelds.

This done, Danid fent Embassadours to Hanum King of the Ammonites to con- 2, Sam, t. 40 gratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for David in the time of his affliction under Saul, had beene relieued by Nahafh, the father of Hanum. But this Ammonite being ill aduised, and ouer-icalous of his estate, vsed Danids messengers fo barbaroully, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments) as he thereby drew a warre vpon himselse, which neither his owne strength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that bee had waged three and thirtie thousand Souldiers of the Amalekites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vallalles of Adadezer twentie thousand, and of Maa. Maachab the contederates; to wit, of the varialles of Adadezer twentie thouland, and of Crass-Northpart of chab and Ishtob thirteene thouland (for which hee disburfed athouland talents of Traconiti refiluer) yet all these great armies together with the strength of the Ammonites, were membred in 50 by losb and his brother Abishai cassily broken and put to ruine : and that without Ishiob or Thos any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written that when the Aramites a country neer

of braffe in place of these of Adadezer, at such time as Shicah the Agyptian sackt the

fled, the Ammonites also retraited into their Cities, the one holding themselves Gad vader the tied, the Ammonies also retraited into their chies, the one holding their electronic rockes of di-within the walles, the other in their defarts adiopning, till loab was returned to non.

Hadade-

2.Sam.to.

lomy calleth A-Lamatha neere

Hadadezer hearing that Ioab had dismissed his armie, assembled his forces againe, and fent for all the companies that he could leuie out of Mesopotamia, who vnder the command of Shobach passed Euphrates, and incamped at Helam, on the South side Helam or the- thereof. David hearing of this new preparation, affembled all the ablest men of I/rael. lam which Pto- and marched towards the Syrian armie in Palmyrena, not yet entred into Arabia: to wit, at Helam, a place no leffe diftant from Damaseus, towards the Northeasi, than Hierulalem was towards the Southwest. Now David (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence goe on towards Euphrates (which was the farthest-off journey that ever he made) because he was now Lord of Damaseus, which lay in the mid-\*Secc.18.6.2. way. Healfo poffeth himfelfe of \*Thadmor or Palmyrena, which Salomon afterward 10 strongly fortified, and this Citie was but one dayes iourney from Helam, and the riuer Euphrates. So had he two safe retraites, the one to Thadmor, and the next from thence to Damafeus. In this incounter between Dauid and the Syrians, they lost 40000 horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with Shobach Generall of their armie. The Chronicles call these 40000. Souldiers footmen, and so Innius converts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of Ifrael confishing of footemen, could hardly have flaughtered 40000, horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the charjots taken in this battell, numbred at 7000 in the first of Chron, the 9. in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that ferued in them with the conductors are included: fo as there died of the Syrians in this warre against Danid, be- 20 forche forc't them to tribute; 100000, footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that loab slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites before Rabba. Notwithstanding all which, the Adads in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of Inda often: but the Kings of Ifrael they impourished even to the last end of that State.

David having now beaten the Arabians and Mesopotamians from the partie and confederacie of Ammon: He fent out loab the Lieutenant of his armies to forradge and destroy their territorie, and to besiege Rabbab, afterward Philadelphia, which after a while the Ifraelites mastered and possest. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, David set on his ownehead, and carri- 20 ed away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though David stayed at Hierafalem, following the warre of Friab his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremitic, and readie to be entred: yet Joab in honour of David forbare the last affault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arrivall. To the people he vied extreme rigour (if wee may fo call it being exercifed against heathen Idolaters) for some of them he tare with harrowes, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into

burning kils, in which he baked tile and bricke.

ð. VII.,

Of DAVIDS troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.



Vt as victorie begetteth securitie, and our present worldly selicitie a forgetfulnesse of our former miseries, and many times of God himselfe the giver of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly hee had to please God in the precise observation of his

Lawes and Commandements. For having now no dangerous apparant ene- se mie ( against whom hee was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord ) hee beganne to be aduised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not only satisfied to take Vriahs wife from him, and to vie her by stealth: but hec imbrodered his adultery with Vriahs flaughter, giving order to his truftie fervant

Toub to marshall him in the front or point of those Ifraelites, which gave an assault 2. Sam. 11.15. ypon the suburbes of Rabba, when there was not as yet any possibilitie of prenailing. And, that which could no leffe displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best servants and Souldiers should perish together with Vriah, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intent again i him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse; and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his trodden-downe for rowes began againe to fpring; and those perils which he had pulled up by the rootes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witnesse of Danids owne mouth against him, as Danid himselve did against the Amalekite, which pretended to have flaine Saul, he had then appeared as worthv of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when Nathan the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne errour, in the person of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans sheepethat had none else, the bereauer being Lord of many: He then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And heercof, although it pleafed God to pardon David, for his life, which remiffion the Prophet Nathan pronounced: yet he deliuered him Gods inflice together with his mercie in the tenour following; Now therefore the foord (hall never depart from thy i Samite boule ere. Because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slave VRIAH with the verse and to. 20 [word of the children of Ammon. Soone after this David lot the childe of adulteric which he begot on Bersheba. Secondly, his owne sonne Amnon being in lone with

his halfe fifter Thamar, by the aduice of his Coufin german the sonne of Shimeah Dauids brother, possest her by force : which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a carelesse and despightfull manner. Two yeeres after which foule and incestuous act, Absalom caused him to be murthered, at the feast of his sheep-shearing; not perchance in reuenge of Thamars rauishment alone: but having it in his heart to vsurpe the Kingdome; in which, because he could not in any fort be assured of Amnon, bee thought his affaire greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his owne lister, and then despiled her; the other after 30 along diffembled malice, first, made his owne brother drunken, and then saughtered him; which done he fled away, and lived under the lavegard of Talmai King of Geffur, neere Damascus, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. 2. Sam. 17. Thirdly, when Ablalom by the invention of Ioab, (but chiefly because of the great

affection of David towards his sonne) was brought againe: first to the Kings fauour, 2.54% and then to his presence: He began instantly to practife against David his father, secking by the pretence of common inflice, and by lowly and familiar manner to ail men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vato himselfe a popular reputation. Here beganthe great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a punishment of Dauids sinne.

The company which Absalom gathered at the first were but 200. men : which 2.Sam.15. he carried with him from Hierusalem to Hebron; pretending, though improully, the performance of a vow to God. There when Achitophel repaired vnto him, and many troopes of people from all places, he proclaimed himselfe King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that Danid doubting to be set upon on the suddaine, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of Hierusalem, nor in any other walled towne for teare of surprise : but incamped in the fields, & defarts with some 600. of his gards, and few else. The priests helefein Heerusalem with the Arkeof God, from whom he desired to be aduertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed Husbai his trustic friend, and ser-50 uant, praying him to make himselfein all his outward actions and councels of Absu- 2. Sam. 15.

loms partie and confederacie, thereby the better to discover vnto him the purposes of Achitophel, a revolted Counsailor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, Ziba also sought to betray his master Mephiboleth the sonne of Ionathan : And Shimei of the house of Saul ( the fire Tt 3

of whose hatred Davids prosperitie had smothered, but his adversitie illightened) holding himselse upon the advantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at Dauid, and most despightfully cursed him to his face: but Dauid attending no priuate reuenges, forbadde Abishai to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the rolle of his reuenge, to his sonne Salomon. Absalom being now posset of Hierusalem, was aduised by Achitophel to vie his fathers concubines in some such publique place, as all Ifrael might affure themselues, that hee was irreconciliable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resolvedly adhere to Absalom and his cause, without seare of being given vp vpon a reconciliation betweene them. This faluage and impious (though craftie counfaile) Achitophel indeed vr. 10 ged for his owne respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed Absalom against his father. And now was it fulfilled that Nathan had directly foretold Danid : I will raise up euill against thee out of thine owne bouse, and will take thy wines before thine eyes, and give them onto thy neighbour, and hee shall lye with thy wines in the light of the Sunne : for then diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all Ifrael, and before the Sunne. Hee also gave advice to Absalom, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might bee imployed at the in-2. Sam. 17. V. 14. Stant for the suprizing of David, which had willingly beene imbraced by Absalam, had not Husbai Danids faithfull servant given counter-advice, and swayed it: perswa-

2.Sam.c.13

2.Sam.17.

2.Sam.17.23.

partie and the care of Ab/alom, and of his ownelife. David being advertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past Iordan, possessing himselfe of Mahanaim in the tribe of Gad: the same wherein Isboseth himselfein the warre against David after Sauls death scated himselfe. To which place there repayred vnto him Shobi, the sonne of Nahash the Ammonite, 30 whom Davidioued, the same which Iosephus calleth Shiphar. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this Shobi was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to Hanum, whom David for his fathers sake established in the Kingdome, after Hanums overthrow. In thankfulnesse whereof hee relieved David in this his extremitie. There came also to Davids affistance Machin of Lodabar, Gardian in former times to Mephiboseth, and among others Barzillai the Gilea-

ding Absalom, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of Israel, 20

to pursue his father, then by such a troope, which Dauids valour and those of his at-

tendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in Absalom, and advantage

of time gained by Danid, was indeed, after God, the loffe of the one and deliuerie of

the other. Whereupon Achitephel rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the

successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then for sooke both the

dete, who willingly fed David and all his companie.

In the meane time both the King and Absalem prepared to fight; Absalem made Amasa Commaunder of the armie of Israel, the same place which loab held with Dauid; an office next the King himfelfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace aun- 40 ciently in Fraunce. David, perswaded by his companie, stayed in Mahanaim, and disposed the forces hee had to Ioab, Abishai, and Ittai, giving them charge in the hearing of all that iffued out of the port of Mahanaim, that they should spare the life of Absalows. But 10ab, besides that he was very cruell by nature, remembred that Absalom had lately disposed of his Gouernement to Amasa, and therefore the victorie being obtained, and newes brought him that Absalom hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when he could not perswade the messenger to returne and kill him, hee himselse with his owne servants dispatcht him. It appeared also by the sequell that Ioab affected Adonyah whom hee afterward acknowledged, Danid yet living; and fearing the disposition of Absalom, he imbraced the present advantage offered. 50

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to David, he mourned and forrowed, not onely as a man that had loft a fonne, but as one that had outlined all his worldly joyes, and seene enery delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and re-

ward after so great a victory, couered themselues also in the Citte, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather descrued death than recompence. Whereupon Ioab presenting himselfe before David, perswaded him to diffemble his forrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the Armie. For first he told him that he had discountenanced his faithfull servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not onely to not acknowledge so great a loue and constancie in his people, who being but tew in number, did yet resoluedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake; but on the contrary gricue and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of Ablalom at an easie rate. Secondly, hee vrged that it was generally beleeued, that he loued his enemies and hated his friends, and that he witneffed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull servants, but would more have loyed if they had all perished, and Absalom lived. than in the victorie by their faithfulnelle and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he ysed this prevalent argument, that if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publikely to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatning : And that will bee worfe 2. Sam. 19. vnto thee than all the euill that fell on thee from thy youlb hitherto. By these over-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance vttered with a good intent) Ioab raised 20 Danid from his bed of forrow, and brought him to the gates of the Citic among the people, whom he affured of his love and affection, especially Amasa, who commanded the Armie of Absalem, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the fame which Absalom had given him, and which loab now enjoyed. For David doubted, that if Amasa were not satisfied, hee might draw from him a great part of the

strength of Israel, now under his commandement.

This done, the King marched towards lordan homeward, where in his passage he pardoned Shimei, who had lately reuiled him to his face; but this remission was but 2.5am.19.23. externall, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of Mephiboshetb his excuse, whom Ziba had formerly falfly accused and betrayed.

He also intreated Barzillaithe Geleadite, his lateliberall Oast, to follow him to Ieru- 2, Sam, 19.38. (alem, that he might reward his service done him; who excusing himselfe by his age,

appointed his sonne Chimham to attend the King.

At Gilgalon this side Iordan, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in David, the Armie brake, and David returned to Ierusalem. But Shebathe sonne of Bichri, a Beniamite, of the faction of the house of Sanl, finding some discontentment among the Israelites, withdrew them from David, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but Inda, bare fill a good affection to the iffues of their first King. David imployed his reconciled Captaine A-40 masa, to give him contentment, and to witnesse his trust, as also because hec conceiued that Amasa had interest in those revolts of Ifrael more than loab had. He receiued commandement from Danid to affemble the Armie within three dayes, which he foreflowed: but being onward on his way, Abifbai, Ioabs brother, was fent after him, with Daniels guard and best Souldiers, whom also loab accompanied : and ouertaking Amasa neere Gibeon, pretending to imbrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no leffe icalous of Amalathan hee was of Abner, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, he 2.5cm 20,700 pursued Sheba, and finding him inclosed in Abel, assaulted the Citie with that furie, that the Citizens by the perswalions of a wise woman there inhabiting, cut off Sheba 50 his head, and flong it to losb ouer the walls: which done, her retraited his Armie to

Ierusalem, and commanded, as before, all the hoste of Israel. The next act of Dauids, was the deliverie of Sauls fonnes or kinfemen to the Gibeonites, whom those Citizens hung vp in reuenge of their Fathers crueltie. Danid had

2.Sam.20.22.

3.5am.18-14.

2.Sam.21.

knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of Saul and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore he willingly yeelded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himselse, as also if wee may judge humanely, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom hee and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered; onely he spared Mephibosheth the fonne of Ionathan, both for the love hee bare to his father, as for his oath and vow

Now where it is written in the Text; The King tooke the two sonnes of R Is PAH. whom she bare unto SAVL, and the fine sonnes of MICHOL the daughter of SAVL, whom 19 Thee bare to A DRIEL and delivered them to the Gibeonites:

Junius calls this Michel the lifter of her that was Davids wife, the whom Saul married to Phalsiel; but Mishoi here named had Adriel to her husband: the same which is named Merab in the first of Samuel the eighteenth, who was first promifed to Dawid, when he flue Goliab in the valley of Raphaim : and because it is written that Michelloued Danid, which perchance Merab did not, whether Danid had any humane respect in the deliverie of her children, it is onely knowne to God.

Now whereas the Geneua nameth Michel for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here vsed, having an eclipsis or defect, and fignifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kinred, as in the 19. verse of the same 21. 20 Chapter it is said of Goliah whose speare was weighty as a weathers beame, when as by the same Eclipsisit must be vaderstood by the brother of Goliah: Goliah himselfe being formerly flaine.

As by the death of Sauls children God secured the house of Dauid, leaving no head vnto rebellion; so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against forraine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commaunders, the like of whom . for number and qualitie, that people of Ifraelis not knowne to have had at any time before or after. Thirtie Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Ouer these were sixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. These Coronels had some 30 difference of place and honour, which feemeth to have been given vpon mecre confideration of their vertue. For Abishai the brother of loab, who in the warre against the Ammonites and Aramites was Lieutenant, and commanded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwith flanding his neercnesse in bloud vnto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approved services. All these Coronels and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readinesse for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie 40 thousand, yea, or thirtie times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Sauls time, and been hardened with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their feuerall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of Saul; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with Ioab, that was Generall of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the especial men of warre, and reckoned as Dauids Worthies. The long reigne of Danid, as it is knowne to have confumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be geffed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths wee finde no-where mentioned. For the fonnes of Zeruia, who had been too hard for David, were worne away, and onely toab left in the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abifhai to stand 50 by his side in his last extremitie.

By the actions forepassed in the time of David, it is gathered that hee had reigned now 33. yeeres, or thereabout; when the posteritic of Saul was rooted out, so that hee enloyed about seuen yeeres of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of Salomonin his Fathers throne. In this time also David having established all things in Inda and Ifract, and the borders thereof, hee againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in oftentation of his power: in which he employed losb, with other Captaines of his armie, who after nine moneths and twenty dayes trauell, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirteene hundred thousand, besides Leur and Beniamin, 2. Sam. 24. whereof in Iuda and the Cities thereof fine hundred thousand, and in I/rael eight 1. Chron.c. at.

10 hundred thousand. For this, when by the Prophet Gadhee was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seuen veeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein hee should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and bee chaced by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: David made choice to bow himselfe vnder the hand of God onely, and left himselse subject to that cruell disease, which bath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished seventic thousand. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giueth vs this divine reason; For his mercies are great.

2. Sam. 14.

VIII.

Of the last acts of DAVID; ADONIAHS faction; the reuenge upon IOAB and SHIME I.

Aftly, when hee grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet aduled to lie in the arms of a yong and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake effact of bodie, when he was in a manner bed-rid, Adonyah his eldeft fonne (Amnon and Abfalom being now dead) having drawne vnto his

partie that innincible, renowmed and feared loab, with Abiathar the Priest, beganne manifeltly to prepare for his chablithment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now living of Davids sonnes, and a man of a goodly personage, Salomon yet yong, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by S. Matthew ( as Beda, Hugo, Thomas, and others suppose) hee presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hereof when Dauid had knowledge by Bersabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promile, that Salomon her sonneshould reigneafter him (Nathan the Prophet affirming 40 the same thing vnto the King, and seconding her report of Adonyah his presumption ) the King calling vnto him Zadoc the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, and Benaish the Captaine of his guard, gaue charge and commission to anoint Salomon, and to set him on the Mule whereon himselfe vied to ride in his greatest state: which done, Salomon attended, and firongly guarded by the ordinarie and choice men of warre, the Cherethites and Pelethites, thewed himselfe to the people. Those tidings being reported to Adonyab, he presently abandoned his affistants, and for the safety of his life he held by the hornes of the Altar, whom for the present Salomon pardoned. After this, Dauid had remaining two especiall cares, whereof he was delirous to discharge 1.Kings 1. his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be diffur bed 50 by some rebellion against Salomon; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he fought by all meanes to advance, and make the businesse publique. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Chronicas, vit. Princes of Ifrael, the Princes of the feuerall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers,

with all the mighty, and men of power; who repaired vnto Ierufalem.

In

2.Sam.c.23: 9.79.

In this affembly the King stood vp, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approued the motion. Herein he tooke occafion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of Iuda (as Iascob in his bleffing prophetically bequeathed it ) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choice of him among all his fathers fonnes. In like manner he faid that God him selfe had appointed Salomon by name to be his successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his sonne, to conforme themselves vnto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house, which Salomon was chosen to build. Then produced he the patterne of the worke according to the forme which 10 God himselfe had appointed ; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well appropued by the Princes and people, that whereas hee himselfe had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thoufand of filuer, they added vnto it seven thousand of gold, and tenne thousand of filuer, besides brasse, iron and iewels, heartily reioyeing in the advancement of so religious a worke. This businesse being well dispatched, a solemne feast with great facrifice was made, at which time Salomon was againe anointed King, and received fealtie of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren. the formes of King David. Salomon being thus established King, his Father David 20 finding himselfe even in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which himselfe had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he vetered these mightie wordes; Take heede to the charge of the Lord thy God , to walke in his wayes, and keepe his statutes and his commaundements, and his indgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, &c. to the performance of which God fastened the succession, and prosperitie of his issues. For this done (sayth God himsele) Thou Shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit upon the Throne of

Secondly, hee aduled him concerning loab, who out of doubt had served David 20 from the first assault of terusalem to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, fauing that hee fastened himselse to Adonyah ( his master yet liuing ) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left cruelty vnreuenged, fo was it his will that Loab should drinke of the same cuppe, whereof hee had enforced other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himselse had vniuftly arooken others withall, quigladio percutit, gladio peribit: for he had bereaued Abner and Amasa of their lives, having against the one the pretence onely of his brothers flaughter, whom Abner had flaine in the time of warre, and could not anoid him: against the other but a meere icalousse of his growing great in the fauour of David. And though Toab affured himselse that Abner and Amasa being dead, 40 there was none left either to equall him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised vp Benhaiah the sonne of Iehoiadah, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For David giveth this cause to Salomon against Ioab, that he sue the Captaines of the hoste of Ifrael, and shed bloud of battell in peace; and to this apparant and inst cause, it is not improbable but that Danid remembred the ill affection of Ioab towards Salomon, which Ioab made manifest by the vntimely setting vp of Adonyah, David yet living. Some other offence Ioab had committed against David, of which in these words he put his sonne Salomon in mind; Thou knowest also what IOAB the some of SERVIAH did to mee, &c. Now whether this were meant by the killing of Absalom, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the 50 proud words vsed to him when hee mourned in Mahanaim for Absalom; or whether it were the publishing of Davids letter vnto him for the killing of Vriah, thereby to difgrace Salomon as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are filent. True itis, that those great men of warre doc oftentimes behaue themselues exceeding infolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouerthrowne many a worthie man otherwise descruing great honour and respect.

Heealfo gaue order to Salomon, to ridde himselfe of Shimei, who not long before had cast stones at Danid, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise David spared Shimei all the time himselfeliued, yet being dust and in the grave, he flue him by the hand of Salomon his Sonne. Hence it seemeth that King 1.King. Henrie the feuenth of England had his patterne, when he gaue order to Henrie the 10 eight to execute Pool as Ioone as himfelfe was buried, having made promife to the King of Spaine when hee delinered Pool vnto him, that while he lined he would ne-

uer put him to death, nor fuffer violent hands to be laid vpon him. And vet did not the execution of Ioab veeld vnto Salomon any fuch great profite or affurance as hee hoped for. For he found a yong Adad of Idumea, and Rezin of Damascus to vexe him: who, as the Scriptures witnesse, were emboldened to enter- I. King. II. prize vpon Salomon, hearing that David flept with his fathers, and that Ioab the Captaine of the host was dead. Now when David had reigned in all fortic yeeres, to wit,

in Hebron feuen yeeres, and in Ierusalem three and thirtie, he died. For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces he fo farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtic apart, he was faid by God himselfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The Pfalmes which he wrote witnesse his pictic, and his excellent learning: of whom Hierome to Paulinus: DAVID SIMONIDES noster, PINDARVS & ALCEVS, FLACCVS, quoque CATVLL V S, & SERENV S, Christum tyra personat, & in dechacherdo Psalterio ab inferis suscitat resurgentem; DAVID (faith hee) our SIMONIDES, PINDARVS, ALCRVS, HORACE, GATVLLVS and SERENVS, he playet b Christ on his harpe, and on a ten ftringed Pfalter hee raiseth him oprising from the dead. And being both a King and a Prophet, hee foretelleth Christ more lightfomely and lively than all the

The booke of the Pfalmes, faith Glacas, was divided, ordered and distinguished by Ezekias: but whether all the Pfalmes were written by David, it is diverfly disputed. For Athanasius, Cyprian, Lyranus, and others conceine diners Authors, answering Athanin Synap. the titles of the severall Pfalmes, as Moses, Salomon, and the rest hereafter named, and Hiorepisting. that onely 72. Pfalmes were composed by Dauid himselfe, namely, those which are intituled ipsius David. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on Afaph the some of Barachia, eleven other on the sonnes of Korah, and eleven are ascribed to Moses, to wit, the 89 and the ten following, and so they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) file them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these Psalmes which David wrote 40 not. Sixt: Senensis nameth as followeth; Salomon, Moses, (whom Aben Ezra, contra- Vid. sixt. Smen.

rieto Hierome, maketh one of Dauids fingers) ifaph, Ethan-Eziachi, Eman-Eziaira, I- 110.00 111. dithum, and the three fonnes of Chore. But S. Chryfostome makes Davidthe fole Au- aug de ch.Dei, thour of all the Pfalmes, and so doth S. Augustine, reasoning in this manner : Al- Lizac, 14. though (faith he) some there are that ascribe those Psalmes onely to David, which are ouer-written ipsius Danid, and the reft intituled ipsi Danid, to others, this opinion (faith he) Poce Euangelica faluatoris ipsius refutatur, vbi ait qued ipse DAVID in spiritu Christum dixerit esse sium Dominum, quoniam Psalmus 109 sic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris meis, Ge. The voyce of the Gospel refutes this opinion, where it faith, that David himselfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the TO 109. Pfalme beginnes thus: The Lord faid onto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c. Lastly, his testimonies are vsed both by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a paterne to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Storie and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, Samuel, Nathan and Gad, as it is in the first of Chron. 29. ver. 19. For the seuerall parts of the

I.King.z.

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1.Kim.1.20.

E.King. to

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.17.S.7.

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bookes of Samuel which intreat chiefly of Danid, were as it feemes written by thefe three holy men.

Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that the Troians during the time of the siege, c.17.5.6.7. fought for succour from David, and that he stayed neuter in that warre. But it seein his annales translated out meth that Manaffes did miscast the time twixt David and the Troian warre. For it is of Greeke into generally received that Trey fell betweene the times of Abdon and Sam/on Judges of Latin by loan- Ifrael, about the worlds yeere 2848. and David died in the yeere 2991.

> à. IX. of the treasures of DAVID and SALOMON.

19

Ver [. 14.



Is treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22.0f the first of Chronicles, that he left Salomon for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand talents of siluer, and of brasse and yron passing all weight, which is more then any King of the world possess bimselse, and his son to whom he left

it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirtie and three cartload and a third of a cartload of filuer, allowing two thousand weight of filuer or fixe thoufand pound sterling to every cartload, besides threescore and seventeene millions of 20 French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimonic of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleefe. For that any riches were left him it doth not appeare; feeing that the Judges had not any treafure, nor any foueraigne power to make leuies: but when they went to the warres, they were followed by such voluntaries as the seuerall tribes by turnes gaue them: feeing allo that Saul who was of a meane Parentage, and perpetually vexed and inuaded by the Philiflims, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories beeing exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possest by his

Therefore it were not amisse to consider how David within the space of not very 20 many veeres, might amasse vp such mighty treasures. For though parsimonie bee it selfe a great reuenue, yet needs there must have been some other great meanes. It feernes that hee made the vttermost profit of all that hee had, that was profitable. Eusebius in his ninth booke and last Chapter de praparatione Enangelica, citeth the words of Eupolemus, who reporteth that Danid, among other preparations for the Temple, built a nauie in Melanis (or as Villalpandus corrects it, Achanis) a Citie of Arabia, and from thence fent men to digge for gold in the Iland Vrphe, which Ortelius thinkes, was Ophir, though Eupolemus in his place of Eufebius (crring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Iland is in the red Sea; from whence, saith this Eupolemus, they brought gold into Jury. Pineda lib.4. derebus Salomonis c. I. thinkes that 40 Daniel did this way also inrich himselfe, and citeth this tellimony of Eupolemus : and vercertainely David had many other wayes to gather great riches. Much Land doubtleffe hee gained by conquest, from the Canaanites and Philistims . besides those fruitfull valleys necre Iordan in Trachonitis and Basan, and the best of Spria, and other Countries bordering the Ifraelites. These demaines belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he tooke in his warres, which were notable to redeeme themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, I Chron. 17 that Ichonathan was ouer his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the Cities, in the townes, that Ezri was over the labourers, that tilled his ground; Simei ouer the vineyards; and Sabdi ouer the store of the wine; Baal 50 Hanan over the olive trees, and Toalh over the store of the oyle, also that hee had herdmen that had charge ouer his cattell, both in the high Lands, and in the plaines, ouer his sheepe, camels, and asses. And this custome of enriching themselves by husbandry and Cattell, the ancient Kings enery where held, both before

and after Davids time. For wee reade of Pharao, that hee spake to loseph to appoint Gen.47. fome of his brethren or of their servants, to be Rulers over his cattell. We reade of ...cbron.26. Vzzia, that he loued husbandrie, had much cartell, and plough-men, and drefters of Vines: likewise we reade it in all Greeke Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did especially consist in their Heards and flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cite Augeas and Admetus or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning Dauid it is not vnlikely, but that those captines which were not imploied in husbandric, were many of them vsed by him in all forts of gaincfull protessions, as the ancient Romans in like manner vsed their slaves.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearely were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by Tehu and others) wee may adde the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: also the head money which was gathered per legem capitationis; By the law of capitation or head money, euery man rich or poore paying halfe a fickle of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as fourteene pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand fine hundred and seventic thousand fighting men 1, chrom. 21. were numbred by Ioab. Now although this Law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to haue beene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neuerthelesse they confesse is against the Hebrew expositions) yet David vpon this occasion is not vnlikely to have put it in practize. And by these meanes might he be able to leave those huge treasures to Salomon. Yet it may seeme that of this great masse of gold and filuer left by Dauid, the least part was his owne in prinate, and so will it appeare the leffe wonderfull that he left so much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that he gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thoufand talents of filuer, a great summe : but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continual encrease. without any losse or diminution euer fince the time of Moses and Iosuah. The re-30 uennues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defraied the daily expences, and maintayned the Priest and Lenites) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoiles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and Numb.31.27. the People which remayned at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the Countric received benefit of the victorie, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given 49 to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the spoile of Midian, thirtie two thousand women being taken, the armie had fixteene thousand of them for flaues, and the Congregation had other fixteene thou- Numb. 31.40. fand; but out of the fixteene thousand given to the Armie, were exempted two and thirtie for the Lordstribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twentie. By this meanes, the leffer that the Armie was which had exposed it selseto danger, the greater profit had euery Souldier; but when it confissed of many hands, they who remayning at home were faine to vidergoe more than ordinarie travaile in domesticall affaires, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lordstribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by 50 some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and silver, and other metalls found in 'ericho, were consecrated vnto God; or by thankfulnesse of the Rulers and 10/6.19. People, as when after the victorie obtayned against the Midianites without the losse

of one man, all Iewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as volun- Numbers, so

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tarie presents.

Now

Now how focuer the Israelites were many times oppressed, and troden downe by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies ne-

uer gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in Shilo. Wherefore it cannot other-

wife be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must have beene exceeding great; as

contayning above one hundreth part of all the money and other goods found by the Israelites in the whole Land of Canaan; and of all that was purchased by so many

victories, as they obtayned against the bordering Nations. For that this treasurie

was not defrauded of the due portion, it is cuident; seeing that before the time of David and his Lieutenant loab, it is recorded that Saul and Abner, and before them

house of the Lord : the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and

Captaines in other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of David brought into

the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased.

those of losus perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Ta-

lents of filuer, may seeme rather to have beene made vp, by the addition of his

Samuel, had vsed to dedicate of the spoyles obtayned in warre, to maintayne the 10

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of the Philistims, whom DAVID absolutely mastered: and of fundry other contemporaries with DAVID.

F the Philistims, whose pride Danid was the first that absolutely maftered, in this conclusion of Danids time somewhat heere may bee They descended of Calloim, who, according to Isydor and Iosephus, 16dd.9.19.

They deteended or cassom, who, according to my was one of the sonnes of Missiam, and was surnamed Philistim, as Esau 10/1.1.am.17.

was furnamed Edom, and Jacob I/rael. There were of them fine Cities of pettie principalities; namely, Azotus, or Asadod, Gaza or Aczaph, Ascalon, Geth or Gath, and Acca- 1. Sam. 6. ron. It feemeth that Cassoim was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the Canaanites and the Ægyptians.

The first King of these Philistims, which the Scriptures have named, was that Gen. 20. Abimelech which loudd Sara, Abrahams wife.

The second Abimelech lived at once with Isaac, to whom Isaac repaired in the time offamine, Abimelech then refiding at Gerar in the border of Idum.ea, which Abimelech Gen. 26. 20 fancied Isase his wife: as his father had done Sara.

After Abimelech the second, the Philistims Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till Davids time : perhaps the government was turned into Ariftocraticall. For

they are afterwards named Princes of the Philistims, howfocuer Achis be named Ind. 16.1. Sam: king of Gath, the same to whom Dauid fled, and who againe gaue him Siklag to inhabit in Sauls time.

After him wee read of another Achis who lived with Salomon, to whom Semei travailed to fetch back his fugitive fervant, what time the feeking of his fervant was the loffe of his life. Ieremie the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of Palestin or Philisim. Amos nameth the King of Ascalon: Zacharias, a King of Gaza. The rest of 30 the warres of the Philistims are remembred in the Catalogue of the Indges, of Sanl and David, and therefore I shall not neede to collect the particulars in this

There lived at once with David, the third of the Silvij King of Alba, called Latinus Silnius, who is faid to have ruled that part of italy fiftic yeeres. And about his fourteenth yeare Codrus the last King of the Athenians died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after Medon, Medontide, without regall name gouerned Athens during their life.

The reasons which moued the Athenians to change their government, were not drawne from any inconucnience found in the rule of Soueraigntie, but in honour 40 of Codrus onely. For when the Gracians of Doris, a region betweene Phocis and the mountaine of Oeta, fought counsaile from the Oracle, for their successe in the warres against the Athenians, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should preuaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victoric against the Nation, and yet preserve the Athenian King living. Codrus by some intelligence being informed of this answere, withdrew himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common fouldier, entred the Campe of the Dorians, and killing the first hee encountred, was himselfe forthwith cut in

Eup des the 31. King of Affyria, which others account but the 30. began to rule 50 that Empire, about the 13. yeere of Danid, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the same time began Ixion the second King of the Heraelida, the sonne of Eurysthenes in Corinth; and Agis the second of the Heraclide in Lacedemon: in honour of which Agis, his successfours were called Agide, for many yeeres after. He restored the Laconians to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of Vu 2

1.Chron.c.26. 0.27. O 28.

> winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to have beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie. Now concerning the riches of Salomon, it is more manifest how he gathered them. for he received of yeerely revenues with his tributes fixe hundred fixtic fixe Ta-

lents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also fixe rich Returnes from 20 french crowns. the East India, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage eucry three yeeres, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth yeere of his raigne, and ruled fortie yeeres. Besides this, all ludga and Israel were now mastered to his hands; all the Arabians his borderers, the Syrians of Zobah, of Damascena, of 1. King c. 9.v. 20 Palmyra, of Iturea; all of Idumea, Moab, and Ammon, paid him tribute; as likewise did the Hittites, who with the Perizzites, Heuites, Iebusites, and other races of the Canaanites, were not as yet extinguished, though subjected.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdome of Israel reduced by Danid, who after fortie yeeres raigne, and seuentie yeeres of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, 1.6bron. 19.28. riches, and honours and was buried in the Citic of David. It is written by Iosephus 20 that there was hid in Danids Tombe a maruallous quantitic of treasures, in so much 16ft. Amiq.1.7. as Hyrcanus (who first of the Chasmanai, or race of the Maccabees, called himselfe King) one thousand and three hundred yeeres after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himselfe of Antiochus then besieging Ierusalem, and afterward Herod opening another Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and silver therein. And it

was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the Peruvians and other Americans did the like, which being discouered by the Spaniards, they inriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That Salomon did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleeved, in regard of the great exactions with which he was faine to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the ri-40 ches which he got otherwife, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall confidered that his want of monie grew from fuch magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of David the Scriptures have no mention, but onely the Sepulchers of the Kings of Iuda, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the Monu-Pereginat. His. ments of those Kings, as (by Relation of the Duke of Vlika) they remayned within refol. D.N. cb. these thirtie yeeres, and are like to remaine ftill, are able to make any report credible, of the cost bestowed vpon them.

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ger entasi ti stampini di

Mecander.

17.Ch.9.1.poft.

Plin.l.2.c.58.

& 1.7.c.37.

Helos in Laconia, who had refused to pay him tribute : hee condemned them and theirs to perpetuall flauerie; wherof it came, that all the Mellenians, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called Helotes.

In like fort from the Selani came the word Slane. For when that Nation iffuing out of Sarmatia, now called Russia, had seised upon the countrie of Illyria and made it their owne by Conquest, their victorie pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselues by a new name, Slauos, which is in their language glorious. But in after-times (that warmer Climate having thawed their northerne hardines, and not ripened their wits) when they were troden down, and made servants to their neighbours; the Italians which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their 10 bondmen Slaves, vling the word as a name of reproch: in which sense it is now currant through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this Agis, the third King of Sparta, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of David, and say, that Achestratus was the fourth King of Enseb. in chron. this race, the same whom Eusebien calls Labotes, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere

In the tenth yeere of Achestratus, Androclus the third sonne of Codrus affisted by the lones, built Epbelus in Caria, who after the adioyning of the Ile of Samos to his territorie, was slaine by the Carians whose countrie he vsurped. He was buried (saith The East-gate Paulanias) in one of the gates of Ephesus called Magnetes, his armed Statua being set 20 ouer him. Strabo reports that after Androclus had subdued the Ionians (the next ward orangerija prouince to Ephefus on the sea coast of Asia the lesse) he inlarged his Dominions vpon the Loles, which in yneth to Ionia: and that his posteritie gouerned the Cities Arifiles, pole.6. of Ephefus and Erythra by the name of Bafilida in Strabo his owne time. Of the expedition of the lones how they came hither out of Peloponefus, I have \* spoken alreadie voon occasion of the returne of the Heraelide into Peloponesus, wherein with the Dores, they expelled the Achai, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the lones succeeded that of the Heraclida 100. yeeres.

The Citie of Ephelus became exceeding famous: first, for the temple of Diana therein built: which had in length 425. foote, and 220. in bredth, sustained with 30 127. pillars of marble, of 70, foote high: whereof 27, were most curiously grauen, and all the rest of choice marble polisht, the worke being first set out by Cteliphon of Groffes. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which Timothie was Bishop; to whom, and to the Ephesians, Saint Paul wrote his Epiftles so intituled. The other Citic possest by Androclus in Aolis was also vniuersally spoken of by reason of Sibylla, surnamed Erythraa: who lived seuen hundred and fourtie yeeres before Christ borne. Saint Augustine auoweth that a Romane Proconful shewed him in an ancient Greeke coppie certaine verses of this Prophetesse: which began (as Saint Augustine changed them into Latine) in these wordes: Iesus Christus Dei filius (aluator. Iesus Christ sonne of God the 40 Sauiour.

About the time that Ioab besieged Rabba in Moab, Vaphres beganne to gouerne in Egypt, the same that was father in Law to Salomon, whose Epistles to Salomon, and his to Vaphres, are remembred by Eulebius out of Polemon. In the 21. of David, was the Citie of Magnesia in Asia the lesse founded, the same which is seated upon the river Maander, where Scipio gave the great overthrow to Antiechus. In this territorie are the best Horses of the lesser Asia bred, whereof

Et Magnetis equis, Minya gens cognita remis. About the same time Cuma in Campania was built by the inhabitants of Chalcu in 50 Euba, according to Servius, with whom Strabo loyneth the Cumeans of Lolis, faying, that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the Citic. Of this Cuma was Ephorus the famous scholler of Ifocrates.

Eusebius and Cassiodor finde the building of Carthage at this time, to wit, in the 21. yeere of Dauid, but much mistaken. For the father of Dido was Metinus the sonne of Badezor brother to Iezabel, who married Achab King of Israel; and betweene the death of David, and the first of Achab, there were wasted about 95.

In this time also Acastus lived, the second of the Athenian Princes after Codrus, Euseb.in Chron. of which there were thirteene in descent before the State changed into a Magistra- Herodin vit. cie of tenne yeeres. Some writers make it probable that the Lolians led by Graus, Home Strab. the grand nephew of Orestes, possess the Citic and Island of Lesbos about this time. In Antia S. & cont. to the 32. yeere of David, Hiram began to reigne in Tyre, according to Iosephus, who Ap.l.i. faith, that in his twelfth yeere Salomon began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in Iosephus, to misreckon times, which in this point hee doth so strangely, as if hee knew not how at all to cast any accompt. For it is manifest that Hiram fent messengers, and Cedars to Danid, soone after his taking of Ierusalem, which was in the very beginning of Dauids reigne ouer Israel, when as yet hee had reigned onely seuen yeeres in Hebron, ouer the house of Iuda. Wherefore it must needs be that Hiram had reigned aboue 30. yeeres before Salomon; vnlesse more credit should be given to those Tyrian records which are cited by Iosephus, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same Hiram 20 which lived both with David and with Salomon, the Scriptures make it plainely manifest.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of SALOMON.

ò I.

Of the establishing of SALOMON: of birthright, and of the cause of ADONIAHS death, and of SALOMONS wisedome.

ALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet Nathan, began to reigne ouer Inda and Ifrael, in the yeere of the world 2991. Hee was called Salomon by the appointment of God: hee was also called Iediddia, or Theophilus, by Nathan, because the Lord loued him.

Hiram King of Tyre, after Salomons anointing, dispatched Embassadours toward him, congratulating His establishment: a custome betweene Princes very ancient. Whence we reade that Dauid did in like fort salute Hanum King of the Ammonites, after 2.Sam.10.

his obtaining the Kingdome. The beginning of Salomon was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For soone after Dauids death, hee caused his brother Adonijah to bee slaine by Benaiah 50 the sonne of Iehoiada, taking occasion from Adonyah his desiring by Bersheba, that the young maid Abishag (which lay in Davids bosome in his latter dayes, to keepe him warme) might be given to him. What soeuer he pretended, it was enough that Ado-

nijah was his elder brother, and fought the kingdome contrary to the will of David, whom God inclined towards Salemon. And yet it is said that a word is Vu 3

Seru,in AEneid.

2.Sam.16.21.

1.Sam.20.30.

1 .King.2.15.

Deut.21.15. Filium exofe ag noscito, dando ci rum: namiplius est ius primoze-1.0.17.0 20. € 7',29. € 34. 1.King.1.1.v.20 1.Sam.11.14. Deut. 28.30.

1.King.2.

enough to the wife, and he that fees but the claw, may know whether it bee a lvon or no: foit may seeme that to the quick-fighted wisdome of Salomon, this motion of Adonyabs, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had beene concubines to a King, might not after bee touched but by a King: whence Achitophel wished Absalon to take his Fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And Danid after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them vp, and they remained widowed untill their death. And this it seems was the depth of Isbosheths quarrell against Abner, for having his Fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by Nathan to David; Ihave given thee thy masters house, and thy masters to wives. And in the words of Saul, vpbraiding Ionathan, that he had chosen Danid to the shame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hercunto perhaps was some reference in this purpose of Adoniah, to marrie with her that was alwaics present with David in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdome to Salomon. There might be divers farther occasions, as either that hee would learne such things by her as might be for the aduantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about Davids last Testament. or any thing else that might prejudice the title of Salomon.

As for the right of an elder brother which Adonyah pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the customes of the lewes: yet the 20 Kings of the lewes were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to vse this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely, of Iacobs disheriting Reuben, and giving the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to Ioseph: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in Dauid, it appeares by the words of Bersabe and Nathan to David, and of Ionathan to Adonyah. For as for popular election, that it was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusall of the people had authoritie to frustrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it now here appeares in the flories of the Iemes. It is faid indeed that the people made 30 Saul King at Gilgal: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before no man can doubt. In like manner elswhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to bee expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselues a King, it is said, Thoushalt make him King whom the Lord (hall chuse.

Butto proceed with the acts of Salomon: at the same time that he put Adonyah to death, he rid himselse also of Ioab, and three yeeres after of Shimei, as David had aduised him: he displaced also the Priest Abiathar, who tooke part with Adonisah against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed David in all his afflictions, and because hee had borne the Arke of God before his Father, he spared his life. 40 And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of Vaphres King of Egypt to Wife: for fo Eusebius out of Eupolemus calls him. Hec offered a thousand Sacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands; SALOMON choofeth wifdome, which pleased God. And God faid vnto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words : by which wee may informe our selucs what defires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coueting after long life, in respect of our selves, cannot but proceede of selse-loue, which is the roote of all impietic: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetous nesse which God 50 abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much asto take the sword out of Gods hand, & to distrust his Iustice. And in that it pleased God to make Salomon know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers flaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from David, or

from the Law of God. But because Salomon desired wisedome onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to give him withall that which he defired not. And I have also given thee (faith God) that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of wiledome our Commentators firetch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures the Scripture testificth, though no doubt the 1.King.4.33. chiefe excellencie of Salomons wisedome, was in the knowledge of gouerning his 1. King 3.9. kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wisedome, the Scripture telleth how soone he judged the controuersie betweene the two harlots.

ò. I I.

of SALOMON's buildings and glorie.



CHAP.18. S. 2.

E then entred into league with Hiram King of Trre, from whom hee had much of his materials, for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God : for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father Daurd, and another from God. For like as it is written of David, that He called SALOMON his sonne, and charged him to build a

bouse for the Lord God of Israel : so doth Tostatus give the force of a divine precept 1. chron. 22.6. to these words, Behold; a sonne is borne unto thee, Gro. Hee shall build an house for Toff 9.26. in

Hee began the worke of the Temple, in the beginning of the fourth yeere of his 1. King. c. 6. reigne, at which time also hee prepared his fleete at Essongaber to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supplie the charge of so great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his fleetes were passing to and fro it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggimtrees brought from Ophir. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof 1.chron.28.29) the forme and example was given by God himselfe) many learned men have writ-30 ten, as Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Barrades, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda, and others, to whom I referre the Reader. For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, Salomon

employed thirtie thousand Carpenters, tenne thousand every moneth by course: he also vsed eightie thousand Masons in the mountaine, and seuentie thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceiued, he selected out of the Profelises, 1. King. 5. belides three thousand three hundred masters of his worke, so as he paid and imployed in all one hundred eightie three thousand and three hundred men, in which number the Zidonians which were more skilfull in hewing timber than the Ifraelites, may (as I thinke) be included. For Hiram caused his servants to bring downe 40 the Cedars and Firres from Libanon to the sea, and thence sent them in raffes to lop- 1.Kings. 49. pe, or the next port to Hierusalem. For in the second of Chronisles the second Chapter, it is plaine that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouer seers, were ftrangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of Hiram, and of Vaphres King of Egypt. In re- 1. King. 5.11. compence of all this timber and flone, Salomon gaue Hiram twentie thouland meafures of wheate, and twentie measures of pure oyle yeerely. Eufebius out of Eupelemus in the ninth booke of his preparation the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of Salomons Letter to Suron (which was the same as Huram or Hiram) King of Tyre

R Ex S A LOMON S VRON I, Tyri, Sydenis, atque Phanicia regi. Amico paterno sa-lutem. Scias me à Deo magno D av 1 D patris mei regnum accepisse, cum qui mibi pater pracepit templum Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, vt etiam ad te scriberem pracepit : Seribo igitur, & peto à te ve artifices atque fabros ad adificandum Templum Dei mittere

Kine

30

Ing SALOMON to King SVRON, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phanicia King, and my fa-King SALOMON to king SV and any understand that I have received of the great God of my father DAVI D, the Kingdome: and when my father commanded mee to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, hee commaunded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and be (eech you, that you would bee pleased to send mee Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King Suron made this answere.

S VRON, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phæniciærex, SALOMON I regi falutem. Lettis literis gra-10 tias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam feribis fabros ministross, ad condendum Templum effe tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudea, virum in rebus architectura mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessaris non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

C VRON of Tyre, Sidon and Phanicia King, to King SALOMON greeting: when 1 Dread your letters, I gave God thankes, who hath installed you in your fathers Kingdome. And because you write, that carpenters and workemen may be sent to build Gods Temple. I have fent unto you foure core thouland men, and a Master-builder a Tyrian, borne of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessaries be pro- 20 10. Anil 8.c. nided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to Us.

> The Copies of these letters were extant in losephus time as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene, saith he, Tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals. But he delivereth them somewhat in different tearmes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse betweene Salomon and Hiram either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either Eupolemus or losephus set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect Salomon is faid to have written to Vaphres King of £gypt, 30 and was answered as from Hiram.

But whereas some Commenters upon Salomon finde that Hiram King of Tyre, and Vapores King of Agypt, gaue Salomon the title of Rex magnus, and cite Eupolemon in Eulebius. I doe not finde any such addition of magnus in Eulebius in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in Tosephus in the eight booke and second chapter of the lewes antiquities : it being a vaine title vsed by some of the Affirian and Perfian Kings, and vied likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, insomuch as in latter times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great Hermes the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord. Salomon fortified Ierusalem with a treble wall, and repaired Hazor which had beene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before to fuals time: fo did he Gaza of the Philistims: he built Bethoron, Gerar and the Millo or munition of Hierusalem. For Pharach (as it feemeth in fauour of Salomon) came vp into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar, which the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the fword, and burnt their Citie. The place and territorie he gaue Salomons wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because Salomon was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the warre, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of those neighbours, which Pharash performed. But he thereby taught the Agyptians to 50 visite those partes againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne Rehobeams time Shelback this mans successor did sacke Ierusalem it selfe.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manaffe, on this side Iordan; and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either Ptolomies Thamoron in the defart of Inda (or as Iofe-

phias thinkes Palmyra in the defart of Syria, which Palmyra because it stood on the vermost border of Salomons dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of Dauids conquest when he wan Damaseus; it may seeme that Salomon therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best arte that that age had. Iofe- 10feph.18.am. phus calls this place Thadamora, by which name (faith hee) given by Salomon, the Syrians as yet call it. Hierom in his booke of Hebrew places calls it Thermeth. In aftertimes, when it was rebuilt by Adrian the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building Salomon raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twentie talents of gold 10 received from Hirams lervants, Salomon offered Hiram twentie towns in or necrethe vpper Galilee, but because they flood in an unfruitfull and marish ground, Hiram refuled them, and thereof was the territorie called Chabul.

These townes, as it is supposed, lay in Galilee of the Gentiles, IN on quod gentes ibi habitarent : sed quia sub ditione regis gentilis crat, Not that it was possess by Gentiles (faith Nauclerus ) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile. Howsocuer it were, it is true that Salomon in his 21. yeere fortified those places, which Hiram refused. Further, he made a journey into Syrta Zobah, and established his tributes; the first and last warre (if in that expedition be were driven to fight) that hee made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions, passing from 20 Thadmor to the North of Palmyrena, and so to the Defarts of Idumea, from whence hee vilited Eziongaber and Eloth, the vttermost place of the South of all histerritories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I have described in the Storie of Moses.

#### d. III.

Of SALOMON'S fending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about SALOMONS riches, and of PINEDAES conscipt of two strange passages about Infricke.

Ere Salomon prepared his Fleet of Ships for India, with whom Hiram ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia, which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by David, did the Fleet passe on to the East India, which was not

farre off, namely to Ophir, one of the Islands of the Moluccas, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesse the Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the aboundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at Manilia, and recouer 40 a great quantitie from thence, and with lesse labour than they doe in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by these Ships amounted to source hundred and twentie talents, but in the second of Chronicles the eight, it is written foure hundred and fiftie talents: whereof thirtie talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men, and foure hundred and twentic talents, which makes five and twentie hundred and twentie thousand Crownes came cleere. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of fixe hundred fixtic and fix talents of gold, that fumme, as I take it, is of other receipts of Salomons which were yearely, and which came to him besides these profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as divers have thought) but a countrey in the East Indies; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedic returne to lerusalem from the East Indies then in c.8.5 9.10. "5. three yeeres; and that Thar sis in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath Lib.4.de rebut beene alreadie declared in the first booke. Onely

Ø 15.

Onely it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of Pineds his strange conceits. who being a Spaniard of Batica, would faine have Gades or Calis-malis, in old times called Tarteffus, which is the Southwest corner of that Province, to be the Tharsis from whence Salomon fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for love of his owne countrie, and because of some affinitie of sound betweene Thirsis and Tarteffin. For whereas it may feeme strange that it should be three yeere ere they, that tooke ship in the red sea, should returne from the East Indies to Ierusalem, this hath been in part answered alreadie. And further the intelligent may conceive of fundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metall, and in their other trafficke. and in their land-carriages betweene Ierusalem and the red sea, and perhaps also 10 elswhere: so that wee have no neede to make Salomons men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to Gades, round about all Affrick, that fo they might be long

For the direct way to Gades (which if Salomon and the Ifraclites knew not, the Tyrians which went with them, could not have beene ignorant of) was along the Mediterran (ea, and so (besides many wonderfull inconveniences and terrible navigation in rounding Africa) they should have escaped the troublesome land-carriage betweene Ierusalem and the red sea through drie, desart, and thoeuish Countries: and within 30.mile of Terusalem at Toppe, or some other hauen in Salomens owne

Countrie have laden and valaden their ships. But this direct course they could not hold (faith Pineda) because the huge Island of Atlantis in largenesse greater than all Africk and Asia being swallowed up in the Atlantik Ocean hindred Salomons thips from paffing through the straits of Gibraltar: for this he alleadgeth Plato in Timeo. But that this calamitic happened about Salomons time, or that thereby the Straights of Gades were filled with mud and made vnpassable, that there could be no comming to Gades by the Mediterran lea: or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scowreth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner. where this huge Island is supposed to have stoode: or that Salomons ships being in the red sea, should neglect the golden mines of the East Indies (which were infinitly 30 better and neerer to the red sea, than any in Spain) to seeke gold at Cadyz by the way of compassing Affrica, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himselfe that hath also the rich Pern in the West, fortifieth in the East Indies, and inhabites some part thereof, as in Manilia, finding in those parts no lesse quantitie of gold

De rebus Sal, 1. 4.6.12.11. As it appeares Ioppe.c.1.0.3.

(the small territorie which he there possesset considered) than in Peru. The same Pineda hath another strange passage round about all Africa, which els where he dreames of : supposing whereas Ionas failing to Tharlis the Citie of Cilicia, was cast out in the Mediterran sea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes swimming aboue twelue thousand English miles, along the Mediterran feas, and so through the streights of Gades, and along all the huge seas round about 40 Africa, cast up 10mas upon the shore of the red sea, that so hee might have perhaps fome fixe miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to Niniuie. This conceipt hee grounds onely vpon the ambiguitie of the word Suph, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the red sea (as if wee should call it mare algosum, the sea full of weeds) for the red sea. But in Ionas 2.5. it is generally taken in the proper fignification for weeds, and not as Pineda would haucit, who in this place against his owne rule (which elsewhere he giveth vs) supposeth strange miracles without any neede. For this long voyage of the Whale finished in three daies, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of longs in the bellie of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessitie of this miracle, we send it backe vnto him, keeping his owne rule which 50 in this place he forgets; Miracula non funt multiplicanda. And againe, Non funt miracul- gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nona fingenda, Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessitic, nor delinered without cause, nor fained at pleasure. Therefore to leave this man in his dreames, which (were he not otherwife very learned and judicious) might

bee thought vnworthie the mentioning. But to proceede with our Storie of

The Queene of Sabaes comming from farre to Salomon, (asit seemes from Arabis felix, and not as some thinke from Ethiopia) and her rich presents, and Salomons reciprocall magnificence, and his refoluing of her difficult quellions, those are set downe at large in the text. But herein Iolephus is greatly millaken, who calls this Queenc of Saba Nicaules, the successour (faith hee out of Herodotus) of those thirtie and eight Egyptian Kings which succeeded Mineus the founder of Memphis; adding that after this £gyptian, and the father in Law of Salomon, the name of Pharaoh was 10f.ant.8.t.a. 10 left off in Egypt. For as it is elsewhere proved that the Queene was of Arabia, not of Agypt and Athiopia; fo were there other Pharaohs after the father in Law of Salomon. Yea, aboue three hundred yeeres after Salomon, Pharao Necho flew Iosias King 2, chronic 25.

of ludar It is also written of Salomon, that hee kept in garrisons fourteene thousand Chariots, and twelue thousand horsemen, that he spent in Court every day thirtie measures of fine flower, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheepe, besides stags and fallow deare, bugles and fowle; foure thousand stals of horses he had for his chariots and other vies, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stals in the first of Kings the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in the second of Chronicles the ninth, it is written but source thousand stals or teemes, and incuery teeme ten horses, as Junius and the Geneua vn- 1.King.4.31. derstandit. He was said to be wifer than any man, yea than were Ethan the Ezrabite, than Heman, Chalcal, or than Darda, to which Iunius addeth a fift, to wit, Ezrak. For the Geneua maketh Ethan an Ezrahite by Nation. Iofephus writes them Athan, Aman, Chalceus and Donan the sonnes of Hemon. Hec spake three thousand Prouerbes, and his fongs were one thousand and fine, whereof either the most part perished in the Captinitic of Babylon, or else because many actes of Salomons were written and kept among the publique Records of Civill causes and not Ecclesia-Ricall, therefore they were not thought necessarie to bee inserted into Gods 30 booke.

d. IIII.

Of the fall of SALOMON, and how long he lived.

Ow as hee had plentic of all other things, so had he no scarcitie of women. For besides his seuen hundred Wiues, hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commaunded that none of his people should accompanie the daughters of Idolators) hee tooke Wines out of Agypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon and Heth: and when hee fell adoting, his Wines turned his heart after other Gods, as Afteroth of the Zidonians, Milcom or Molech of the Ammonites, and Chemoft of

These things God punished by Adad of Idum.ca, Rezin of Damaseus, and by Ierobeam his owne servant, and one of the masters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his sonne Roboam, ten of the twelue parts of all the territorie hee had. Deus dum in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis vititur, que spfe non fecit. God in punishing finners, vieth the finnes of others, which hee hiroselfe wrought P. Martineg.

In the reigne of Salomon (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence and that great Indian voyage alreadic mentioned. Fourtie yeeres hee reigned: how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore bee found onely by coniecture. The most likelie way to guesse at the truth in this case, is by considering the actions

Ing.F.

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1.Sam.c.17.v.

27.Ø·18.

of David before and after Salomons birth, whereby wee may best make estimation of the yeeres which they confumed, and confequently learne the true, or most likely yeere of his nativitie. Seven yeeres David reigned in Hebren: in his eighth vecre hee tooke Jerusalem, and warred with the Philistims, who also troubled him the yeere following. The bringing home of the Arke feemes to have beene in the tenth yeere of David, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leysure, living in rest. After this he had warres with the Philifims, Mozbites, Aramites and Edomites, which must needs have held him five yeeres. considered that the Aramites of Damasco raised warre against him, after such time as he had beaten Hadadezer; and that in every of these warres he had the entire 10

2.Sam.c.11.v.1. victoric. Neither is it likely that these services occupied any longer time, because in those dayes and places there were no wintering campes in vse, but at conuenient feasons of the yeere Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly vpon the spoyle of the enemies countrie, partly upon the private provision which every souldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of David, in which he tooke Mephiboseth the sonne of

Ionathan into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the veere following to have begun the warre with Ammon; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for Ieab after the victorie. returned immediatly to Ierusalem) the causes and preparations for that warre haue taken 20 vp all the Summer. Davids personall expedition against the Aramites wherein hee brought all the tributaries of Hadadezer vinder his owne allegiance, appeares manifestly to have beene the next yeeres worke, wherein he did cut offall meanes of fuccour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab and Idumea being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must have beene the 20. veere of Davids reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth Ioab to beliege Rabba, and finished the warre of Ammon: wherein also fell out the matter of Vriahs wife. So one halfe of Dauids reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe he felt great sorrow by the

r.im by God for his foule and bloudie offence. Now very manifest it is, that in the yeere after the death of that childe which was begotten in adulteric, Salomon was borne, who must needs therefore haue beene nincteene veeres old or thereabout, when hee began to reigne at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned

expectation, execution, and fad remembrance of that heavie judgement laid vpon

in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of Dauid, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere Absalom slew his brother Ammon; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to have beene one yeeres worke. 40 So the rebellion it selfe with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by Sheba, the death of Amala and the rest, may well seeme to have beene in the

30. yeere of Dauids reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last veeres of warre with the Philistims, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to conjecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the tenne remaining yeeres of David there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three yeeres of famine, for foure yeeres of warre, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his owne last infirmitie, and disposing of the Kingdome. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the Philistims, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or 50 foure fights, of which the two or three former were at Gob or 200b neere vnto Gezer, and the last at Gath. This warre the Philistims undertooke, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in Ifrael, and perhaps emboldened by Danids old age, for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwardes hindered by his men from exposing himselse vnto danger any more. So Danid had fixeor feuen yeeres of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of Warre died (being of his owneage) whereby the stirring spirit of Adonyah found little succour in the broken partie of Ivab the sonne of Zeruta.

At this time it might both truly be faid by David to Salomon, Thou art a wife man, I. King.c. 2. v. 9. and by Salomon to God, I am but a yong child; for nineteene yeeres of age might well & c.3.0.7.

agree with either of these two speeches.

Neuerthelesse there are some that gather out of Salomons professing himselfe 2 child, that he was but eleuen yeeres old when he beganne to raigne. Of these Rabbi Salomon feemes the first Authour, whom other of great learning and judgement haue herein followed: grounding themselues perhaps upon that which is saide of Absolons rebellion, that it was after fortie yeeres, which they understand as yeeres 2. Sam. 15.7. of Davids raigne. But whereas Rehoboson the sonne of Sasomon was 41. yeeres old when hee beganne to raigne, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten bim, being himselte but a child of nine or ten yeeres old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if Salomon (who raigned fortie yeeres) were but eleuen yeeres old when his raigne began. To avoide this inconvenience, losephus allowes 80. yeeres of raigneto Salomon; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needes no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion construed the wordes of Inferhus, as if they included all the yeeres of Salomons life. But by such reckoning hee should have beene 40. yeeres old at his Fathers death; and confequently should have beene borne long before his Father had wonne Ierusalem; which is a manifest vntruth. Wherefore the 40. yeares remembred in Absolons rebellion, may either seeme to have reference to the space betweene Davids first anointment, and the trouble which God brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to losephus, Theodoret, and the Latine translation ) foure yeeres; which passed betweene the returne of Absolon to Ierusalem, and his breaking out.

à. V.

Of SALOMONS writings.



30

Here remaine of Salomons workes, the Prouerbs, the Preacher, and the Song of Salomon. In the first he teacheth good life and correcteth manners, in the second, the vanitie of humane nature, in the third hee singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Booke intituled The wisedome of Salomon, (which some give vnto Sa-

lomon, and some make the elder Philothe Author thereof) Hierome and many others 40 of the bell learned make vs thinke it was not Salomon that wrote it. Stylus libri fa- Hier. adcromapientie (faith HIEROME) qui SALOMONIS inscribitur, Grecum redolet eloquentiam; fium. The file of the booke of wisedome, which is ascribed to SALOMON, sanoureth of the Gracian eloquence; and of the same opinion was S. Augustine, and yet hee confesseth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Author of that Booke bath a direct fore-telling of the Paffion of Christ in these wordes: Circumueniamus influm quoniam influanis est nobis, &c. Let vs circumuent the righteous, Sap. 2. for he is unpleasing to us, he is contrarie to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the Law, he makes his boaft to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the Sonne of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following wordes point directly at 50 Chrift. The Bookes of Ecclesiastes, Pronerbs, and Cantico Canticorum, Rabbi Moses S.Sen. fol.62. Rimchi ascribeth to Isay the Prophet. Suidas and Cedrenus report that Salomon wrote

of the remedies of all diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the Porch of the Reinece. in Inl. Temple, which they fay Ezechias pulled downe, because the people ne lecting helpe Hist. from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

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CHAP.19. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

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Of Salomons bookes of Inuocations and Inchantments to cure difeases, and expell euill spirits, losephus hath written at large, though as I conceiue, rather out of his owne inuention, or from some vncertaine report, than truely.

Healso speaketh of one Eliazarus, who by the roote in Salomons ring dispossest divers persons of euill spirits in the presence of Vespasian, and many others, which I

will not stand to examine.

Certainly fo strange an example of humane frailty hath neuer been read of as this King: who having received wisedome from God himselfe, in honour of whom and for his onely service, hee built the sirst and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of Ifrael and Indea, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue 19 of God, and became the wifest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the persivasion of a few weake and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forfake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberall to this King, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom Sirasides writeth in this manner: SALOMON raigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that hee might build a house to his name, and prepare the San-Etuarie for euer; How wife wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a floud! Thy minde coursed the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and darke fentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles , and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c. but thus he concludeth: Thou didft bowthy loynes to Women , and wast oner-come by thy bo- 20 dy, thou didlt staine thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt forrow for thy folly. cap. 27.

## of the Contemporaries of Salomon.



Ecrethe beginning of Salomons raigne, Agelaus the third of the Heraclida in Corinth ; Labotes in Lacedamon ; and soone after Sylvius Alba the fourth of the Syluy, fwayed those Kingdomes : Laosthenes then go- 30 verning Affyria: Agastus and Archippus the second and third Princes after Codrus ruling the Athenians.

In the fixe and twentieth of Salomons raigne Hiram of Tyre died, to whom Baliafrus succeeded, and raigned seventeene yeeres, after Mercators account, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sonnes. lofephus gives him fewer yeeres. Theophilus Antiochenus against Autolicus findes Bozorius the next after Hiram, if there bee not some Kings omitted beweene the death of Hiram, and the raigne

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of Salamon, Sefac or Shifak (as our Englifb Geneua termes him ) beganne to gouerne in Agypt , being the same with him 40 whom Diodorus calleth Sofachis; Iosephiu, Sufac; Cedrenus, Susefinus; Eusebius in the columne of the Agyptian Kings Smendes, and in that of the Hebrewes Sulac. Islephus in the eight of his Antiquities reproueth it as an errour in Herodetus, that hee ascribeth the acts of Susacto Sessiris, which perchance Herodotus might haue done by comparison, accounting Sesac another Sesestris, for the great things hee

Of the great acts and vertues of King Sesostris I have spoken already in the Rorie of the Egyptian Princes: only in this hee was reproued, that hee caused foure of his captine Kings to draw his Caroch, when hee was disposed to bee seene, and toride in trumph: one of which foure, faith Eutropiu, at such time as Sesostru 50 was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe upon the two fore-most wheeles next him, which Selostris perceiuing, asked him what hee found worthy the admiration in that motion? to whom the captine King answer red, that in those hee beheld the instabilitie of all worldly things; for that both the

lowest part of the wheele was suddainly carried about, and became the highest, and the vomost part was as suddainly turned downe-ward and under all: which when wish Missell, 17 Sefostris had iudiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like seruitude in the future. Of this Sesostris, and that he could not be taken for Sefac, I have spoken at large in that part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

### CHAP. XIX.

# Of SALOMONS Successors untill the end of IEHOSAPHAT.

Of REHOBOAN his beginnings the defection of the ten Tribes, and I EROBOAMS Idolatrie.

20

EHOBO AM the Sonne of Salomon by Nahama an Ammonitesse, now fortie yeeres olde, succeeded his Father Salomon, and was anointed at Sichem, where the ten Tribes of Israel were affembled: who attended a while the returne of ler oboam as yet in Agypt, fince hee fled thither fearing Salomon. After his arrivall the people presented a Petition to Rehoboam, to bee cased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. Sic enim firmius ci fore Imperium, & amari mallet quam Ant.1.8.c.3. metui; So should his Empire (faith Iosephus) be more assured, if hee desired rather to bee beloved than feared:

whereof hee tooke three dayes to deliberate before his answere, of whom therefore it could not be faid as of Dauid, that he was wifer than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe heeknew not how to resolue, so had hee not the judgement to discerne of counfells, which is the very test of wisedome in Princes, and in all men else. But not with standing that he had consulted with those grave and aduised men, that serued his Father, who perswaded him by all meanes to satisfie the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not only to continue on the backs of his 40 subjects those burdens which greatly crusht them; but (vaunting fally of greatnesse exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heavier, and more vnfupportable loades on them. But as it appeared by the fuccesse, those yonger adulfors greatly mistooke the nature of seucritie, which without the temper of clemencie is no other than crueltie it felfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be vsed for the helpe, and not for the harme of subjects. For, what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cordes or fetters have ever lasted long, but those which have been twifted and forged by love only? His witlesse parasites could well judge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things elfe, it sufficed and inabled them suf-50 ficiently for the places they held. But this answere of Rehoboam did not a little adnance Ieroboams designes. For being fore-told by the Prophet Achiah of his future aduancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arrived, than elected King of Ifrael; the people crying out, What portion have wee in Danid? we have no

Ast lib.3.

2.Sam.c.5.1.

inheritance in the Sonne of that. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes of Israel, had consented to Danids anointing at Hebron the second time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebells. they forgat both the bonds of nature, and their dutie to God, and, as all alienated resolued hearts doe, they served themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now ouer-late, and after time, Rehoboam fent Adoram, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hatefull to all his Subjects, to pacific them: whom they infantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from Sichem with all speede, and recovered Ierusalem, where preparing to invade Israel, with an hundred and foure-score thousand chosen men, Shemai in the person of 12 God commanding to the contrarie, all was stayed for the present. In the meane time Ierobosm the new King fortified Seekem on this fide, and Pennel on the other fide of Jordan; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of David; and having in all likelihood also promised the Egyptians to follow their Idolatrie : hee set vp two Calues of gold for the Children of Ifrael to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these heerepresented those Gods, which delinered them out of Agypt: and refusing the service of the Leuites, hee made Priests fit for such Gods. It must needes be that by banishing the Leuites which served David and Salomon through all Ifrael, Ieroboam greatly inriched himselfe: as taking into his hands 20 all those Cities which were given them by Mojes and Iofua, for as it is written, The Leuites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Iuda, &c. This irreligious policie of Icroboam (which was the foundation of an Idolatrie that neuer could be rooted out, vntill I frael for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecie and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first beganne, but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. Ieroboam could not bee moued now by the authoritie of Ahia, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claue a-sunder, ac-God, who againe recovered and cured him of that defect; yet hee continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for hee held it the safest course in policie to proceede as

cording to the ligne, which the man of God had given by the commandement of 30 he had begunne. This impious invention of Ieroboam, who for sooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historian compared with the policies of late Ages, obseruing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. Sie qui hodie (faith hee) politici vocantur, & propria commoda, prasentes que vilitates sibi tanquam ultimum finem constituunt, cansam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt : pro ipsatuenda, promonenda, conseruanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, si institie honestatish leges subuertenda, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si denig, omnia iura diuina, 40 & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nihil per fas nefala, relinquendum censent, cuncta ruant, omnia percant, nihil adipsos, modò id, quod è re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit quitalia curet, castigarene posit Deus; Sothey who are now called Polititians, propounding to themselves, as their otmost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit; are wont to alleage the case of state for sooth, as the principal point to bee regarded : for the good of the flate , for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the flate, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppresse their neighbour to ouerturne all lawes of instice and honestie, if religion it selfe must goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will trie all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goeto ruine, what care they, follong as they may have what they would; as 50 who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power

Indeed this allegation of raggione del state, did serue as well to vp-hold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatric of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground

Amaziathe Priest of Beshel, counsailed the Prophet Amos, not to prophecie at Be- Amos. 7-13. thel: For (faid he) it is the Kings Court. Vpon this ground even Ichu that had maffa- 2. Kings 10.16. cred the Priests of Baal, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wife depart from that politique sinne of Ieroboam the sonne of Nebat, which made Ifrael to sinne. It 2. Kings 10.20. was reason of state that perswaded the last famous French King Henrie the tourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom hee for sooke, obeyed him, but some of the Papifts whom hee followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizzor of wife proceeding delude cuen those that know the foule face of impictie lurking vnder it, and behold the wretched endes that have ever followed it; whereto of lebu and all the Kings of Israel had, and were themselves very great examples.

Q. II.

Of REHOBOAM bis impietie; for which heew as punished by SESAC:

of his end and Contemporaries. Hile Icrobosm was occupied in fetting up his new Religion, Rehobosm on the other fide, having now little hope to recover the Provinces loft, strengthened the principall places remaining with all endenour: for hee fortified and victualled fifteene Cities of Judah and Beniamin: 2. Chron. 21. not that hee feared Ieroboam alone, but the Agyptians, to whom Ie-

roboam had not onely fastned himselfe, but withall inuited them to inuade Indea: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of Danid and Salomon, which might now easily bee had, seeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemics to the Indeans. So as by those two wayes (of late yeeres often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraine force, Ieroboam hoped to settle himselse in the seate of Israel, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatrie in a few yeeres after rooted out, with all his. Rehoboam also, having as hee thought, by fortifying divers places, affured his estate, for sooke the Law of the living God, 1.Kings 14.13. and made high Places, and Images, and Groues on euerie high Hill, and vnder eue-

30 rie greene Tree.

those removed Sauages of the Troglodyta.

And therefore in the fifth yeere of his raigne, Sefae or Shifhae before spoken of, being now King of Egypt, and with whom as well Adad of Idumes, as Ierobosm, were familiar, and his infiruments, entred Indea with twelve thousand Charlots, and 2.chromat.3. three score thousand Horse, besides soote-men, which Iosephus numbers at source 10/1. ARIL 8.2.4. hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations; Agyptians, Lubeans, Succeans, and Custes. The Lubeans were Lybeans, the next bordering Region to Agypt, on the West fide. The Cufites were of Petres, and of the Defart Arabia, which afterward followed Zerah against of King of Inda. The Succeans ac. 2. Chron. 12. cording to lunius his opinion, were of Succeth, which fignifieth Tents: hee doth fup-40 pose that they were the Troglodita, mentioned often in Planie, Ptolomie, and other Chron. Authors. The Troglodites inhabited not farre from the bankes of the red Sea, in 22. Ptol. Affectab. 3. degrees from the line Northward, about fixe hundred English mile from the best and Maritimate part of Agypt: and therefore I doe not thinke that the Succims, or Sucsai were those Troglodita, but rather those Arabians which Ptolomie calles Arabes Agypti, or, Jehthyophagi, which possesse that part of Egypt betweene the mountaines called Alabastrini, and the red Sea farre neerer Agypt, and readier to be leuied then Cap. 47. 0,13.

With this great and powerfull Armie, Sefac invaded Indea, and (belides many other strong Cities ) wanne Ierusalem it selfe; of which, and of the Temple, and 50 Kings house, he tooke the spoile, carrying away ( besides other treasures) the golden shields which Salomon had made, fin imitation of those which David recovered from Adidezer, in the Syrian warre: these Reboboam supplied with Targets of braffe, which were fit enough to guard a King of his qualitie: whom Syracides calleth, The foolishnesse of the people.

Ххз

From this time forward the Kings of Agypt claimed the soueraigntie of Indea. and held the Iewes as their Tributaries: Sefac, as it feemes, rendring vp to Rehoboam his places on that condition. So much may bee gathered out of the wordes of God. where promifing the deliuerance of Juda after their humiliation, hee doth not withstanding leave them under the yoke of Egypt, in these wordes: Neuerthelesse, they (to wit, the Indeans) shall be his servants, that is, the servants of SESAC.

After this overthrow and dilhonour, Reboboam raigned twelve yeeres, and his loffes received by Sefac notwithstanding, hee continued the warre against Ieroboam

all his life time. After his death Ieroboam gouerned Ifrael foure yeeres. Rehoboam lived 58. yeeres, and raigned 17. his storie was written at large by She- 10 meiah and Hiddon the Prophets, but the same perished with that of Wathan & the rest.

With Rehoboam, Archippus, and Tersippus, the third and fourth Archontes or Gouernours for life after Codrus , gouerned in Athens. Abdastrartus, or Abstrartus, in Tyre. Doristhus the fift of the Heraelide in Sparta, according to Eusebius (others make him the fixth) and Priminas the fourth in Corinth. Ouer the Latines reigned Sylvius Alba, and Sylvius Atys, the fourth and fifth of the Sylvij.

About the 12. of Rehoboam, Abdastrartus King of Tyre was murthered by his Nurfes fons, or foster brethren, the elder of which vsurped the Kingdom twelue veeres.

Towards his latter times Periciades, or Pyrithiades, beganne to gouerne Allyria. the 34. King thereof: and not long after Astartus, the sonne of Baleastartus recouered 20 the Kingdome of Tyre from the V (urpers.

#### ò. III. ·

Of the great battaile betweene IEROBOAM and ABIA, with a Corolarie of the examples of Gods judgements.



BIJAH the Sonne of Rehoboam, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. Hee raised an Armie of soure hundred thousand, with which hee inuaded Ieroboam, who encountred him with a double number of 20 eight hundred thousand, both Armies ioyned neere to the Mount Ephraim, where Ieroboam was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength

of Ifrael broken; for there fell of that side fine hundred thousand, the greatest ouerthrow that euer was given or received of those Nations. Abijah being now master of the field, recourred Bethel, Ieshanah, and Ephron, soone after which discomfiture, Ieroboam died: who reigned in all 22. yeeres. Abijah, the better to strengthen himselfe, entred into league with Hesion, the third of the Adads of Syria; as may bee s. Coron. 16. 23. gathered out of the 2. of Chron. he reigned but three yeeres, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by Iddo the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were.

Heere wee see how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of Salomon in his Sonne 40 Rehoboam: first, by an Idolator and a Traitor: and then by the successor of that Agyptian, whole daughter Salomon had married, thereby the better to affure his chate, which while he ferued God, was by God affured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when hee for sooke him, it was torne a funder by his meanest Vassals; Not that the Father wanted frength to defend him from the Agyptian Sefac. For the sonne Abijah was able to leuie foure hundred thousand men, and with the same number he overthrew eight hundred thousand Israelites, and slew of them fine hundred thousand, God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when, and where it pleafeth him. And as in those times the causes were exprest, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, 50 and at the instant delivered by Prophets; so the same iust God, who liveth and gouerneth all things for euer, doeth in these our times giue victorie, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw downe Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed

in the present: for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of I/rael, alwayes 2, Sam. 27.1. the causes are set downe, that they might bee as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in Danids time for three yeeres, For Saul and his bloudic house, &c. And David towards his latter end suffred all forts of afflictions. and forrowes in effect, for Vriah. Salomon had tenne tribes of twelve torne from his fonne for his idolatric. Rehobosm was spoyled of his riches and honour by Sefac of Ægypt, because the people of iuda made images, high places, and groues, &c. And because they suffered Sodomites in the land. Ieroboam was punished in himselfe & his posteritie, for the golden Calues that he erected. Ioram had all his sonnes same by the 10 Philistims, and his very bowels torne out of his bodie by an excoriating flix, for murthering his brethren. Abab and lezebel were flaine, the bloud of the one, the bodie of the other eaten with dogs: for the false acculing and killing of Naboth. So also hath God punished the same and the like sinnes in all after-times, and in these our dayes by the fame famine, plagues, warre, loffe, vexation, death, űckneffe, and calamities, howfocuer the wife men of the world raife these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents; which, as being next their eyes and cares, sceme to them to worke enery alteration that happeneth.

#### d. IIII.

Of As A and his Contemporaries.



O Abijah succeeded Asa, who enioved peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time hee established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. Hee also spared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatresse, but deposing her 2. Chron. 15.16.

from her regencie, brake her Idoll, stampt it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities, and other places, prouiding (as prouident Kings doe) for the troubles of war 20 in the leafure of peace. For not long after hee was inuaded by Zerah, who then commanded all the Arabians bordering Inlas, and with such a multitude entred the territorie of Asa, as (for any thing that I have read) were never allembled of that Nation, either before or fince. For it is written, that there came against the Iudeans Zerab of Aethiopia, with an hofte of tenne hundred thousand, and three hun- 2. Chron. 14.9. dred Chariots, which As encountred with an armie of fine hundred and source fcore thousand, leuied out of those two tribes of Iuda and Beniamin, which obeyed him, and with which hee ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoyle both of their Cities and Campe.

oth of their Chies and Campe.

That this Zerah was not an Ethiopian, I have \*proved alreadic, & were it but the mer booke c.4. 40 length betweene Athiopia and Indea, & the strong flourishing Regions of Egypt interiacent (who would not fuffer a million of strangers to passe through them ) it \$110, 16. were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is, that these inuaders were Æthiopians. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that Gerar was belonging to Zerah, and the Cities thereabouts were spoyled by the Iudeans, in following their victorie, as places belonging to Zerah, and that all menknow that Gerar standeth vpon the torrent of Befor, which David past ouer when he surprized the Amalekites or Arabians; this producth sufficiently, that Zerab was leader of the Arabians, and that Ge- 2. Chron. 14 rar was a frontier towne, flanding on the ottermost South-border of all Iudea, from all parts of Æthiopia fixe hundred miles. Also the spoyles which Astooke, as the 50 cattell, Camels, and sheepe, whereof hee sacrificed fine thousand, shew them to bee Arabians adjoyning, and not far off, and not vnknowne A: hiopians. And if it be obieced that these desart countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answere, that it is as like that Arabia Petras, and the Desart which compasse two parts of the holy Land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two tribes of

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the twelue, should arme five hundred and foure score thousand. Besides, it answer reth to the promise of God to Abraham, that these nations should exceed in number; for God spake it of Ifrael, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelue Princes, &c.

Baasha a king of Israel began to reignein the third of Asa, and fearing the greatnesse of A/a after his great victorie, entertained Benhadad King of Syria, of the race of Adadezer, to ioyne with him against A/a; and to the end to blocke him vp, hee fortified Rama, which lieth in the way from Ierusalem towardes Sa-

maria.

2. Ehron. 16.4.

I.Kings 15.

2.Chrox. 16.

This warre began according to the letter of the scriptures in the 36. yeere of A- 12 fa his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that Baasha died in the 26. yeere of Asa; therefore could not Bassha begin this warre in the 25. of Asa his reigne, but in the 35. yeere of the division of Iuda and Ifrael: for so many vecres it was from the first of Rehoboam, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of Afa. It may sceme strange, that Asa being able to bring into the field an Armie of fine hundred and foure score thousand good Souldiers, did not cassly drine away Bassha, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of Abia against Ieroboam, and of Asa himfelte ag iinst Zerah, being yet fresh in minde, which might well have emboldened the men of Iuda, and asmuch disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the text, which caused Asa to fight at this 20 time with money. It may be that the imployment of fo many hundred thousands of hands, in the late service against Zerah, had caused many mens private businesses to lie vndispatched, whereby the people being now intentine to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be vnwilling to firre against the Ifraelites, choosing rather to winke at apparant inconvenience, which the building of Rama would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might have deterred Ala from aducaturing himselfe with the least part of his forces, and committing the successeinto the hands of God. Howsoeuer it were, hee tooke the treasures remaining in the Temple, with which hee waged Benhadad the Syrian against Baasha, whose imployments Benhadad readily accepted, and brake off confederacie with Baasha. For 20 the Israelites were his borderers, and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his inualion) nor his successors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themselues masters of that Kingdome. So Benhadad being now entred into Nephthalim, without relistance, he spoyled divers principall Cities thereof, and inforced Baasha to quit Rama, and to leave the same to Asa, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same : which done, Benhadad, who loued neither partie, being loden with the spoiles of Israel, and the treasures of Inda, returned to Damaseus. After this, when Hananithe Prophet reprehended Asa, in that hee now relyed on the ftrength of Syria, and did not rest himselse on the fauour and affistance of God, hee not onely caused Hanani to bee imprisoned, but hee began to burden and oppresse 40 his people, and was therefore strooken with the grienous paines of the gout in his feete, wherewith after he had beene two yeeres continually tormented, hee gauevp the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

There lived with Ala, Agesilaus the fixt of the Heraclida, and Bacis the fift King of the same race in Corinth, of whom his successors were afterward called Bacida. A-Euseb, in Chron. flartus, and Marimus were Kings in Tyre. Astarimus tooke reuenge on his brother Phelletes, for the murther of Ithobalus Priest of the goddesse Astarta, whom Salomon in dotage worshipped. Aiys and Capys ruled the Latines. Pirithiades and Ophrateus the Affyrians: Terfippus and Phorbas the Athenians: Chemmis reigned in Agypt, who dying in the 36. yeere of Asa, left Cheops his successor, that reigned fiftie lixe yeeres, e- 50

uen to the 16. of loas.

è. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the raigne of A s A.



Nthe raigne of Ala, the Kingdome of Ilrael felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegeance to the house of David, if the wisedome of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of Ieroboam had in his latter dayes, the sentence of heavie vengeance layd vpon it, by the

mouth of Ahia, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of Israel, for the finne of Salomon, and his raigne over the ten Tribes. One fonne Ieroboam had among others, in whom onely God found so much pietie, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family ) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happie) the fauourable approbation of

After the loffe of this good fonne, the vngodly father was foone taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile vinthankefulnesse to God, that hee durst 20 not fuffer his owne name to be vied in confulting with an holy Prophet, affured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea, of Gods extreme hatred; yet for bearing to destroy those accursed Idoles that wrought his confusion. So loth hee was to forfake his worldly wisedome, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all be-

longing to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

Nadab the sonne of Ieroboam, raigned in the second and third yeeres of As, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeede his fathers last yeere of two and twentiedid runne along (how farre is vncertaine) with the second of Asa, whose third yeere was the first of Brasha, so that perhaps this Nadabinioyed not his Kingdome 1.King. 15, 25. one whole yeere. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sen-20 tence. It seemes that he little seared the judgements denounced against his fathers house : for as a Prince that was secure of his owne chate, hee armed all Israel against the Philistims, and besieged one of their Townes. There ( whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to minde their grieuous losse of fine hundred thousand vnder Ieroboam, counting it an vnluckie sumilie to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, hecexasperated them) flaine hee was by Baasha, whom the Armie did willingly accept for King in his stead. Baalba was no sooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the house of lerobosm, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercie, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods 40 will to haue it fo, it is cuident by his continuing in the same forme of Idolatrie which Ieroboam had begunne. Wherefore hee received the same sentence from God that had been layd vpon Ieroboam; which was executed vpon him also in the same fort. Hec beganne to infelt Asa, by fortifying Ramah; but was diverted from thence by the Syrian Benhadad, who did waste his Countrey, destroying all the Land of Nephthalim. Foure and twentie yeeres hee reigned : and then dying, left the Crowne to Elahis fonne; who enjoyed it, as Nadab the fonne of Ieroboam had done, two yeeres currant, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an idolater as his father : and withall a riotous person. Hee sent an Armie against Gibbethon, the same Towne of the Philistims, before which Nadab 50 the sonne of Ieroboam perished; but he sate at home the whilest, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby hee gaue such advantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. Zimri, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at Tirza, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaniour so contemptible, conceiued hope of the like fortune as Baesha had found, by doing as Eaasha had done. Wherefore he did set vp-

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on Elain his drunkennesse, and slue him. Presently vpon which fact, he stiled him. felfe King of Ifrael: and began his raigne with maffacring all the house of Baalba; extending his crueltie not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in Tirza. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at Gibbethon, where they were not welcommed according to Zimri his expectation. For the Souldiers in flead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitour; and being led by Omri, whom they faluted King, they (quitting the fiege of Gibbethon) presented themselves before Tirza; which in thort space they may seeme to have forced. Zimri wanting ftrength to defend the Citie, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling alive into his enemies hands, did fet fire on the Palace, consuming it and himselfe together to 10 ashes. Seven dayes he is said to have raigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that Omri was proclaimed in the Campe. For Zimri was also an idolater, walking in the way of IEROBOAM; and therfore is likely to have had more time wherin to declare himselfe, than the raigne of seven dayes, and those consumed partly in murchering the friends of Baafha, partly in seeking to have defended his owne life. After the death of Ela, there arose another King to oppose the faction of Omri, wherby it may seeme, that Zimri had made his party strong, as being able to set vp a new head, who doubtleffe would neuer have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not vnlikely to resist and vanquish the Armie which maintained Omri. How long this Tibni, the new Competitor of Omri, held out, I doe not 20 finde; onely it appeares that his fide was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

#### ٥. VI.

A coniccture of the causes hindering the reunion of I/rael with Iuda, which might have been effected by the le troubles.



Ny man that shall consider the state of Israel in those times, may justly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wea- 20 ried with the calamities already fuffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present civil warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and reunite themselves with the mighty Tribes of Inda

and Beniamin; or that Zimri and Tibni, with their oppressed factions, did not call in A/4, but rather chese the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yeelding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man for saken: than to have recourse vnto a remedie, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to haue it so, were atrue, but an idle answere (for his secret will is the cause of all things) vnleffe it could be prooued, that he had forbidden A/a to deale in that businesse, as he forbade Rebobeam to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the 40 restraint laid by God vpon Rehoboam, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appeares by the Warre continued betweene Ifrael and Inda, so many yeeres following: wherein Abia so farre prevailed, that he wanne a great battaile, and recovered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly looke into the second causes, mooning the People and Leaders of theten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upftarts, rather than to caft their eyes upon that Royall house of David, from which the succession of fine Kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been layd your the meane beginnings thereof: To thinke that Omri had preuented his Competitors, in making peace 50 with Asa, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For Omri was not onely an Idolater, but did worse than all that were before him, which as it might serve alone to proue, that Asa, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which hee professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon

the familie and friends of Basiba, ( Ma his mortall enemie) gives manifest reason, why Zimri, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he, hauc expected the friendship of Juda in that quarrell. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardnesse in the ten tribes (which was such that they may seeme to have never thought vpon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes ? it were not amisse to examine the causes, mouing the people to reuenge the death of Ela, an idle drunkard, rather than of Hadab the some of Ieroboam, who followed the warres in person, as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if wee looke vpon humane reason) occa-10 fioned by defire of breaking that heavie yoke of bondage wherewith Salomon had galled their neckes. Their desire was to have a King that ihould not oppresse them; notro haue no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of Rehoboam had caused them to renounce him, they did immediatly choose Ieroboam in his flead, as a man likely to affoord that libertie vnto them, for which hee had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deceined. For his affectation of popularitie appeares in his building of decayed townes, and in the institution of his new deuised idolatry; where hee tolde the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile so farre as to Ierusalem. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntarie, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reigne, 20 and in the reigne of his sonne, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtese of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King that he fill retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is cleerely apparant, that the whole armic of all Ifrael iouncd with Basha, taking in good part the death of Nadab, and cradication of Ierobeams

Now the reigne of Baa/ha himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and cost at Rama was cast away; the other side of his Kingdome harried by the Syrians; neither did hee winne that one towne 30 of Gibbethon from the Philistims, but left that businesse to his sonne, who likewise appeares an unprofitable fluggard. Wherefore it must needes be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of Baashagrew from his good forme of Civill gouernment, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than Ieroboam cuer meant to doc. And furely hee that shall take paines to looke into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of Israel and Iuda. in administration of iustice, will finde it most probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so auerse from the line of David; as to thinke all aduersitie more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of loab and Shimei was indeed by them deserved; yet in that they suffered it without 40 forme of judgement, they suffered like vnto men innocent. The death of Adonyah was both without judgement, and without any crime obiected, other than the Kingsicalousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrarie instice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away ) he would have slaine Ieroboam ( if hee could have caught him ) before hee had yet committed any offence, as appeares by his confident returne out of Agypt, like one that was knowne to have endured wrong having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, lehor am did vpon his brethren, and vpon fundry of his greatest men; as also loafb did so put to death Zachariah, the sonne of Iehoiada, who had made him King, enen in the court of 50 the house of the Lord: and MANASSES did shedinnocent bloud exceeding much till hereplenished lerufalem from corner to corner; and this was imputed to him as another fault; 2. King. 21.16. besides his sinue, wherewith hee made Iuda to sinne. Contrariwise, among the kings of Israel wee finde no monument of such arbitrarie proceeding, vnlesse perhaps the words of lehoram the sonne of Ahab (which were but words) may bee taken for an

2 King.6.31.

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instance, when hee said, God doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of Elish the Conne of SHAPHAT shall stand on him this day: whereby it is not plaine whether he meant to kill him without more adoe, or to have him condemned as a false prophet, that had made them hold out against the Aramites, till they were faine to eare their owne children, which he thought a sufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliver them. The death of Naboth sheweth rather the libertie which the Ifraelites enjoyed, than any peremptorie execution of the Kings will. For Naboth did not seare to stand upon his owne right, though Ahab were even sicke for anger, neither was hee for that cause put to death, as vpon commaundement. but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a indiciall forme, to which might give satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

The murther of the Prophets is continually ascribed to lezabel, an impudent woman, and not vnto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their lines were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people, being idolaters were both pleafed with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of Inda (fuch as are registred ) producthem to have yfed a more absolute manner of commaund, than the Kings of the tenne Tribes. Neither doe their lufferings witnesse the contrary. For of those which reigmed ouer Juda, from the division of the Kingdome, to the captuity of the ten tribes, 20 three were flaine by the people, and two were denied a place of buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of Abazia and his brethren, slaine by Iehu, with the destruction of all the Royall feed by Athalia, did not (for ought that we can reade) ftirre vp in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddennesse and vniformitie tellifie the affection to be generall, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes; vnlesse we should thinke that the death of sthalia, after feuen veeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memory of herill purchasing, than by the present sence of her tyrannicall abusing the government, whereon shee had seised. On the other side, such of the Kings of Ifrael as perished by treason (which were feuen of the twentie) were all flaine by conspiracie of the great men, who af-20 pired by treason to the Crowne: the people beeing so farre from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soueraignes, that (after 2 adab) they did never forbeare to reuenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approoue the good successe of treason, vnlesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly revenged vpon other two, namely the death of Ela and Zacharia, vpon Zimri and Shallum, who traiteroufly got and vfurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the feuen remaine, whose endeshow the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is precifely faid of the flaughter, committed on Ababs children by Iehu, that the people durft not fight with him that didit, because they were exceedingly afraid: and the same feare might be in them at the death 40 of Peka, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of England, that never any of them perished by suric of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them. neither was there any motiue vrging so forcibly the death of King Edward and King Richard when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stirre in their quarrell. And certainely (how soener all that the law cals treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings defirmation) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it felfe with the bloud of some great Officers, no such rebellions, how soener wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their natural! Soucraigne, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten vpon his Royall person: which if any man 50 impute vnto grofe ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truely, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of Briareus, who, becing loofened by Pallas, did with his hundred hands give affiftance to Iupiter, when

all the rest of the Gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir Francis Bacon, as fignifying, that Monarches neede not to feare any courbing of their abfoluteneffe by mightic subjects, as long as by wisedome they keepe the hearts of the people, who will bee fure to come in on their fide. Though indeede the Storie might very well have borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by Homer, who tels vs that Pallas was one of the conspiracie, and that Thetis alone did marre all their practice, by loofening Briareus. For a good forme of gouernment sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without affishance of a laborious Wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest politicians: e-10 pery Sherife and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening Rebell how mightie foeuer, can against

This declaration of the peoples love, being seldome found in Inda, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of gouernment there was such, as neither gaue occasion of contentment vnto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection, to the Kings. Vpon which reasons it may seeme that the multitude was kept vsually disarmed. For otherwife it would have beene almost in possible, that Athalia the sister of Ahab, a stranger to the royall bloud of Iuda, thould by the onely authoritie of a Queene mother have destroyed all the seede of David, and vsurped the Kingdome very necre seuen yeeres without finding any resistance. Yea when Iehoiada the 20 high Priest had agreed with the Captaines and principall men of the land to set vp Ioall their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to give to these Captaines and their men, the (peares and the shields that were King DAVIDS, and were in the house of the Lord. But we neede not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their dutie toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admission, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the tenne tribes did neuer seeke to 30 returne to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their sixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of Aa, admitted a seuenth of a new family, rather than they would consubject themselves, with those of Inda and Beniamis, vnder a more honourable, but more heavie yoke.

180, As having seene the death of seven kings of Ifrael, died himselfe after one and fourtie yeeres reigne, leaning Ichofaphat his sonne to deale with Ahab the son of Omri, who was the eight King ouer the tenne tribes.

#### ð. VII.

Of I EHOSAPHAT and his contem-



EHOSAPHAT, who succeeded Asa, was a Prince religious and happic; hee destroyed all the Groues, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatrie, and fent fearchers to all places and people wanting instruction; hee recouered the Tribute due vnto him by the Arabians and Philistims: from the one hee had

filuer, from the other sheepe and goates to the number of fifteene thousand 50 and foure hundred. The numbers of his men of warre were more than admirable: for it is written that Adnah had the commaund of three hun- 2.cbron.17. dred thousand, lehohanam of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and Amasia of two hundred thousand; also that hee had, besides these, in Beniamin of those that bare shields, which wee call Targetiers, and of Archers under Eliada

two hundred thousand, and under the commaundement of Ichozabad a hundred and fourescore thousand: which numbred together, make cleuen hundred and fixtie thousand, all which are saide to have waited vpon the King, besides his

2.SAM.14.4.

That Iuda and Beniamin, a territoric not much exceeding the Countie of Kent. should muster eleuen hundred and tixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. Ioab in Dawids time found fine hundred thousand : Rehoboam found but an hundred and fourescore thousand: Abia source hundred and eight thousand: As fine hundred and foure-score thousand: Amaziab involled all that could beare armes, and they a- 10 mounted to three hundred thousand: Vzziab three hundred and seuen thousand and fine hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when newes was brought to leho aphat that Moab and Ammon were entred his territorie to the West of lordan, and that their numbers were many, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that hee would have feared even the armie of Xerxes, if hee could have brought into the field cleuen hundred and three-score thousand fighting men, leaning all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better judgement) that these numbers specified in the second of Chronicles the feuenteenth, distributed to seuerall leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand under Adnah, and the two hundred and soure-score 20 thousand under Iehohanam, were afterward commaunded and mustered by Amasiah, Eliada, and Ieholabad: for the groffe and totall is not in that place fet downe. as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Againe as the aydes which leholaphas brought to Abab did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinarie power, so the Moabites and Ammonites which hee feared could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which hee that commaunded least among Iehoshaphats leaders had vnder him.

This mightie Prince notwith standing his greatnesse, yet he loyned in friendship with Abab King of Ifrael, who had married that wicked woman Iezabel. Him Iofa- . phat visited at Samaria, and caused his sonne Ioram to matrie Athalia, this Achabs 20

Abab perswaded losaphat to assist him in the warre against the Syrians, who held the Citic of Ramoth Gilead from him, and called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or Baalites to foretell the successe: who promised him victorie. But lehofaphat beleeved nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of Israel. Heercupon Achab made answere that hee had one called Michaiah, but hee hated that Prophet, because hee alwayes foretolde of cuill, and neuer of any good towards him. Yet fent for Michaiah was to the King but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets : and so promise victorie unto them as they did. But 40 Michaigh spakethetruth, and repeated his vision to both Kings, which was that God asked who shall perswade AHAB, that hee may goe up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his prophets, and bee in them a false spirit to delude. For asit is said by Christ: Non enim vos estis qui loquimini , sed firitus patris vestri loquitur in vobis: It is not you that speake, but the spirit of your father speakes in you: so in a contrarickinde did the deuill in the prophets of Baal, or Satan, incourage Achab to his deftruction. And as P. Martir vpon this place well obserueth, these cuill spirits are the ministers of Gods vengeance, and are vied as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime imploy. For asit pleaseth God by his good Angels, to saue and deliuer from destruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the 50 contrarie, it is by the euill that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to performe the will of their Creator licet non codem animo. Ecclesiasticus remembretha fecond fort of malignant natures, but they are cuery-where vifible. There are spirits, faith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigourlay on fure strokes. In the time of destruction they shew foorth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now Michaias hauing by this his reuclation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit hee discouered, was strooken by Ziakiah one of Baals prophets, and by Achab himselfe committed to prison: where he appointed him to be referued and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But Michaiab, not fearing to reply, answered, If thou returns in peace, the Lord hathnot spoken by me. Neuerthelesse Achab went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. Icho-10 Saphat returned to Ierusalem, where he was reprehended by Iehu the Prophet for affift-

ing an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

CHAP.19. S.5.

After this the Aramites or Damascens, joyned with the Mosbites, Ammonites and Idumaans to inuade Iudea: who passe Iordan and encampe at Engaddi, and when Iehosaphat gathered his armie, the Prophet Ithaziel foretolde him of the victorie. which should bee obtained without any bloud shed of his part : and so when leholaphat approached, this affembly of nations, the Ammonites and Moabites, disagreeing with the Idumaans, and quarrelling for some causes among themselues, those of Ammon and Moab fet vpon the Idumeans, and brake them vtterly: which done they also inuaded each other; in which broile Iehosaphat arriving tooke the spoile of 2.chron.10. 30 them all without any losse of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. Notwithstanding this victorie, Ichofaphat forgetting that hee was formerly reprehended for affifting an Idolatrous King, did not with standing ioyne with Ochazias,

the some of Achab, in preparing a Fleet to send to Ophir, hoping of the like returne which Salemon had : but as Eliezor the Prophet foretold him, his shippes perished and were broken in the port of Ezion Giber, and so that enterprize was over- 2, Chron, 20.

Yet hee taketh part with Ichoram the brother of Ochazias, against the Moabites, with which Kings of Inda and Ifrael the Edomites joyne their forces, not forgetting, it feemes, that the Moabites, affilted by the Ammonites, had not long before destroyed 30 their armie.

The Moabites, subjects to David and Salomon, for saking the Kings of Inda, gave themselues for vassals to Ieroboam, and so they continued to his successors till the death of Achab: but Iehofaphat, notwithstanding the Idolatric of his Colleague, vet asit feemeth, he was drawne into this warre both to bee auenged of the Mabites for their defection from Inda to Ifrael, as also because they had lately toyned themselves with the Syrians against Iofaphat, and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion

who first forfooke Iuda and now Ifrael.

Both Kingsresolued to passe by the way of Idumea, thereby the better to assure that nation, for wee finde that both Mond, Ammon and Edom were all in the field 40 together at Engaddi against Iehosaphat: But whether they had then declared themsclues against lehosaphat, it is not certaine, for in the 2.0f Chronicles. 11. verf. 8. it is written that in the time of Iehoram, the sonne of Iehosaphat, Edom rebeiled, and therefore it seemeth to mee that the Edomstes, when they were slaine by Moab and Ammon, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, and to joyne themselves with the armie of Inda. For that they were numbred among the enemies of Iosaphat, it is plaine in the 2. of Chron. the 20. and as plaine 6. 2. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till Icholaphats death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards Moab, whether it were by the extraordinarie heat of the yeere, or whether the Idumeans ha-50 uing a purpole to rebell, missed the armic of Inda and Israel with intent to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of Crassus and M. Antonius did in their Parthian expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, veterly perished, had not Elishataught them to the trenches whereinto the water fprang, by which not onely Ichosaphat and his arme, bur Y y 2

2. Chronetti.

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.20, S.I.

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Jeboram King of Israel an Idolator was relieved: the great mercie and goodnesse of God, having euer beene prone to faue the euill for the good, whereas hee neuer defroyed the good for the cuill.

2. Kin.3. 2,Cbron,20.

The miserable issue of this warre, and how Moab burnt his sonne, or the sonne of the King of Edom, for facrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I have alreadie written in the life of Ichoram among the Kings of Ifracl. Ichofaphat reigned twentie five yeeres and died, he was buried in the valley of Iehosaphat, and a part of the Py-Broch ter fantt. ramis fet ouer his grave is yet to be feene, faith Brochard. His acts are written at large by Iehn the sonne of Hanani.

There lived with Ieho faphat, Ophratenes in Affyria, Capetus and Tiberinus Kings 10 of the Albans in Italie; of the latter the river Tiber (formerly Albula) tooke

In Icho aphats time also ruled Mecades or Mexades in Athens: Agelas or Agesilaus in Corinth; and Archilaus of the same race, of the Heraclida the seventh in Lacedemon. Badeforus ruled the Trians; Achab, Ochazias and Ichoram the Ifraelites.

CHAP. XX.

Of IEHORAM the some of IEHOSAPHAT, and AHAZIA.

ò. I.

That I EHORAM was made King (undry times.

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EHORAM the sonne of Ichosaphat King of Iuda began to reigne at thirtie two yeares of age, and lived vntill hee was fourtie veeres olde, being eight veeres a King: but of these eight veeres, which lehoram is saide to have reigned, foure are to bee reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the Syrian warre with Ahab, left this leboram King in his stead, as Abab did his sonne Abazia. This appeares by the seuerall beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two tehorams kings 40 of Ifrael and Inda, and to Abazia the eldest sonne of A-

1.Kin.23.v.51.

2.Kin.1.17. 2.Kin.3.v.1.

2.Kin.8 16.

hab. For Abazia is saide to have begun his reigne, in the seuenteenth yeare of Iehosaphat. Iehoram the brother of Ahazia succeeded him in the second vecre of IEHORAM the some of IEHOSAPHAT King of Inda, that is, in the next veere after that lehoram of Iuda was deligned king by his father; it being (as wee finde elsewhere) the eighteenth yeere of IEHOSAPHAT himselfe, who went with the Israelite against Moab. Hecreby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained fill by Iehofaphat, who governed absolutely by himselfe, not communicating the rule with his sonne. But in the fift yeare of I E-HORAM King of Ifrael, which was the two and twentieth of Iehefsphat, the olde to King tooke vnto him, as partner in the Gouernement, this his eldeft lonne, who was at that time thirtie two yeeres olde, his Father being fiftie feuen. Now forasmuch as I EHOSAPHAT reigned twentie fine yeeres, it is cuident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eighth of Isram King of Israel. The like regard is to bee

had in accounting the times of other Kings of Iuda and Israel, who did not alwayes reigne precifely folong as the bare letter of the text may feeme at first to affirme: but their vecres were fometimes compleat, fometimes onely current, fometimes confounded with the yeares of their fuccessors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did be-

It were perhaps a thing leffe needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons mooning lehofaphat either to assume vnto him his some as partner in the Kingdome. whilest he was able himselfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like hauing neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the seventeenth of his reigne) vouchfated vnto him that honour, to refume it vnto himfelte, or at leaftwife to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill fourcor fine yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a meane to find fome light, whereby we may more cleerely discouer the causes of much extraordinary butinesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such coniecture, as the circumflances of the Storie briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approoue:

Wee are therefore to confider, that this King Ieho (aphat was the first of Rehoboams iffue that ever entred into any fireight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in Iuda before him, had with much labour and long warre, tired them-10 feliues in vaine, making small profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore Ieho (aphas thought it the wifest way, to make a league offensive and defenfiue betweene Ifrael and Iuda, whereby each might enion their owne in quiet.

This confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, action 19.0.2. could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true roote and fountaine of all wisedome: yet as a piece of found policie, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arife, with mutuall fortification of both those kingdomes, against the uncircumcifed nations their ancient enemies. This apparant benefit, being fo inestimable a iewell, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditarie from father to sonne, it was thought a very good course to haue it confirmed 30 by some sure bond of affinitie, and thereupon was Athatia the daughter of Omriand fifter of Abab King of Ifrael, given in marriage to Iehoram, who was sonne and heire apparant to the King of Iudi. This Ladie was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queene lezabel her brothers wife, that she durst vndertake, and could throughly perform a great deale more in Ierusalem, than the other knew how to compasse in Samaria. Shee was indeede a fire-brand, ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in Iuda, and perhaps of those men or their children. whose worldly wisedome, regardlesse of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian warre at Ramoth Gilead, wherein Iuda and Israel did aduenture equally, but the profit of the victorie should have 40 redounded wholly to Abab: as godly Princes very seldome thriue by matching with Idolators, but rather serue the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselfe, cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting foorth Ahab defigned, as King, his fonne Ahazia; not fo much perhaps in regard of the vicertaine cuents of warre ( for none of his predecessors had cuer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet Micaia (for he despised them) as inuiting Iehosaphat by his owne example, to take the same

course, wherein he preuailed.

 $Yy_3$ 

ð. 11.

ø. II.

Probable contectures of the motiues inducing the old King I E H O-SAPHAT to change his purpose often, in making his Conne I EHORAM King.

Any arguments doe very strongly prooue Tehoram to have beene wholy ouer-ruled by his wife; especially for his for faking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the godly Ancestors house of Achab.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to line a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter shee was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and vnworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and fifter of two great Kings, not vpon base women and meere subjects. The Court of Ahab, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian Benhadad, were matter sufficient to make an infolent man thinke highly of himselfe, as being allied so honorably; who could otherwise haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldeft, and heire apparent to the Crowne, whereof alreadie he had, in a man- 20 ner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long hee dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainely be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water ; who thereupon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his yonger brethren. And furely the doings of teholaphat about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgouernment of his vigodly sonne. For the good old King was faine to make his progresse round about the land, reclaiming the people vnto the service of God, and appointing 2. cbron. 19. 2.4. Indges throughout all the firong Cities of Inda Citie by Citie. This had beene a needleffe 20 labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by Asa, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Iuslice beene peruerted, by the power of fuch as had borne authoritie. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, ap-Beares by the charge which the King did giue to the Indges; and by his commission giuen to one of the priestes in spirituall causes, and to the steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall ouerfeers.

This was not till after the death of Abazia the sonne of Abab; but how long afterit is vncertaine. For lehoram the brother of Ahazia beganne his reigne (as hath beene alreadie noted) in the eighteenth of lebolaphat, which was then accounted the second of lehoram, lehofaphats sonne, though afterward this lehoram 40 of Inda had another first and second yeere, even in his fathers time, before hee reigned alone; as the best Chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So hee continued in private estate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignitie are not set downe, yet wee may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing substantiall, were wanting. Tehoram of Ifrael held the same correspondencie with Iehofaphat that his father had done; and made vie of it. Hee drewe the Indean into the watre of Mosb, at which time it might well bee, that the young Prince of Inda was againe ordained King by his father, as in the Syman expedition hee had beene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprize against Moab did not occupie so much time, as from the eighteenth of 1e-50 hosaphat, in which yeere that nation rebelled against Israel, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the dailie negotiations betweene the two Kings of Inda and Israel, and the affinitie betweene them contracted in the person of Ichoram,

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.20. \$.3.

might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certaine how the behaniour of the yonger sonnes, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession for seare of tumult after his death; or the deepe diffimulation of Iehoram himselfe might winne the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing viuall in mischieuous fell natures, to be as abiect and seruile in time of aduersitie, as infolent and bloudy vpon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, hee demeaned himselfe in such wise towards his brethren, as caused their Father to enable them, not onely with store of silver, and of gold, and of precious things, (which kinde of liberality other Kings doubtleffe had 2.chrom. 21.2. 10 vied vato their yonger fonnes) but with the custody of fireng Cities in Iuda, to affure them, if it might have been by vnwonted means, against vnwonted perils.

d. III.

The doings of IEHORAM when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.



Vrall this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequele. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the yonger fonnes of Ichofaphat found frong Cities, a weake defence, against the power of him to whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the summons of the King

their brother, then had bee them without more adoe; if they flood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the Ifraelitifh Kingdome against them, so that the apparant likely hood of their finall ouerthrow, sufficed to make all for fake them in the very beginning. How socuer it was, they were all taken and slain, and with them for company many great men of the Land; fuch belike, as either had 30 taken their part, when the Tyrant fought their lines, or had been appointed Rulers of the Countrie, when Ichoram was deposed from his Gouernment; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe inflice, could hardly avoide the doing of many things, derogatory to their yong Matter, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then King, who durft fay the contrary?

After this, Iehoram tooke vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innountions in Religion: wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and fale conduct vnto Superfittion and Idolatric, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much and eted, having such knowledge of God, and of his detelling that above all other sinnes; but 40 he vied compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to have

fer up Irreligion by force.

Whilest he was thus busied at home, in doing what hee lifted, the Edomites his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and having hitherte, fince Danistime, been gouerned by a Viceroy, did now make vnto themselues a King. Against these Leberam in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which hee obtained victory in the field compelling the Rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honourthat hee had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom hee should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the prophecie 50 of Isac to take effect, wherein hee fore-told, that Esau in processe of time should breake the yoke of Iacob. For after this the Edomites could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of Inda, but held their owne fo well, that when, after many civill and forraine warres, the Ienes by fundry Nations had beene brought low; Santipater the Edomite, with Herod his Sonne, and others of that race following them, be-

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came Lords of the lewes, in the decrepit age of Ifrael, and raigned as Kings, euen in

Jerufalem it felfe. The freedome of the Edomites, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged Libna. a great Citie within Inda, which in the time of Issua had a peculiar King, to rebell against lehoram, and let it selfe at libertic. Libna stood in the confines of Baniamin and of Dan, farre from the affiftance of any bordering enemies to Inda, and therefore so vnlikely it was to have maintained it selfe in libertie, that it may seeme strange how it could escape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and throughly incenfed Lord. The Ifraelite held such good intelligence at that time with Inda, 10 that he would not have accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe vnto him: neither doe we reade that it fought how to cast it selfe into a new subjection, but continued a free chate. The rebellion of it against lehoram, was, Because he had for saken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to have not onely beene the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, mooning the inhabitants to doe as they did : for it was a Towne of the Leuites : who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion contrary to Gods Law, had not onely some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsive authority to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vie of the Temple at Ierusalem (which being deuout men they might feare to lose by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the ten renolted 20 Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather inuited the Ifraelites thither, and gaue them kinde entertainement: vnder Idolaters they must have beene without it whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seemes that private reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than to fuffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembred, wherein kbolaphat reformed his Kingdome, the good old King appointing new Gouernours. and giving them especiall charge to doe instice without respect of persons, ysed these wordes. The Leuites shall bee Officers before you; Bee of good courage, and doest, and the Lord shall be with the good. By these phrases, it seemes, that hee encouraged them against the more powerfull, than iust proceedings of his sonne; whom if the Leuises 20

But it seemes that of these great numbers which his Father could have levied, 40 there were not many whom Ichoram could well truft; and therefore perhaps hec thought it an easier losse, to let one Towne goe, then to put weapons into their handes, who were more likely to follow the example of Libra, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be loued; are faine themselves to stand in feare of those, by whom

did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their dueties, like-

ly it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feele, as many

Princes of the Land had done, his heavie indignation. How it happened that Libra

was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that wee can reade) fo

much as befreged or molested, may justly seeme very strange. And the more strange

it is in regard of the mighty Armies which Iebofaphat was able to raife, being fufficient to have ouer-whelmed any one Towne, and buried it under the earth,

which they might in one moneth haue cast into it with shouells, by ordinary

they might have been dreadfull vnto others.

è. 1111. co

d. IIII.

of the miseries falling upon IEHORAM, and of his death.



Hele afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeafure in the minde of the wicked Prince; a Prophecie in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wines, and his owne body. Hereby likewise it appeares that hee was a cruell Perfecutor of Gods feruants; in as much as the Prophets

durst not reprouchim to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and cuill Kings, but were faine to denounce Gods judgements against him by letters, keeping themselues close and farre from him. This Epistle is saide to haue 2, chron. 21, 12. beene sent unto him from Elias the Prophet. But Elias was translated, and Elizeus prophecied in his stead before this time, even in the dayes of Ieliosaphat. Wherefore 2.Kin.e.2.and it may be that Elias left this prophecie in writing behinde him, or that (as fome conjecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that wee reade Elias for Elizew. Indeedcany thing may rather bee beleeved than the Tradition held by some of the lewish Rabbins, that Elias from heaven did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuised by Erasmus, or of the Verse that

20 was fent from heaven to S. Giles. But who focuer was the Author of this threatning Epifle, the accomplishment of the prophecie was as terrible, as the sentence. For the Philissims and Arabians brake into Iudea, and tooke the Kingshouse, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they flew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These Philistims had not prefumed fince the time of David, to make any offensiue warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselues in the rest of their small Territoric, by defensive armes, to which they were constrained at Gibbethon by the Ifraelites. The Arabians were likely to haue beene then as they are now, a naked people, all horse-30 men, and ill appointed; their Countrie affording no other furniture, than fuch as might make them fitter to robbe and spoile in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities such as were thicke set in Inda. True it is that in ages long after following they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be considered; that this was when they had learned of the Romanes the Art of Warre; and that the prouisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skilfull in pursuing their conquest, and going onward into Regions farre removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in Arabia it selfe 40 are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengets, but vnable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding flarke naked, and rather trulling in the swiftnes of their horses, than in any other meanes of relittance, where they are well opposed. And fuch, or little better, may they seeme to have beene, that spoiled sudaa in the time of Ieheram. For their Countrie was alwayes barraine and defert, wanting manuall Arts whereby to supply the naturalls with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the Philistims. Out of this we may inferre, that one halfe, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of Iuda and Beniamin under Iehosaphat (wherein were inrolled three hundred

and eightie thousand fighting men ) had beene enough to have driven away farre 50 greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people beene vnable to deale with them, for lacke of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes iclousie, as in Sauls time by the policie of the

It may feeme that the house of the King which these inuaders tooke, was not

his Palace in Ierusalem, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrie. where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we reade not that they did facke the Citic, or spoyle the Temple, which would have inuited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they tooke Terusalem it selfe by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guards too weake to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore having done what spoyle they could, with-drew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to conucigh

The flaughter committed by Iehu vponthe two and fortic brethren of Ahazia, 10 or (as they are called elfewhere) fo many of his brothers Sonnes, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seede perished (onely loss excepted ) under the tvrannic of Athalia, following within two yeeres after this invalion of the Philistims. and Arabians, make it sceme probable, that the sounces of Ichoram were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murther begaune in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heavie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly firiken, vn-

tillit was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the bodie of this wicked King, smiting him with a gricuous disease in his bowels, which left him not untill his guts fell out, and his wretched foule departed from his miferable carcaffe. 20 The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they nor the good manners to pretend forrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of Inda, though his owne sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had beene his Fathers euill Angels. Athalia had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatnesse, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne such Counsellours, of the house of A H A B, as were fittelt for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it vnscasonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a flately funerall of a 30 man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed bee layd vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to avoide. Such is the quality of wicked Infligators, having made greedie vse of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his owne vices, but with their faults also, the man whose euill inclinations their sinister counsailes haue made worse, when once hee is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of Ichor and fell out indeede in a busie time; when his friend and cousin the Ifraelite, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the Aramite; and therefore could have had no better leifure to helpe Athalia, in fetting of things according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to helpe her huf- 40 band, when he was distressed by the Philistims. Yearather hee needed and craued the affiftance of the men of Iuda, for the taking in of Ramoth Gilead, where they had not feed fo well the last time, that they should willingly runne thither againe, vnlesse they were very fairely intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainely appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the reucaled will of God, accomplish neuerthelesse his hidden purpose, and without miraculous meanes, confound themselves in the seeming wise devices of their owne 50 folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their indgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to thinke, that they may fafely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisedome dictateth vnto them. For in such kinde of unhappie subtilties, it is manifest that

Athalia was able to furnish both her Husband and her Sonne, but the issue of them partly hath appeared alreadie, and partly will appeare, in that which immediately followeth.

# Q. V. Of theraigne of AHAZIA, and his businesse with the King of Israel.



CHAZIAS, Or Abazia, the fonne of Ieheram and Athalia, beganne his raigne ouer Inda in the twelfth yeere of leboram, the lonne of Abab King of Israel, and raigned but that one yeere. Touching his age, it is a point of more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclu-

fion, than that of Torniellus, alleaging the Edition of the Sevinagint at Rome, Anno Domini 1588. which faith that hee was twentie yeeres old in the beginning of his Kingdome, and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that give him two yeeres more. Like enough bee is to have beene yong: for hee was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gaue him counsaile by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his Fathers courses. In matter of State, he likewife vp. held the league made with the house of Abab. Hee was much 30 buffed in doing little, and that with ill successe. He accompanied his Coulin the Ifraelite against Ramoth Gilead, which they wanne, but not without blowes; for the Aramites fought so well, that the King of Ifrael was faine to aduenture his owne perfon, which scaped not vinwounded. The Towne being wonne was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to bee made by Hazael king of Aram: which done, leboram King of I/rael with drew himselse to the Citic of Izreel, where with more quiet hee might attend the curing of his woundes; and Ahazia returned to lerufalem. It seemes that hee was but newly come home (for hee raigned in all scantly one yeere, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had 30 taken vp a great part ) when bee made anew journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of Ifrael, who lay forc of his woundes. Belike Athalia was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindred, and therefore fought enery occasion to thrust him abroad for otherwise it was but a vaine piece of worke fo to leaue his kingdome, having no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom hee had seene yesterday. Certaine it is that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavie judgement, which hee had laid by the mouth of Elias the Prophet vpon the house of Ahib. And heercunto at this time had bee disposed not onely the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seeme to have beene accidentall; but the very thoughts and affe-40 ctions of fuch persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these Athalia doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will (hortly beeneedfull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that wee diligently consider and examine.

Q. VI.

How AHAZIA perished with the bouse of AHAB: and how that Familie was destroyed by IEHV.



He whole Armie of Ifrael, with all the principall Captaines lying in Ramoth Gilead, a Disciple of Elizem the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were litting together, v ho calling out from among them Ichu, a principall man, tooke him apart, and anointed him King ouer Ifrael, rehearing vnto him the prophecie of Elias against the house of Ahab, and letting him vnderstand that it was the pleasure of God to make him exccutioner of that sentence. The falhion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captaines a desire to know his errand, which Iehu thought meete to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heardall the talke or no. When hee had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but foorth-with proclaimed him King. For the prophecie of Elias was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose himselfe against him, that was by God ordained to per-

The second Booke of the first part CHAP. 20. S.6.

Ichu, who had voon the fudden this great honour throwne voon him, was nor flow to put himselfe in possession of it, but vied the first heate of their affections who to iouned with him, in fetting on foote the businesse which neerely concerned him. and was not to be fore-flowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the revolt might bee carried to Izreel. whereby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being forcseene, hee marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King teheram was now to well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much seasting, and joy made, especially by Queene Iezabel, who kept her flate fo well, that the brethren of Abazia comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to falute the Queene,

Certaine it is that fince the rebellion of Moab against Ifrael, the house of Abab did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the bloud Royall there were that lived in Samaria; Ichoram the sonne of Queene Iezabel had wonne Ramoth Gilead, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with loffe of his life; and he wonne it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitic was so great betweene Ifrael and Inda, that it might suffice to dauntall their common enemies, leaving no hope of successe, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the prophecie of Elias might be forgotten; or no otherwise remembred, than as an unlikely tale by them that be cold the maiefticall face of the Court, wherein fo great a friend as the King of 20 Inda was entertained, and fortie Princes of his bloud expected.

In the midft of this securitie, whilest these great Estates were (perhaps) either confulting obout profequition of their intents, first against the Aramites, and then against Meab, Edom, and other rebells and enemies: or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already well atchieued, and the Queene Mother dreffing her felfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in that the watchman had from a Tower discourred a company comming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in Ramoth Gilead, to bee readie against all attempts of the Aramites, was likely enough to bee discharged vpon fome notice taken that the enemie would not, or could not stirre. Onely the King 40 fent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to Iehu, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might bec. The feeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answere, might argue the matter to bee of small importance: yet the King to bee satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by Jehu. These dumbe showes bred some suspicion in lehoram, whom the watchmen certified of all that happened. And now the company drew for neere, that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of Jehn himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discover any weakenesse caufed his Chariot to be made ready, and iffeed forth with Abazra King of Indain his 50 company, whose presence added maiestic to his traine, when strength to result, or expedition to flee had been more needfull. This could not be don't la haffily, but that Jehu was come even to the Townesend, and there they met each other in the

field of Naboth. Iehoram beganne to falute Iehu with termes of peace, but receiving a bitter answere, his heart failed him, so that crying out vpon the treason to his fellow King, he turned away to have fled. But Iehu foone overtooke him with an arrow, where-with he strooke him dead, and threw his carkaffe into that field, which, purchased with the bloud of the rightfull owner, was to bee watered with bloud of the vniust possession. Neither did ahazia escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize voon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where lezabel might soone be advertised of this calamitie, if thee did not with her owne eyes to behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose judgement, pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when shee least expected it. But thee, full of indignation, and proud thoughts, made her felfe readie in all hafte, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious lookes to daunt the Traitour, or at the least to vtter some Apophihegme, that should expresse her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for cuer. Little did shee thinke vpon the hungric dogs, that were ordained to denoure her, whose paunches the stibium, with which sheep before and her eyes, would more offend than the foolding language where with shee armed her tongue, could trouble the cares of him that had her in his power. As Icha drew necre, the opened her window, and looking out vpon him, beganne to put him in minde of Zimri, that 20 had not long injoyined the fruits of his treason, and murther of the King his Master. This was in meere humane valuation floutly spoken, but was indeede a part of miferable folly, as are all things, how focuer laudable, if they have an ill relation to God the Tord of all. Her owne Eunuches that flood by and heard her, were not affe-Red fo much as with any compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemie daunted with her proud spirit. When Ieku saw that shee did vse the little remainder of herlife in feeking to vexe him; hee made her prefently to understand her owne estate, by deedes and not by words. He onely called to her servants to know which of them would be of his side, and soone found them readic to offer their service, be-30 fore the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her downe head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein shee had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that confidered not the judgements of God that had beene denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her owne servants, at the commandement of her greatest enemie, that was yesterday her subject, but now her Lord : and shee perished miserably struggling in vaine with base groomes, who contumelioully did hale and thrust her whilest her insulting enemic sate on horse-back, adding indignitic to her griefe by scornefull beholding the shamefull manner of 49 her fall, and trampling her bodie under foote. Her dead carcasse that was left without the walls was denoured by dogges, and her very memoric was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murther, and oppression, with slow,

but fure paiment, and full interest.

Ahazia King of Juda fleeing a-pace from Jehu, was ouer-taken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly wound in the Kingdome of Samaria, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and seeke his buriall in his owne kingdome: and this fauour hee obtained for his grand-fathers fake, not for his fathers, nor his owne. He died at Meeidde, and was thence carried to Ierusalem, where hee was enterred with his Ancestors, having raigned about one yeere.

Of A THALIA, and whose Sonne he was that succeeded vnto her.

Of ATHALIA her vsurping the Kingdome, and what pretences Thee might forge.

2,Chron, 22.9



FTER the death of Abazia, it is saide that his house was not able to retaine the Kingdome: which note, and the proceedings of Athalia vpon the death of her Sonne, haue given occasion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of Ioas, who raigned shortly after. For Athalia being thus dispoiled of her Sonne, 20 under whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the bloud, and flew them, that so she might occupie the Royall Throne her selfe, and raigne as Queene, rather than liuc a Subiect. Shee had before-hand put into great

place, and made Counsailours unto her sonne, such as were fittest for her purpose. and readie at all times to execute her will : that shee kept a strong guard about her itis very likely, and as likely it is that the great execution done by Ichoram, vpon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearefull to

Yet ambition, how violent soeuer it bee, is seldome or neuer so shamelesse as toreflirre, what focuer they faw or heard. fuse the commoditie of goodly pretenses offering themselues; but rather scrapes together all that will any way ferue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abfurd for vs to thinke, that Athalia, when thee faw the Princes of the Royall bloud, all of them in a manner, slaine by her husband, and afterwards his owne children destroyed by the Philistims, began euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faire likelihoods, those possibilities where-with her hulbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great show of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some truftic creature of hers, might shee give him to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilest as yet kee might, 40 for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of Danid, which now remained onely in his Familic, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had alreadic showed what might after come to passe) the people of Inda were not vnlikely to choose a King of some new stocke, a popular seditious man peraduenture, one that to countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions hee laide voon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could affure him, that some ambitious spirit, forc-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not alreadic contrine the destruction of him, and all his seede? Wherefore it were the wiseft way to designe by his authoritic, not onely his Successour, but also the reuersioner, and so to prouide, that the Crowne might neuer be subject to any riseling, but remaine in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might bee 50 feared comming to passe, his owne posteritie could not retaine it.

Such perswasions being vrged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the icalous Tyrant CHAP.21. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

thinke that the only way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and yongest of his house, whom it most concerned, as be-

ing the Queene-Mother, to vp-hold the first and eldest. If Athalia tooke no such course as this in her husbands times, yet might shee doe it in her Sonnes. For Ahazia (besides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in respect of his owne high borne-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischieuous woman forgate her selfe so farre in her wicked policie, that shee 10 lost all opportunitie which the weakenesse of her husband and sonne did afford. of procuring to her selfe some seeming Title; yet could shee afterwards faine some fuch matter, as boldly shee might: being sure that none would aske to see her euidence, for feare of being fent to learne the certaintie of her sonne or husband in another world. But Irather thinke that shee tooke order for her affaires beforehand. For though shee had no reason to suspect or seare the suddaine death of her sonne. yet it was the wifest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilest her husbands iffue by other women was yong and vnable to resist. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephewes of Ahazia, to the number of two and fortie, were fent to the Court of Israel, only to falute the children of the King, and the children 20 of the Queenc. The flender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocke of Iehoram that could be growne to any strength ) makes it very suspitious that their entertainement in Iezabels house would only have beene more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of Ichn. Hee that lookes into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no leffe. Of fuch as have afpired vnto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them could give, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples : and the rule of Salomon is true : Is there any thing Eccles. 10. 30 whereof one may say, Behold, this is new? it hathbeen alreadie in the old time that was before vs. That a King might shead his brothers bloud, was proued by Salomon vpon Adenia; that he might aliene the Crowne from his naturall Heires, Dauid had given proofe: but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will negled the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why Salomon flew his brother that had begunne one rebellion. and was entring into another. IEHORAM flew all his brethren, which were better than 2.Chro.21.70.13. hee: DAVID purchased the Kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if Iehoram, who had loft much and got-40 ten nothing, thought that hee might aliene the remainder at his pleasure; or if Abazia fought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their iffue: cither of these

was to be answered with the wordes which Ichoiada the Priest vsed afterwards, in de-

claring the title of Ioash: Behold, the Kings some must raigne; as the Lord bath

(sid of the sommes of DAVID. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that Atha-

lia did pretend sometitle, whatsoener it might bec, to the Crowne of Iuda; yet is it

most certaine that shee had thereunto no right at all, but onely got it by treachery,

murder, and open violence; and so shee held it fixe whole yeeres, and apart of the

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feuenth, in good feeming-fecuritie.

Zz 2

à. II.

How I EHV fent his time in Ifrael, to that he could not molest



N all this time Iehn did neuer goe about to disturbe her; which in reason hee was likely to desire, being an enemie to her whole House. But hee was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of Ahab, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the Aramite, wherein hee was so farre ouer-

charged, that hardly hee could retaine his owne, much lesse attempt vpon others. 10 Of theline of Abab there were seuentie liuing in Samaria, out of which number Jehu by letter aduited the Citizens to fet vp some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident hee was, which they well understood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to relist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom hee had flaine, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their feruice, wherein they fo readily thewed them selues obedient, that in lesse than one dayes warning, they fent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were injoyned by a second letter from him. After this hee surprized all the Priests of Baal by a subtiltie, faining a great facrifice to their god, by which meanes he drew them altogether in-20 to one Temple, where he flew them; and in the same zeale to God veterly demoliflied all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuised by Ieroboam, no King of Ifrael had oner greater reason than Iehu to destroy it. For he needed not to seare lest the people should be allured vnto the house of David; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crowne of Juda in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had received his kingdome by the vnexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying Baal out of Ifrael, hee was promised, notwithstanding his following the linne of Ierobo.m, that the Kingdome should remaine in his Familic, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serue; he would needs helpe to piece out Gods 30 prouidence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedie gamefter, who by ftealing a needeleffe Card to affure himfelfe of winning a ftake, forfeits his whole reft. He had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against Baal; and many more he should offend by taking from them the vse of a superstition, folong practized as was that Idolatric of Ieroboam. Yet all these, how many soeuer they were, had neuer once thought vpon making him King, if God, whom, to retaine them, hee now for sooke, had not given him the Crowne, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes

This ingratitude of Iehu drew terrible vengeance of God vpon Ifrael, whereof 40 Hazael King of Damaseus was the Executioner. The cruelcie of this barbarous 2.King. 8. v.12. Prince we may finde in the prophecie of Elizeus, who fore told it, saying : Their frong Cities halt thou fet on fire, and their yong men shalt thou slay with the foord, and Shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with child. So did not onely the wickednesse of Ahab cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miserie vpon all the Land. For the furie of Hazaels victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one inuation; but he smote them in all the coasts of Israel, and wasted all the Countrie beyond the River of Iordan. Not withstanding all these calamities, it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; ( For in those dayes the Lord 50 beganne to loath Ifrael,) but rather it is likely, that they be moaned the noble Houle of Ahab, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had braucly fought for the conquest of Syria, where they had enlarged their border, by winning Ramoth Gilead, and compelled Benhadad to restore the Cities which his Father, had wonne: whereas now they were faine to make wofull thifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemics. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in feruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in flead of the eafe and pleafire to themselves propounded by contrarie courses, over-whelmed with the troubles which they fought to avoide, and therein by God whom they first forfooke, forfaken, and left vniothe wretched labours of their owne blinde wifedome, wherein they had reposed all their confidence. His year 1116

Q. III.



Hese calamities falling vpon Ifrael, kept Athalia safe on that side, giuing her leifure to looke to things at home; as having little to doe abroad, vnleffe it were fo that flee held fome correspondencie with Hazael, pretending therein to imitate here held. pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father King Asa, who had done the like. And some probabilitie that shee did so may

be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde, that this wicked ATHALIA and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were 2. Chro. 24. 47. dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon BAALIM. Such a sacriledge, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her owne Idolatrie, with such pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessitie of the State so requiring in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successions was faine to doe the like, being thereunto forced by Hazael, who perhaps was delighted with the tafte of that which was formerly thence extracted for his fake.

Under this impious gouernement of Athalia, the denotion of the Priests and Le-30 uites was very notable, and ferued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, howsoeuer the Queens proceedings advanced the contrarie. For the pouertie of that facred Tribe of Leus must needes have been exceeding great at this time; all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being vtterly loft, the oblations and other perquifites, by which they lined, being now very few, and small; and the storelaid vp in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robberie. Yet they vp-held in all this miserie the service of God, and the daily facrifice, keeping duly their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those dayes wherein their entertainement was farre better.

ò. IIII. Of the preservation of IOAs.



EHOIADA then occupied the high Priest-hood, an honourable, wise and religious man. To his careful nesse it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort vp-held in those vnhappie times. His wise was sehoshabeth, who was daughter of King Jehoram, and sister to Abazia, a godly Ladic and vertuous, whose pietie makes

50 it seeme that Athalia was not her Mother, though her accesse to the Courtargue the contrarie: but her discreet carriage might more casily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted her to be such as shee was. By her care Ioash the yong Prince that raigned soone aster, was conneighed out of the nourserie, when Athalia destroyed all the Kings chil-

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dren, and was carried secretly into the Temple, whereas secretly hee was brought vp. How it came to passe that this yong child was not hunted out, when his bodie was miffing, nor any great reckoning ( for ought that we finde) made of his escape. I will not fland to examine : for it was not good in policie, that the people should heare fay, that one of the children had avoided that cruell blow, it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so bee the lesse conformable to the present gouernment. So Isas was deliuered out of that slaughter, he and his Nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might bee thought peraduenture to bee cast away, as having no other guard than a poore woman that gave him sucke, who foolishly doubting that shee her selfe should have beene slaine, was fled away with to him into some desolate places, where it was like enough that shee and hee should perish. In such cases flatterers, or mendesirous of reward, easily coine such tales, and rather sweare them to bee true in their owne knowledge, than they will lose the thankes due to their joyfull tidings.

### Whole Sonne IOAs was.

whether IOAs may be thought likely to have beene the Sonne of

2.Kings 11.2. \$\display 2. Chron. 22

Ow concerning this Ioash, whose some he was, it is a thing of much Ow concerning this Ioalh, whose some he was, it is a thing or much difficultie to affirme, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the some of A HAZIA, feeme plaine enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might give that title of Sopneyore him. I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to an-

fwere the difficulties appearing in the contrarie opinions of them, that thinke him 20 to haue beene, or not, the naturall Sonne of Ahazia. For whereas it is faid, that the house of AHAZIA was not able to retaine the Kingdome; some doe inferre that this loafb was not properly called his Sonne, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by Athalia, doth very well agree. For shee perceiuing that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom shee had no interest, might eafily finde cause to feare, that the tyrannie exercised by her husband, at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now bee reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of 40 lezabel teaching her what might happen to another Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had beene heire to the Crowne; for shee that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie shee might haue done her pleasure, and beene the more both obayed by others, and secure of her owncestate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needefull, that she should be so vnnaturall, as to destroy the child of her owne sonne, of whose life she might have made greater vie, than shee could of his death: whereas indeede, the loue of grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little leffethan that of Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affe- 50 ction should be can a-side, when as neither necessitie vrgeth, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have perswaded. t. II.

†. II.

That I O A s did not descend from NATHAN.

**B** Vt (as it is more easie to finde a difficultie in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been) the pedegree of this Isas Isas by them which thinke him not the some of Ahazia, set downe in such fort that it may very justly be suspected. They say that he descended from Nathan the sonne of David, and not from Salemen, to which purpose they bring a Historic (I know not whence) of two families of the race of David, saying that the line of Salomon held the kingdome with to this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of Nathan should succeede it. Concerning this Nathan the sonne of Dauid there are that would have him to bee Nathan the Prophet, who, as they thinke, was by Danid adopted. And of this opinion was Origen, as also S. Augustine sometime was, but afterward heereuoked it, as was meet; for this Wathan is reckoned among the fonnes of Dauid, by Bathfhua the daugh- 1, Chron. 2.5. ter of Ammes, and therfore could not be the Prophet. Gregory Nazianzen (as I finde him cited by Peter Martyr ) and after him, Erasmus, and Faber Stapulensis, haue likewise held the same of Ioash, deriving him from Nathan. But Nathan, and those other brethren of Salemon by the same mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to have been the children of Vria the Hittite: and so are they accounted by fundry of the fathers, and by Lyra, and Abulensis, who follow the Hebrew expositors of that 20 place in the first of Chronicles. The words of Salomon calling himselfe the onely begotten of his mother, doe approoue this exposition: for wee reade of no more than two sonnes which Bathshua or Bathsheba did beare vnto Dauid, whereof the one, begotten in adultery, died an infant, and Salomon only of her children by the King did line. So that the rest must needshaue been the children of Vria, and are thought to haue been Dauids onely by adoption. Wherefore, if Ioas had not been the sonne of Ahazia, then must that pedegree haue beenfalse, wherein S. Matthew deriueth him lineally from Salomen; yea, then had not our bleffed Sauiour iffued from the loynes of Danid, according to the flesh, but had onely been of his line by courtese of the Na-20 tion, and forme of Law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of Philo, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that Ioash was not of the pofleritie of Salomon, it is enough to fay, that this was Frier Annius his Philo: for no other edition of Philo hath any such matter ; but Annius can make Authors to speake what he lift.

#### t. III.

That IOAs may probably be thought to have beene the sonne

N so doubtfull a case, if it seeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet I thought vpon, me thinkes it were not amisse to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickednesse of Ichoram 2 King 3, v. 19. the sonne of Iehosaphat King of Juda, for which hee and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of Dauid, that according to his promise he would give him a light, and to his children for ever : the other doth say, that for the offences of the same I E H OR AM, there was not a sonne left him, saue I E-HOAHAS the rongest of his sonnes. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to Dauid, that after those massacres of Jehoram, vpon all his brethren, and of the Phi-50 listims, and Arabians upon the children of leboram, one of the seede of Davidescaped; why may it not be thought that hee was faid to have escaped, in whom the line of Danid was preserved? for had all the race of Salomen been rooted up in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of Nathan succeeded in place thereof; like enough it is that some romembrance more particular would haue been extant, of an euent

fo memorable. That the race of Nathan was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent

by the Genealogie of our Lord; as it is recounted by S. Luke : but the preservation of

the house of Dauid, mentioned in the bookes of Kings and Chronicles, was performed in the person of Ieboahas, in whom the Royal branch of Salomen, the naturall, and

not onely legall iffue remaining of Danid, was kept aliue. Wherefore it may bee

thought that this Toelh, who followed Athalia in the Kingdome, was the vongest

sonne of leberam, whose life Athalia as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For

it were not casily understood, why the preservation of Davids line, by Gods especiall mercie, in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when be-

fides Ahazia himselfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another 10

place they are called ) sonnes of his brethren remaining alive, which afterwards

lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one onely did escape. Certainely

that inhumane murther which Jeheram committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as

appeareth in the Historic) revenged vpon his owne children; then was not this ven-

geance of Godaccomplished by the Philistems and Arabians, but being onely begun

by them, was afterwards profecuted by Ichu, and finally tooke effect by the hands of

that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous

outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavie judgement layd vpon Ichoram

fore if I should affirme to bee the same with loas, which is called the sonne of Aba-

zia, I should not want good probabilitie. Some further appearance of necessitie

there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have beene. For it was the

youngest some of leboram in whom the race was preserved; which could not in a-

ny likelihood be Ahazia, seeing that he was twenty yeeres old at the least (as is al-

ready noted) when hee began to raigne, and consequently, was borne in the eigh-

teenth or twentieth yeere of his Fathers age. Now, I know not whether of the two is more vnlikely, either that lehoram should have begotten many children before be

was eightcene yeeres old, or that having (as hee had) many wives and children, hee should voon the sudden, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfruitfull, and beget no 20 more in twenty yeeres following: each of which must have been true, if this were

true that Ahazia was the same lehonhas, which was his yongest sonne. But this in-

convenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causelesse cru-

eltie of Athalia, in feeking the life of Iow, are casily cleared, if Iow and Ichoahas were one. Neither doth his age with stand this opinion. For he was fewen recres old when

hee began to reigne; which if wee vnderstand of yeeres compleat, he might have been a veere old at the death of leheram, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sicknesse. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the natural I sonne of lehoram, though called the sonne of Ahazia, than it were to say, as great Authors have

done, this difficultie not with standing, that hee was of the posteritie of Nathan. One 40 thing indeed I know not how to answer, which, had it concurred with the rest, might

have served as the very foundation of this opinion. The name of Iehoahas, that soun-

deth much more necre to Ioas, than to Ahazia, in an English eare, doth in the He-

brew (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the diversitie of

certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Westerne

manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that Ahazia

himselfe be also called Azaria, and must have had three names, if hee were the same

with Iebonhas; in which manner Ious might also have had severall names; yet, be-

cause I finde no other warrant hercof than a bare possibilitie, I will not presume to

build an epinion vpon the weake foundatation of mine owne coniecture, but leave

all to the confideration of fuch as have more abilitie to judge, and leifure to confi- 50

t. IIII.

CHAP.21. S. 6. 1.4. of the Historie of the World.

Vpon what reasons ATHALLAmight seeke to destroy I o As, if he were her owne grandebilde.

TF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the L text according to the letter, it may bee faid, that Athalia was not onely blinded by the passions of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worship of Baalim, but pursued the accomplishment of some natural delires, in seeking the destruction of her grandchilde, and the rest of the bloud Royall. For whether it were so that Athalia (as proud and cruell women are not alwayes chatte) had imitated the libertic of Iezabel 2.Kin. 9.11.22. her fifter in law, whose whoredomes were vpbraided by Iehu to her sonne; or whether the had children by some former husband, before the was married vnto Iehoram (which is not vnlikely in regard of herage, who was daughter of Omri, and lifter to Abab) certaine it is that the had fonnes of her owne, and those old enough to be imployed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to bee wondred at, that to lettle the Crowne vpon her owne children , shee did feeke to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for 1000, if the were his grandmother, yet thee might mistrust the interest which his mother would have in him, lest when he came to yeers, it might withdraw him from her denotion. And hereof (besides that women doe commonly better love their daughters husbands, than their sonnes wives ) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne: for shee made him spend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparant end, than that the might rule at bome; and he liuing abroad be estranged from his wife, and enterraine some new fancies, wherein Iezabel had cunning enough to bee his tutoresse. But when the sword of Iehu had rudely cut in funder all these fine deuices, then was Athalia faine to goe roundly to worke, and doe as shee did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to loss, we neede not seeke into the reasons mooning her to take away his lite; her owne hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

V I.

Adigression, wherein is maintained the liberty of vsing coniecture in Histories.

Hus much concerning the person of loas, from whom, as from a new roote, the tree of Danid was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this Historie, and the diuersitie betweene it and others, the lesse me thinkes I neede to suspect mine owne presumption, as deseruing blame, for

curiolitie in matter of doubt, or boidnesse in libertie of coniecture. For all Histories doe giue vs information of humane counsailes and euents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can affoord; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speake onely at randome, and many times fallly. This we often finde in profane writers, who aferibe the ill successe of great undertakings to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeede Godauhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omiffion. Hereat we may the leffe wonder, if we confider the answere made by the Iewes in. Agypt vnto leremie the Prophet reprehending their idolatry. For , howfocuer the 50 written Law of God was knowne vnto the people, and his punishments laid vpon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent vnto their owne wills, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophetroundly, that they would worship the Queene of Heanen, as they and

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2.Chron. 22.v.8. were all flaine by Iebu; than hauereference to the lamentable destruction and little

2. Chron. 21.14. and all his children, onely lehoshas his yongest some was exempted; whom there-20

der of this point.

t. IIII.

their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vsed to do; For then (said they) had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no enill: adding that all manner of miseries were befallen them, fince they left off that service of the Queene of Heaven. So blinde is the wisedome of man, in looking into the counsaile of God, which to finde our there is no better nor other guide than his owne written will not percerted by vaine

But this Historic of the Kings of Israel and Inda hath herein a singular prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of meerely humane authours: it setteth downe expressy the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of Ahab to his over-forwardnesse in battaile; the ruine of his to familie, to the securitie of Ieroboam in Izreel; nor the victories of Hazael, to the great commotions raised in Israel, by the comming of Iehu; but referring all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his renealed will: from which that his hidden purpofes doe not varie, this story, by many great examples, gives most notable proofe. True it is, that the concurrence of fecond causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir PHILIP SIDNIE, that Historians doc borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwayes true, and notorious actions commonly infufficient to discover the pal- 20 sions which did set them first on foote. Wherefore they are faine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of Linie every one circumstance of Claudius his journey against As druball in Italie, fitting all to another businesse, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Historicall nor Poeticall) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or the inftruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the most likely motives, or impediments of every bufinesse; and so figuring as neere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciously consider the defects in counfaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, how socuer it may 20 giue satisfaction. For the heart of man is vnscarchable : and Princes, how so euer their intents bee seldome hidden from some of those many eyes which pric both into them, and into fuch as live about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper or by some subtill miste, they conceale the trueth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in oblinion, when the preparations which they begate, are converted to another vse. The industrie of an Hiflorian, having fo many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparant cause enough of things done, it for beareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where fundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weake minde is more effectuall, than many that seemes farre greater. So comes 40 it many times to passe, that great fires, which consume whole houses or Townes, begin with a few strawes, that are wasted or not scene; when the slame is discourred. having fastened vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is, that the warre commenced by Darius, and purfued by Xerxes against the Greekes. proceeded from defire of the Persians to inlarge their Empire: howsoever the enterprize of the Athenians upon Sardes, was notifed abroad as the ground of that quarrell: yet Herodotus telleth vs , that the wanton defire of Queene Atolla, to have the Greeian dames her bondwomen, did first moue Darius to prepare for this warre before he had received any injury; and when he did not yet fo much defire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether Herodotus bee more justly reprehended by fome, or defended by others, for alleading the vaine appetite, and fecret freech of the Queene in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great enils following; this I may boldly affirme, (having I thinke, in every efface some sufficient witnesses) that matter of much consequence, founded in all seeming vpon subftantial reasons, haue issued indeed from such pettietrifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon,or could well fearch out.

Therefore it was a good answere that Sixtus Quintus the Pope made to a certaine Frier, comming to visite him in his Popedome, as having long before in his meaner estate, beene his familiar friend. This poore Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to vse his old libertie of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was possible for his Holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning polititian, to attaine vnto the Papacie; in compaffing of which, all to the subtiltie (sayd hee) of the most crafty braines, finde worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the Art of the conclaue, and your vnaptnesse thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope Sixtus to satisfie the plaine dealing Frier, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seene by what folly this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is mooued; the Pope said true. For the wiseft of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and earneflly, than right reason either needes or can. But if we lift vp our thoughts to that supreme Gouernour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was

faid of Iupiter:

CHAP.21. S.6.

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat Ventosum, & vrbes, regnag, triftia Dinofg, mortalefg, turmas, Imperioregit vaus aquo.

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-fwolne streames, The civill Cities, and th'infernall realmes, Who th'host of heaven and the mortall band, Alone doth gouerne by his iust commaund.

Then shall wee finde the quite contrary. In him there is no vncertaintie nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things disposeth to his owne honour; Hee neither deceiueth nor can be deceiued, but continuing one and the same for euer, doth constantly gouerne all creatures by that law, which hee hath prescribed and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the profperitie of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightfull asit seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soule, many cruell thornes 40 deepely wounding the bodie, all which, if any few escape, they have onely this miferable aduantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happinesse, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicitie, yeelding such abundance of ioy to the conscience, as doth easily counteruaile all afflictions whatsoever; though indeed those brambles that fometimes teare the skinne of such as walke in this bleffed way, doecommonly lay hold vpon them at such time as they sit downe to take their ease, and make them wish themselues at their iournies end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serue, in whose presence is the fulnesse of toy, and at whose right hand are pleasures plained u.z. for enermore.

Wherfore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisdome as may guide our desires and actions, we should not maruaile though the Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda and Ifrael, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct vs chiefly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know, as the meanes to attaine vnto true felicitie, both here, and hereafter, pro-

Hero.L.

pounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, The feare of the Lord is the beginning of Wiledome. Had the expedition of Xerxes (as it was foretold by Daniel) been written by some Prophet after the captivitie: wee may well beleeue that the counfaile of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous will, should have occupied either the whole or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of Darius, the desire of his Wife, and the businesse at Sardes, with other occurrents, been the lesse true, though they might have beene omitted, as the lesse materiall: but these things it had beene lawfull for any man to gather out of profane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein hee should not have done injurie to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborne to derogate 10 from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more then was due.

Such, or little different, is the businesse that I have now in hand : wherein I cannot beleeue that any man of judgement will taxe mee, as either fabulous or prefumptuous. For he doth not fame, that rehearfeth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he depraue the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reafon, those things, which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to baue confirmed in every mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the libertie, which I have vied in coniectures, and may hereafter vie when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor mif-befeeming an Historian.

#### è. VII.

#### The conspiracie against ATHALIA.



Hen Athalia had now fixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of Iuda, and had found neither any forraine enemie, nor domesticall aduerfarie to disturbe her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of the 20

yong Prince began to be luch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very vnfitting that his education should bee simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his fafetic it was requisite,) when his capacitic required to have beene indued with the stomake and qualities meete for a King. All this Ichoiada the Priest considered, and withall, the great increase of impietic, which taking deeperoote in the Court, was likely to spread it selfe ouer all the Countrie, if care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore heassociated vnto himselfe five of the Captaines, in whose fidelitie he had best assurance, and having taken an oath of them, and showed them the Kings sonne, he made a Couenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the principall men, to 40 countenance the action, procuring at the first onely that they should repaire to Ieru-Calem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perswasions to winne them to the businesse: the promise of the Lord vnto the house of Danid, was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawfull, and likely to succeede as they desired.

But in compassing their intent some difficulties appeared: For it was not to bee hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good iffue : neither were the Captaines, and other affociats of Iehoiada able by close working, to drawe together so many trustie and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the businesse. To helpe in this case, the Priest gaue order to such of the Lenites, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Dinine service at the Temple, and were now re- 50 lieued by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart untill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not difcharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number, as would bee

able to deale with the Queens ordinarie Guard, and that was enough, for if the Tyrannesse did not preuaile against them at the first brunt, the fauour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These Leutes were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, were beflowed in the ytter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King David had left an Armorie to the place, which was now employed in defence of his issue.

CHAP.21. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come, wherein this high designe was 10 to be put in execution; Iehoiada deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents; appointed a guard vnto the Kings person; produced him openly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vling all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queene was the last that heard any word; which is not so strange as it may seeme: for insolent natures, by dealing outragiously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly loofe the benefit of hearing what is to bee feared, whilest yet it may bee preuented, and have no information of danger, till their owneeyes, amazed with the fuddennesse, behold it in the shape of ineuitable mischiefe.

All Ieru/alem was full of the rumour, and entertayned it with very good liking. 20 Some carried home the newes, others ranne forth to fee, and the common joy was fogreat, that without apprehension of perill, under the windowes of the Court. were the people running and praifing the King. Athalia hearing and beholding the a.chron. 22.12. extraordinarie concourse, and noise, of folkes in thestreets, making towards the Temple, with much vnvfuall paffion in their lookes, did presently conceiue, that fomewhat worthie of her care was happened; though, what it might bee, shee did not apprehend. Howfoeuer it were, thee meant to vie her owne wifedome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may bee, that shee thought it some especials solemnitie vsed in the Divine service, which caused this much adoe; and hereof the vnaccustomed number of Leuites, and

30 of other denout men, about the towne, might give some presumption.

Many things argue that shee little thought vpon her owne Tragedie; although Iolephis would make it feeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, Shee same to the 2 chron 23-12 people into the house of the Lord (which was neere to her Palace) and that when shee 613.62. looked and faw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the Princes, or 614. great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpetters proclaiming him, shee rent her clothes, and cryed, Treason, Treason. Hereby it appeares that shee was quietly going, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place, which when shee found occupied by another, then shee begun to afflish her selfe, as one cast away, and cryed out in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby shee saw that shee must perish. But that shee 40 came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as 10 fephus reporteth) and that her companie being beaten back, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had shee truely knowne how things went, shee would surely have gathered her friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crowne, by which shee gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainely, if it were granted, that shee, like a new Semiramis, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had beene meere madnesse in her, to enter the place alone, when her affiftants were kept out; but if shee perceiuing that neither her authoritie, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuerthelesse take vpon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of feuen yeeres old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom shee saw to bee armed in his defence, may wee not thinke that shee was mad in the most extreme degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would have taken effect, in her destruction, had shee vsed the most likely meanes to disappoint it: yet wee neede not so cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is

enough to fay, that the godly zeale of Iehotada found more easie successe, through her indifcretion, than otherwise could have beene expected; so that at his appointment. shee was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no bloud, saue her owne, was shed in that quarrell; her small traine, that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

## ð. VIII.

The death of ATHALIA, with a comparison of her and IEZABEL.

Oft like it is, that Athalia had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew Ichoram the Israelite, who did foolishly cast himselfe into the very throat of danger, gaping vpon him, only through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant : yet, shee her selfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap,

and having lived fuch a life as Iezabel had done, was rewarded with a futable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse, and a Murdresse. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that Iezabel is more noted as incontinent of body, Athalia as ambitious: So that each of them 20 furviuing her husband about eight yeeres, did spend the time in satisfying her owne affections: the one vsing tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughtie minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the suddaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclayming vpon the Treason, received fentence from the mouth of one that had lived vnder her subjection; in execution whereof, Iezabel was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; Athalia slaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of Athalia having (though not much) the more leisure to vexe her proud heart; that of lezabel, the more indignitie, and shame of 30 body. Touching their buriall, lezabel was demoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet Elias; what became of Athalia wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument; for shee was a Church robber. The service of Baal erected by these two Queenes, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who flue them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of Hazael the Syrian; in which point Athalia had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who feemes to have beene her good friend) pre- 40 tended her reuenge, as any part of his quarrell to Iuda. Concerning children, all belonging to Iezabel, perished in few dayes after her: whether Athalia left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; shee had sonnes living after shee was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were flaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthie of confideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of Athalia had beene in Ierufalem when their Mother fell, their death would furely have followed hers as neerely, and beene registred, as well as the death of Mattan the Priest of Bast. That Law by which God forbade that the children should die for the fathers, could not have faued these vngracious Imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that 50 enery man shall die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene professors & advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of Baal, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of Baal with the spoile of it; likely it is, that they should not have escaped with life, if Iehoiada the Priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death. fo the securitie of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very earnestly. For these had beene esteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her affiftants in that particular bufineffe of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great fway in other matters, as Princes and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following Hazael in his warres against lehu) absent from lerusalem; whereby tehoiada might, with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

# CHAP. XXII.

Of IOAS and AMASIA, with their Contemporaries: where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

ò. I.

Of IOAs his doings, whileft I EHOIADA the Priest lived.



Y the death of Athalia, the whole Countrie of Inda was filled with great joy and quietnesse; wherein loas a childe of seuen yeeres old or there-about, began his raigne, which continued almost fortie yeeres. During his minoritie, hee lined vnder the protection of that honorable man Iehoiada the Priest, who did as faithfully governe the Kingdome, as hee had before carefully preserved the Kings life, and restored him vnto the Throne of his ancestors. When hee came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of lehoiada two wines, and begat Sonnes and Daughters,

repairing the family of David, which was almost worne out. The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy Place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vngodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vp-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had vp-held. This businesse hee followed with so earnest a zeale, that not onely the Leustes were more flack than he, but euen Iehoiada was faine to be quickned by his admonition. Monew was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe imposed by Moles, partly out of the liberalitie of the people: who gave fo freely, that the Tem- 2.chron. 14. 14. ple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and filner, and with all other Vtenfiles. The facrifices likewise were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had beene, and the seruice of God was magnificently celebrated.

Aan 2 d. II.

¿. II.
The death of Ieholada, and Apostasie of Ioas.

Vt this endured no longer than the life of Iehoiada the Priest: who hauing liued an hundred and thirtie yeeres, dyed before his Countrie could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of Iuda, as he well deserved, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselues, and all their issue. Yet his 10 honorable Funerall seemes to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being faid, They buried him in the Citte of DAVID. As for the King himselfe,

who did owe to him no leffe than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to have beene Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if hee had

thereby beene discharged of some heavie debt.

For after the death of Iehoiada, when the Princes of Iuda beganne to flatter their King, he soone forgate, not onely the benefits, received by this worthic man his old Councellour, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himselfe, the Author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith Iehoram and Athalia had so infected the Countrie, in 20 fifteene or fixteene yeeres; that thirtie yeeres, or there-about, of the raigne of ioas, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were notable to cleere it from that mischiefe. The King himfelfe, when once hee was entred into these courses, ranne on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proofe of his being now King indeede, that hee regarded no longer the sowre admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was onely counterfaited, wherein like an actor vpon the stage, he had striuen to expresse much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

Maa & III.

The causes and time of the Syrians inuading Iuda in the dayes of Io As.

Vt God, from whom hee was broken loofe, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. Hazael King of Aram, having taken Gath, a Towne of the Philistims, addressed himselfe towards Ierusalem, whither the little distance of way, and great hope

of a rich bootie, did inuite him. He had an Armie heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the warre (if his ambition cared for 40 pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of Iuda had affisted the Ifraelites, in their enterprises vpon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet I thinke he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdome of Inda had molested the Aramites, in the time of his predecessiour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour I/rael, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extreme miserie, to the furie of Hazael himselfe. Neither is it likely, that Hazael should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemie, before hee had assured the conquest of Ifrael, that lay betweene Ierusalem and his owne Kingdome, if some oportunitie had not promised such easie and good successe, as might rather advance, than any way disturbe, his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I 50 hold it probable, that the sonnes of Athalia, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries vsually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his side; and not to remaine, as 10 as did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and Israel, but to ioyne all their forces with his, as they had

cause, for the rooting out of 1ehu his posteritie, who, like a bloudie Traytor, had vtterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, euen the whole house of Abab, to which he was a subject. If this were so, Hazael had the more apparant reason to inuade the Kingdome of Inda. Howsoeuer it were, wee finde it plainely. that Ions was afraid of him, and therefore tooke all the hallowed things, and all the gold 2.King. 12.18. that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace : the Syrian (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargaine, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the asfurance of this, for the possibilitie of not much more. So Hazael departed with a 10 rich bootie of vnhappie treasure, which, belonging to the liuing God, remayned a small while in the possession of this mightie, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the graue. For in the thirtie feuenth of loas, which was the fifteenth of Jehoahaz, he made this purchase; but in the same or the very next yeere he died, leauipe all that he had vnto his Sonne Benbadad, with whom these treasures prospered none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of Hazael is, by some, confounded with that warre of the Aramites vpon Iuda, mentioned in the second Booke of Chronicles. But the reasons alleaged by them that hold the contrarie opinion, doe forcibly prooue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloud shed or fight; 20 in the later, low tryed the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, hee lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, Hazael himselfe was prefent; in the other, he was not named but contrariwife, the King of Aram then reigning (who may seeme to have then beene the Sonne of Hazael) is said to have beene at Damaseus. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the King of Inda; The second was a small companie of men, which did animate 10,16 (in 2.66108.24.24. vaine, for God was against him) to deale with them, as having a very great Armie.

Now, concerning the time of this former invalion, I cannot perceive that God forsooke him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeede some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of Hazael was in the time of Ieboiada the Priest, be-30 cause that storie is ioyned vnto the restauration of the Temple. This had beene probable, if the death of Iehoiada had beene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Booke of Kings, or if the Apostalie of Ieas or any other matter implying fo much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his owne will and pleasure, neither was he more vniust in the afflictions of 10b that righteous man, or the death of loftes that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid vpon Pharaoh, or his judgements vpon the house of Abab. But it appeares plainely, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were vsed in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of I EHOIADA; soone 2, cbron. 24. 14. 40 after whose death, if not immediately vpon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the fixe, or thirtie seuenth yeere of this 10.14 his raigne, the King falling away from

the God of his Father, became a foule Idolater. And indeede we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God fometimes to lay vpon his feruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, haue alwayes tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which respect, euen the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of bis Saints being precious in the fight pfalistis. of the Lord are to their great advantage. But with cuil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even, and more first account; permitting vivally their faults to get the flart of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the Amo-70 rites) till their wickednesse be full or not working their amendment by his correction on, but fuffering them to runne on in their wicked courses, to their greater milerie. So hath he dealt with many; and fo it appeares that he dealt with low. For this vnhappie man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if he had strougn to exceede the wickednesse of all that

Luke 20.14.

went before him, and to leaue such a villainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should indure to imitate.

## ð. IIII.

How ZACHARIA was murdered by IOAS.

VndryProphets having laboured in vaine to reclaime the people from their superstition, Zacharia the sonne of lehoiadathe Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wicked-nesse, and make them vnderstand the punishment due vnto it, whereof they stood in danger. This Zacharia was a man so honourable, and some to a man so exceeding beloned in his life time, and reverenced, that if Ioas had reputed him (as Abab did Elias) his open enemie, yet ought he in common honestie, to have cloaked his ill affection, and have vsed at least some part of the refpect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefits, which they had done unto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should have placed Zacharia in the most hearty and assured love of Ious, yea though he had beene otherwisea man of very small marke, and not verie good condition. The truth is, that 20 the message of a Prophet sent from God, should bee heard with reverence, how fimple foeuer he appeares that brings it. But this King Ioas, having alreadie scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with Zacharia, like as the wicked husbandman in that parable of our Sauiour, dealt with the heire of the Vineyard; who faid, This is the heire, come let vs kill him, that the Inheritance may be ours. By killing Zacharia he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that hee was no free Prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plaine truth, how great soeuer that mans deseruing were, that did so, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any 30 forme of open Law, as was practifed upon Naboth; or whether surprising him by any close treacherie, I doe neither reade nor can conjecture. The dignitie of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique judgement, though the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactors, may argue the contrarie. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandement, by which he suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of meere power (as hath been ealreadie noted) was nothing strange among the Kings of Iuda.

Q. V.

How Ioas was shamefully beaten by the Aramites,
and of his death.

His odious murder, committed by an vnthankfull finake vpon the man in whose bosome he had beene fostered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed, to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his owne time, and his memorie detested in all ages; so had it the well-described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompanie it vnto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell downe swiftly; and heavily vpon the head of that vngratefull monster. It was the last yeere of his raigne; the end of his time comming then vpon him, when he thought himselfe beginning to live how he listed without controllement. When that yeere was expired; the dramites came into the Countrie rather as may seeme to get pillage, than to performe any great a-

Etion; for they came with a small companie of men; but God had intended to doe more 2.chron. 24.24. by them, than they themselues did hope for.

That low naturally was a coward, his bloudie malice against his best friend, is, in my judgement proofe sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with Hazael, when hee might have leavied (as his sonne after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs bee valiant and make his people know, how frout of disposition their King was, when he might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. Forto encounter with a few bands of rouers, hee tooke a verie 10 great Armie, so that wise-men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Countrie, and expose his person to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere oftentation, and no perill to be feared; he going forth fo ftrongly appointed, against so weake enemies. Thus might wisemen thinke, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisedome of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh not onely at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites and King Ioas met, whether it were by some folly of the leaders, or by some amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatsoeuer meanes it pleased God to worke, so it was, that that great Armie of Iuda received a notable ouer-throw, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of Iuda, at whose perswassion the King had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. As for 10as himselfe (as \_abulensis and others expound the storie) hee was forely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out

of him an excelline ransome. And furely, all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon low ignominious indgements; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All, which argues, 30 that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-fauoncedly. Now at that time Tous the fon of Iehoshaz raigned over Ifrael, and Benhadad the fon of Hazael over the Syrians in Damascus; the one a valiant under-taking Prince, railed up by God to reftore the State of his miserable Countrie; the other inferior enery way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene these two Princes, promising no other euent than such as after followed, might have given to the King of Inda good cause to bee bold, and plucke vp his spirits, which Hazael had beaten downe, if God had not beene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehenfion of danger, was able to put the Syrian King in hope, that by terrifying him with 40 some shew of warre at his doores, it were easie to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good fuccesse hereof, alreadie related, and the (perhaps as inexpected) ill successe, which the Aramites found in their following warres against the King of Ifrael, sheweth plainely the weaknesse of all earthly might, relifting the power of the Almightie. For by his ordinance, both the Kingdome of Inda, after more than fortie yeeres time of gathering strength, was vnable to driue out a small companie of enemies; and the Kingdome of Israel, hauing so beene trodden downe by Hazael, that onely fiftie Horsemen, ten Chauing so beene trodden downe by Hazael, that onely fiftie Horsemen, ten Chau riots, and ten thouland Foot-men were left, preuailed against his Sonne, and recouered all from the victorious Aramites. But examples hereof are euery-where 50 found, and therefore I will not infift ypon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our heauenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore father

pon earth.
When the Aramites had what they lifted, and faw that they were not able, being

CHAP.22. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

ing to few, to take any possession of the Countrie, they departed out of Inda loden with spoile, which they sent to Damaseus, themselves belike falling voon theren Tribes, where it is to be thought that they fped not halfe fo well. The King of Inda being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sonnes of an Ammonitesse, and of a Moabitesse, whom some (because onely their Mothers names being ftrangers, are expressed) thinke to have beene bond-men. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, left (as Tyrant's vse) hee should revenge his difaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoeuer esse it were that animated 2. ckron, 24, 25, them to murder their King; the Scripture tells vs plainly, that, for the bloud of the children of IEHOIADA, this befell him. And the same appeares to have beene 19 vsed as the pretence of their conspiracie, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For Amazia, the sonne and successor of loas, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his bodie was judged vnworthie of buriall in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of Zecharia caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytors, with well-deserved death.

### δ. V I.

Of the Princes living in the time of IOAS: Of the time when Carthage was built; and of Dipo.

Here lived with Ioas, Mezades and Diognetus in Athens: Eudemus and Ariflomedes in Corinto; about winch thin as off after him Sylvin Alladius, were Kings of the Alban in Italie. Ocrazarei, commonly called Anacyndaraxes, the thirtie seuenth King succeeding vitto Ophratanes, began his raigne ouer the Assyrians, about the eighteenth yeere of loss, which lasted fortie two yeeres. In the sixteenth of 30

Ioas, Cephrenes, the fourth from Sefae, succeeded vnto Cheops in the Kingdome of

£gypt, and held it fiftie yeeres:

In this time of loss, was likewise the raigne of Pigmalion in Tyre, and the foundation of Carthage by Dido; the building of which Citie is, by divers Authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be seventie yeeres yonger than Rome, others aboue foure hundred yeeres elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their affertions, but leaning vs vncertaine whom to follow: 10/ephus, who had read the Annalls of Tyre, counting one hundred fortie and three yeeres and eight moneths Infep. Cont. App. from the building of Salomons Temple, in the twelfth yeere of Hyram King of Tyre. to the founding of Carthage by Dido, in the senenth of Pigmalion. The particulars 40 of this accompt (which is not rare in Iofephus) are very perplexed, and serue not verie well to make cleere the totall summe. But whether it were so that tosephus did omit, or else that he did mis-write, some number of the yeeres, which hee reckoneth in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of Tyre, from Hyram to Pigmalion; we may well enough beleeue, that the Tyrian writers, out of whole Bookes he giues vs the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two workes no longer following one the other, than the memorie of three or foure generations might easily reach. This hundred fortie and foure yeeres current, after the building of Salomous Temple, being the eleuenth yeere of 1000, was a hundred fortie and three yeeres before the birth of 50 Rome and after the destruction of Troy, two hundred eightie and nine: a time so long after the death of Anew, that wee might truely conclude all to bee fabulous which Virgil hath written of Dido, as Ausonius noteth, who doth honor her Statua with this Epigramme.

Aufon.Ep.117.

LLA ego sum DIDO vultu quam conspicis bospes, Aßımulata modis pulchrag, mirificis. Talis eram, fed non MARO quam mihi finxit erat mens, Vitanec incoftis lata cupidinibus (Namá, nec ÉNEAS vidit me Troius viquam Nes Libyam aduenit, classibus Iliacis. Sed furias fugiens, at q, arma procacis IARBAE, Seruaui, fateor, morte pudicitiam; Pectore transfixo, castos quod pertulit enfes) Non furor, aut la fo crudus amore dolor. Sie cecidisse iunat : vixi sine vulnere fama, vita virum, positis mænibus oppetij. Inuida cur in me stimulasti Mula MARONEM, Fingeret vt nostra damna pudicitia? Vos magis historicis lectores credite de me Quam qui furta Deum concubitus á, canunt. Falsidici vates : temerant qui carmine verum. Humanifa, deos assimulant vitijs.

# Which in effect is this,

Am that DIDO which thou here do'ft fee, L Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'rie. Like this I was, but had not fuch a foule, As MARO fained, incestuous and foule. ÆNEAS neuer with his Troian hoaft Beheld my face, or landed on this coast. But flying proud IARBAS villanie, Not mou'd by furious loue or iealousie; I did with weapon chast, to sauemy fame, Make way for death vntimely, ere it came. This was my end; but first I built a Towne, Reueng'd my husbands death, liu'd with renowne. Why did'st thou stirre vp Virgil, enuious Muse, Falfely my name and honour to abuse ? Readers, beleeue Historians; not those Which to the world Ioves thefts and vice expose. Poets are lyers, and for verses sake Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of Dido vnto the first Punick warre, that Carthage grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we find in many histories: but in particular we find little of the Carthaginian affaires before that warre, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts vpon the Isle of Sicil. Wee will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mightie Citie, vntill such time as they shall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the meane while the Historie that is now in hand.

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d. VII.

The beginning of Amazia his reigne. Of Io as King of Israel, and Elisha the Prophet.



MAZIAS, the sonne of Ioash, being twentie fine yeeres old when his father dyed, tooke possession of the Kingdome of Iuda, wherein he laboured so to demeane himselfe, as his new beginning raigne might be least offensive. The Law of Moles he professed to observe; which howsoeuer it had beene secretly despised since the time of lehoram, by 19

many great persons of the Land, yet had it by prouision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plaulible, who did not conforme himselfe viito it. And at that prefent time, the flaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the Princes, who had with-drawne the late King from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himselfe, euen whilest that execrable murther, committed by the King vpon Zechari, was yet fresh in memorie, did serue as a notable example of Gods justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better fort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage Amazia from following the way, which led 20 to fuch an euill end. He therefore, having learned of his father the arte of diffimulation, did not only forbeare to punish the Traytors that had slaine King lows, but gaue way to the time, and suffered the dead bodie to be interred, as that of lehoram formerly had beene, in the Citie of Dauid, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of Iuda. Neuertheleffe, after this, when (belike) the noise of the people hauing wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoeuer their deede done, was applauded as the handie-worke of God) had neither any mightie partakers in their fact, nor strong maintayners of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the King, who perceived his gouernement well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the 30 heate of mens affections, being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish betweene their treasons and Gods judgement, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to liue; which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life the better secured, by such exemplarie iustice, against the like attempts; Amazia carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteene

As Amazia gathered strength in Iuda by the commoditie of a long peace, so Ioas 40 the Ifraelite grew as fast in power, by following the warre horly against the Iramites. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had beene, worshipping the Calues of Ieroboam. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of Ichu, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being vtterly consumed, by Hazael and Benhadad, in the time of Iehu and his sonne Iehoahaz. But as Gods benefits to Iehu, sufficed not to with-draw him from this politique Idolatrie; so were the miseries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime leboahaz from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of Israel, condescended vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, euen then when hee and his miserable subjects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable wayes. Thereforein 50 temporall matters, the ten Tribes recourred apace, but the fauour of God, which had beene infinitely more worth, I doe not find, nor beleeue, that they fought; that they had it not, I findein the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to AMAZIA, The Lord is not with Ifrael, neither with all the house of EPHRAIM.

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Whether it were so, that the great Prophet Elista, who lived in those times, did fore-tell the prosperitie of the Israelites under the Raigne of Ions; or whether Ichoahaz, wearied and broken with long aduerlitie, thought it the wifelt way, to difcharge himselfe in part of the heavie cares attending those vnhappy Syrian warres, by laying the burthen vpon his hopefull sonne; we finde that in the thirtie-feuenth 2.18 mg 13.10. yeere of IOAS, King of Iuda, IOAS the sonne of IEHOAHAZ began to raigne over Israel in Samaria, which was in the fifteenth of his fathers raigne, and some two or three yeeres before his death.

It appeares that this yong Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did so 10 well hulband that poore stocke which hee received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fiftie Horse-men, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seeme likely to proue a thriuer. Among other circumstances, the wordes which he spake to Elisha the Prophet, argue no lesse. For loss visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus; O my father, my father, the Chariot of Ifrael, and the horse-men of the same: by 2. Kings 13.14. which manner of speech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more stead, than all the Horses and Chariots could

This Prophet who succeeded vnto Elias, about the first yeere of Ioram the sonne of Ahab King of Ifrael, dyed (as some have probably collected) about the third or 20 fourth yeere of this low, the Nephew of Jehu. To shew how the Spirit of Elias was doubled, or did rest vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that hee did not onely raise a dead child vnto life, as Elias had done, but when hee himselse was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcasse, which touched them in the graue. In fine, hee bestowed, as a legacie, three vi-Etories vpon King Ious, who thereby did let I/rael in a faire way of recouring all that the Aramites had vsurped, and weakning the Kings of Damasco in such fort, that they were neuer after terrible to Samaria.

Of Amazia his warre against Edom; His Apostasie; and overthrow by Ioas.

He happie successe which low had found in his warre against the Aramites, was fuch as might kindle in Amazia a delire of undertaking some expedition, wherein himselfe might purchase the like honour. His kingdome could furnish three hundred thousand serviceable men for the wars; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of warre he had very just against the Edomites,

40 who having rebelled in the time of his grand-father Iehoram, had about fiftic yeeres beene vnreclaymed, partly by meanes of the troubles happening in Iuda, partly through the floth and timorousnesse of his father 10.25. Yet, foralmuch as the men of Iuda had in many yeeres beene without all exercise of warre (excepting that vnhappie fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the Aramites) he held it a point of wisedome to increase his forces, with Souldiers waged out of Israel, whence hee hired for an hundred talents of filuer, an hundred thousand valiant 2. cbron. 21.6 men, as the Scripture telleth vs, though lofephus diminish the number, saying that lof. dutiq. Ind. they were but twentie thousand.

This great Armie, which with so much cost Amazia had hired out of Israel, he 50 was faine to dismisse, before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill fuccesse, if hee strengthned himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy hee gaue them victorie against the cruell Aramites) did not loue, because they were Idolaters. The Israelites therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismission, as an high disgrace; which to revenge, they fell vpon

a peece of Inda in their returne, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men; and some spoile, which they carryed away. But Amazia with his owne forces, knowing that God would be affiftant to their journey, entered couragiously into the Edomites Countrie; ouer whom obtayning victorie, hee slew ten thousand, and tooke other ten thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke; holding them, it feemes, rather as Traytors, than as iust enemies. This victorie did not seeme to reduce Edom vnder the subjection of the crowne of Iuda, which might be the cause of that seueritie, which was vsed to the prisoners; the Edomites that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so deare a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount Seir, Amazia 10 tooke, as appeares by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefencible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another yeere the better have pursued the conquest of the whole Countrie. Howsoever it were, he got both honor by the journie, & gaines enough, had he not lost himselfe.

Among other spoiles of the Edomites, were carried away their gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwife, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted this vnworthie 2. Chron. 15. 14. King Amazia, that hee (et them up to bee his gods, and worshipped them, and burned in-

cense unto them.

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For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet fent from God, hee gaue a churlish 20 and threatning answere; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counseller, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worst. If either the costly stuffe, whereof these Idols were made, or the curious workemanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had rauished the Kings fancie; me thinkes, he should haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as house-hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby have suffered himselfe to be blinded, with such vnreasonable deuotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the Edomites had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the Edomites, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, 20 that the same affections caried him from God, vnto the service of Idols, which afterwards mooued him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had alreadie obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliarie \*.cbrom.25.11. forces as he had gathered out of I/rael; which done, it is faid, that he was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather affift him by miracle, than let him faile of obtayning all his hearts defire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that Efau, having broken the yoke of Iacob from his necke, accordingly as Isaac had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore Amazia did hope to reconquer all the Countrie of Edom, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home 49 both profit and honor, which might have well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wher with men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to vse their owne industrie, courage, or fore-sight. Therefore it is commonly scene, that they, who entring into battaile, are carefull to pray for aide from heaven, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giner of victorie; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of aduantage; another, how he gaue checketo such a battallion; a third, how hee seized on the enemies Canon; euery one striuing to magnifie himselfe, whilest all forget God, as one that had not beene present in the action. To ascribe to fortune 50 the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better fuccesse, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Authour of his happinesse; so hee whose meere wisedome and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is

doubly bound to shew himselfe thankefull, both for the victoric, and for those vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeed so farre from weakenesse is the nature of fuch thankefgiuing, that it may wel be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of a man advanceth it selse with confidence of acceptation, vnto the loue of God. In which sense it is a braue speech that Euander in Virgil, vseth to Anew, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition,

> Aude hospes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum Finge Deo.

With this Philosophie Amazia (as appeares by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himselfe a better man of warre than any King of Iuda, since the time of Iehe (aphat, and could be well contented, that his people should thinke him little inferior to David: of which honour hee faw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him loose a hundred talents, and done him no pieafurc, he having prevailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was diftempered with fuch vaine thoughts as these (besides the witnesse of his impietie following ) Tofephus doth testifie; saying, That hee despised tof. Ant. Leg.

GOP, and that being puft vp with his good successe, of which neuerthelesse hee would not acknowledge God to bee the Authour, hee commanded 1045 King of Ifrael to become his subject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soueraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King Dauid and King Salomon. Some thinke that his quarrell to Ioas was rather grounded vpon the injurie done to him by the Ifraelites, whom he dismissed in the journey against Mount Seir. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him vp, than the remembrance of an olde title, forgotten long fince, and by himselfe neglected thirteene or foureteene yeeres. Neuerthelesse it might so be, that when he was thus prouoked, he thought it not enough to require new wrongs, but would also call olde matters into 30 question; that so the Kings of Ifrael might, at the least, learne to keepe their subjects from offending Juda, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had Amazia defired onely recompence for the injurie done to him, it is not improbable that he should have had some reasonable answere from low, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answere which Ious returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and Amazia in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent tearmes, stuft perhaps with such proud comparison of nobilitie, as might be made (according to that which lofephus hath written) betweene a King of

ancient race, and one of leffe nobilitie than vertue. It is by Sophocles reported of Aiax, that when, going to the warre of Troy, his fa- sophocles in Ather did bid him to be valiant, and get victorie by Gods affistance, he made answere, ince Lon. that by Gods affiftance, a coward could get victorie, but he would get it alone without such helpe: after which proud speech, though hee did many valiant acts, hee had small thankes, and finally killing himselse in a madnesse, whereinto he sell vp. on difgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That Amazia did vtter fuch words, I doe not find : but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of fuch words, hee was rewarded with successe according. The verie first counsaile wherein this Warre was concluded, serues to proue that hee was a wise Prince indeed at Ierusalem, among his Parasites; but a foole when hee had to deale with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the Edomites, a 50 weake people, trusting more in the site of their Countrey than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with 10.55, who from fo poore beginnings had rayled himselfeto such strength, that hee was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained vp, in a long victorious warre. But as Amazia discouered much want of judgement, invndertaking such a match;

fo in profecuting the bufinesse, when it was set on foot, hee behaued himselfe as a man of little experience, who having once onely tried his fortune, and found it to

be good, thought that in warre there was nothing else to doe, than send a defiance.

fight, and winne. Iow on the contrarie fide, having beene accustomed to deale with

a stronger enemie than the King of Iuda, vsed that celeritie, which peraduenture

had often flood him in good flead against the Aramite. Hee did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and wasted his Countrie, but presented himselfe with an Ar-

mic in Iuda, readic to bid battaile to Amazia, and saue him the labour of along

journic. This could not but greatly discourage those of Inda; who (besides the

selucs to get as much, and at as easie rate as in the journie of Edom; were so farre

disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the olde had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding,

their King that had stomacke enough to challenge the patrimonie of Salomon,

thought like another David, to winne it by the fword. The iffue of which foole-

hardinesse might casily be forescene in humane reason; comparing together, either

the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning

of the Warre. But meere humane wisedome, howsoever it might foresee much,

as the two Armies came in fight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had so de-

Iuda, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King to shift

for himselfe, which heedid so ill, that his enemie had soone caught him, and made

him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Armie which fled, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in

10(ephus, it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the

more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischiefe that followed this

ouerthrow, it was Gods will that Amazia himselfe should sustaine the whole dis-

gates might be opened, to let him in and his Armie; threatning him otherwise with

present death. So much amazed was the miserable caytine, with these dreadfull

wordes, that he durst doe none other, than perswade the Citizens, to yeeld them-

selves to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwardes being in

weaker flate, held out two yeeres, against Nebuchadnezzar, was vtterly dismayed,

when the King, that should have given his life to saucit, vsed all his force of com-

mand and intreatic to betray it. So the gates of Icrusalem were opened to Icas, with

which honour (greater than any King of Ifrael had ever obtained) hee could not

rest contented, but, the more to despight Amazia and his people, he caused source

riot through that breach, carrying the King before him, as in triumph. This done,

he sackt the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so, taking hostages of Amazia, hee

dismissed the poore creature that was glad of his life, and returned to Samaria.

hundred cubits of the wall to be throwne downe, and entred the Citie in his Char- 40

grace. For Ioas carried him directly to Ierusalem, where he bad him procure that the 30

impression of feare which an invasion beats into people, not inured to the like) ha- 10 uing denoured, in their greedie hopes, the spoyle of Ifrael, fully perswading themò. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindering IOAs from uniting IVDA to the Crowne of Ifrael, when he had wonne Ierusalem, and held AMAZIA prisoner. The end of I O As his Raigne.

E E may justly maruaile how it came to passe, that 10.05, being thus in possession of Ierusalem, having the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his owne entire, could bee so contented to depart quietly, with a little spoyle, when hee might have seized vpon the whole Kingdome. The raigne of Athalia had given him cause to hope,

that the issue of David might be dispossessed of that crowne; his owne Nobilitie, being the sonne and grand childe of Kings, together with the samous acts that hee had done, were enough to make the people of Juda thinke highly of him; who might also have preferred his forme of government, before that of their owne Kings, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smothered the thankes, which were due to the memoric of a few good ones. The commoditie that would have enfued, vpcnthe vnion of all the twelve Tribes, vnder one Prince, 30 is so apparant, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbad the Ifraelites (as afterwards in the victorie which Peka the sonne of Romelia got vpon Abiaz) to turne his present advantage, to the best vie, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to resolue the question, why a Prince so well exercised, as Ious had bin, in recoucring his owne, and winning from his enemy, should for fake

the possession of leru/alem, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away

the full affurance of fo faire a conquest, as the Kingdome of Iuda.

But concerning that point, which, of all others, had beene most materiall, I meane the desire of the vanquished people to accept the Ifraelite for their King, it is plainely seene, that entring Ierusalem in triumphant manner, Ions was vnable to concoct 30 his owne prosperitie. For the opening of the gates had beene enough to haue let him not only into the Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreatie (especially having sure meanes of compulsion) hee might have made his owne, when they faw themselves betrayed, and basely given away by him whose they had beene before. The faire marke which this opportunity prefented, he did not ayme at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanely busied, in levelling at the glorie of a triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwardes haue beene corrected wellenough, if entring as an enemie, and shewing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the walles, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to show good will to the in-40 habitants. But when his pride had done, his couctousnesse beganne, and sought to please it selfe, with that which is commonly most readie to the spoyler, yet should be most forborne. The treasure wherewith Sefac, Hazael, and the Philistims, men ignorant of the true God & his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to have tempted the appetite of loas, who though an Idolatour, yet acknowledged also and worthipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at Ierusalem: Therefore when the people faw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his rauenous hands vpon the confectated veffels, calling the family of Obed Edom (whose shil- 1, ehron, 16,15) dren had hereditarie charge of the treasurie) to a strict account, as if they had beene Officers of his owne Exchequer, they considered him rather as an execrable Church-30 robber, than as a Noble Prince, an Ifraelite and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely anoyded; by scaling a few Apples, hee

loft the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a sew dayes, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his

¿. IX. 50

could not have prognosticated all the mischiefe that fell vpon Amazia. For as soone 20 10(An: 1 2.6,10 fpiled, did (as Iofephus reports it) strike such terrour and amazement into the men of

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Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mightie towne entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnaduised feare. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recouer their spirits, and begin to vnderstand their first errour; they will thinke vpon euery aduantage, of place, of prouisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones, and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the euills growne out of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischiefs to poyson the body, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be defired, than the Citie of Florence, which through the weakenesse of Peter de Medices, gouerning therein as a 10 Prince, was reduced into such hard termes, that it opened the gates vnto the French King Charles the Eighth, who not plainely profeffing himselfe either friend or foeto the Estate, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himselfe and his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betweene them and the Townes-men: so farre forth that the Florentines, to preserue their libertie, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, Charles propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge summes of readie money, and the absolute Signorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But Peter Caponi, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, 20 and tearing them before his face, bade him found his trumpets, and they would ring their bells: which peremptorie wordes made the French bethinke themselues, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortie thousand pounds, and not halfe of that mony to be paid in hand, Charles should not onely depart in peace, but restore what soeuer he had of their Dominion, and continue their affured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of Naples, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that Charles had other businesse (and so perhaps had Ioas, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, 30 vsually drawes every Citizen to saue his owne, leaving victorie to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolued, women can quench, as fast as the enemie, hauing other things to looke vnto, can let on fire. And indeed that Commander is more given to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertaine hope of destroying a Towne, for sakes the assurance of a good composition. Diversitie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in Ierusalem, as we know it was in Florence.

How strongly soeuer Ious might hold himselfe within Ierusalem, he could not eafily depart from thence, with his bootie safe, if the Armie of Iuda, which had beene more terrified than weakned in the late encounter, should re-enforce it selfe, and 40 give him a checke vpon the way. Wherefore it was wifely done of him, to take hostages for his better securitie, his Armie being vpon returne, and better soden than

when it came forth; for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, seruing to coole the ambition of Ious, and keepe it downe from aspiring to the Crowne of Inda; it appeares that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of Elisha the Prophet; who when this Iom had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the Aramites. The three victories which Israel had against Aram, are by some, and with great probabilitie, referred vnto the fifth, fixth and seuenth yeeres of Ioas: after which time, if any losses ensu- 50 ing had blemished the former good successe, ill might the King of Israel haue likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worse could hee haue either lent the Indean one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battaile, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by

the words of Elisha, that after three victories, Ioas should find some change of tortune, and suffer losse; we must needs conclude, That the Aramite prevailed vpon him this yeere, it being the last of his Raigne. That this was so, and that the Syrians, taking advantage of lows his absence, gaue such a blow to Israel, as the King at his returne was not able to remedie, but rather fell himselse into new missortunes. which increased the calamitie, wee may euidently perceive in that which is spoken of leroboam his sonne. For it is said, That the Lord faw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Ifrael, and that having not decreed to put out the name of Ifrael from under the heaven, he preserved them by the hand of IE ROBOAM, the some of IOAS. This is enough to 10 proue, that the victorious Raigne of loss was concluded with a fad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastning his miserie and death, as they had done with Selac. Athalia, and Hazael, and as afterwards they wrought with Antiochus, Crassus, and other facrilegious Potentates.

Thus eyther through indignation conceived against him, by the people of lerufalemand courage which they tooke to fet vpon him within the Walls : or through preparation of the Armiethat lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battaile in open field, and recouer by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought vpon his owne Countrey, by the Syrian in his absence, if not by all of these; lows was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the Kingdome of Iudz; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where hee found a sad wel-come, and being viterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, for sooke also his life in few moneths after, leaving his King-

dome to Ieroboam the second, his fortunate and valiant sonne.

# d. X. The end of AMAZIA his Raigna and Life.



Ny manisable to gheffe how Amazia looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowesse and skil in armes, threatning to worke wonders, and set vp anew the glorious Empire of Dauid, was now vncased of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had beene painted, Much argument of

fcoffing at him he had ministred vnto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtlesse, were very many: for the shame that fals vpon an infolent man, seldome failes of meeting with aboundance of reproch. As for Amazia (belides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, euen of those calamities which happened by their owne default) there was no child in all Ierufa-40 lem, but knew him to be the root of all this mischiefe. He had not only challenged a good man of Warre, being himselse a Dastard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes hee might see what spoyle there was, and not make a bad bargaine by heare-say. The father of this Amazia, was a beastly man; yet when the Aramites tooke him and tormented him, hee did not offer to buy his owne life at fo dearearate, as the Citic and Temple of Ierusalem. Had he offered, should they have made his promifegood? Surely the halte which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vinfortunate: for by keeping out the Ifraelite (which was easic enough) any little while, they should soone have beene rid of him, seeing 50 that the Aramites would have made him runne home, with greater speed than hee came forth. Then also, when having trusted up his baggage, hee was ready to bee gone, a little courage would have served to perswade him to leave his load behind; had not their good King delivered vp Hostages, to secure his returne, as loth to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken. Bbb 3

Such exprobrations could not but vexe the heart of this vnhappy King; it had beene well for him, it they had made him acknowledge his faults vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that hee continued an Idolatour to the very last. For it is said of 2. chroni25 27. him, that after his turning away from the Lord, they wrought treason against him in Ierusalem; a manifest proofe that he was not reclaimed, vnto his lines end. And certainely, they which tell a man in his advertitie of his faults palled, thall fooner bee thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to feeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Priests and Prophets were leffe welcome to him, than ever they had beene. On the other fide, flatterers, and fuch as were defirous to put a 10 heart into him, whereof themselves might alwayes be masters, wanted not plausible matter to renine him. For hee was not first, nor second, of the Kings of Inda, that had been ouercome in battaile. David himfelfe had abandoned the Citie leaving it, before the Enemie was in light, vnto Absilom his rebellious sonne. Many befides him had received losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If Iom might fo cafily have beene kept out; why did their Ancestors let Selac in? As was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excufable by necessitie of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather line to punish them, than dye to please them. Though wherein had he given them any cause of 20 displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to set open the gates to Ioas; but it was the people that did it. Good feruants ought not to have obeyed their Masters Commandements, to his disaduantage, when they saw him not master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or fuffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it selfe, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loffe. For had hee beene as hafty to flye, as others were; hee might have escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base Multitude courage, by his Royall example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom hee trusted. Vn worthie creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans wordes, being prisoner, he commanded them to yeeld; having 30 neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bade them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lines were faued; the Enemie having wifely preferred the surprise of a Lion that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Armie of Stags that followed him.

These or the like words comforting Amazia, were able to perswade him, that it was even so indeed. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was vnwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily find how to impute this late disaster, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now 40 concerning fortune, it feemes that hee meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteene yeeres following (folong he out-lived his honour) we find not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth bee recorded of his government, yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spentamong them, increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking that leffe regard is had of his person, than he beleeueth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie, in purchasing the name of a severeman. For the affected sowrenesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the granitie of one that is wife: and the feare wherein they liue, which are fubiect vnto oppression, carries a shew of reuerence, to 50 him that does the wrong; at left it fernes to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weaknesse of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well vling it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they doe viually miffpend, in feeking to appeare fuch as they are not. This is a vaine and

deceinable course; procuring instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous confequence; especially when an vnable spirit, being ouerparted with high authoritic, is too passionate in the execution of such an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore Amazia thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did heeelfe than firiue to make the people thinke he bated them, when of themselves they were aptenough to beleeue, that he did not lone them? The best was that he had, by reuenging his fathers death, prouided well enough for his owne securitie: but who fhould take vengeance; (or vpon whom?) of fuch a murther, wherein enery one had 10 a part? Surely God himselfe, who had not given commandement or leave vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the bloud of his Anounted. Yet as Amazia, carelesse of God, was carried headlong by his owne affections: so his !ubjects, following the fame ill example, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, role vp against him, with such headlong tury, that being vnable to defend himselfe in Ierusalem, he was driven to forsake the Citic, and five to Lachis, tor fafegard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceined against him, and so generall, that neyther his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his presence in the Countrey abroad procure friends, to defend his life. Questionleffe, he chose the Towne of Lachis for his refuge, as a place or all other ben anected to him; yet found he there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands: for when the Confp. ratours (who troubled not themselves about rayling an Armic for the matter) fent pursuers after him, hee was abandoned to death. Lachie was the vtmost Citic of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of Inde; to that he might have made an ealige leape (if hee durst adventure) into the Territorie of the Philistims, or the Kingdome of Ifrael. Therefore it may seeme that hee was detained there, where certaine it is that hee found no kind of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the general linfurrection; the murtherers could not at so good leisure as they did, have carried away his bodie to Ierusalem, where they gaue him buriall 30 with his fathers.

# δ. XI.

Of the Interregnum, or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of I v D A, after the death of AMAZIA.

T hath alreadic beene shewed, that the raignes of the Kings of Iuda Land Ifrael were sometimes to be measured by compleat yeeres; otherwhiles, by yeares current : and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeeres of his fathers Raigne, or the forethen confounded with the last yeerest at a meere vacation, where-most of his fonnes. But we are now arrived at a meere vacation, wherein the Crowne of Iuda lay voyd elenen whole yeeres: a thing not plainly fet downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by Infephus, and therefore hard to bee beleeued, were it not proued by necessary consequence.

Twi-ewe find it written, that A MAZIA. King of Inds, lined ofter the death of IOAs 2. C bron 25.2. King of Ifrael fifteene yeeres; whereupon it followes, that the death of Amazia, was \$2 Rm.14.17. about the end of fifteene yeeres compleate, which Ieroboam the second (who in the fifteenth yeere of AMAZIA was made King ouer Ifrael ) had raigned in Samaria. But the fuccession of Vzzia, who is also called Azaria, vnto his father in the Kingdome of

50 Inda; was cleuen yeeres later than the fixteenth of Ieroboam: for it is expressed, that A ZARIA beganne toraigne in the scuen and twentieth veere of IEROBOAM; the fix- 1. Kingats.1. teenth yeere of his life, being joyned with the first of two and fiftie that he raigned. So the Interregnum of cleuen yeeres cannot be divided, without some hard meanes vsed, of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter founds.

Yet fome conjectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euen, without acknowledging any voyde time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the feuen and twentieth yeere of Ieroboam, we should perhaps vnder stand the seuen and twentieth yeere of his life; or elfe (because the like wordes are no where else interpreted in the like sense ) that Azaria was eleauen yeeres under age, that is, fine veeres old, when his father died, and so his fixteenth veere might concurre with the seven and twentieth of Ieroboam; or that the text it selfe may have suffered some wrong, by miswriting twentie seuen for seuentcene veeres, and so, by making the feuenteenth veere of leroboam to be newly begun, all may be falued. These are the conjectures of that worthie man Gerard Mercator : concerning the first of which it to may suffice, that the Author himselfe doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon every doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all coppies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that Azaria began his Raigne being five yeeres old; but then must we adde those cleaven yeeres which passed in his minoritie, to the two and fiftie that followed his sixteenth veere, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an interregnum.

But why should we be so carefull to avoide an interregnum in Iuda, seeing that the like necessitie hath inforced all good Writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeeres, in the Kingdome of Ifrael? The space of time be- 20 tweene Ieroboams death, and the beginning of Zachariahs Reigne, and fuch another gap found betweene the death of Peka, and the beginning of Hofea, have made it eafily to be admitted in Samaria, which the confideration of things as they flood in Iuda, when Amazia was flaine, doth make more probable to haus happened there, yea

although the necessitie of computation were not so apparant.

For the publike furie, having so farre extended it selfe, as vnto the destruction of the Kings owne person, was not like to be appealed without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to breake forth into fuch extremity. Weeneed not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne themselves into such an horrible treason, should 30 afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being inuested in all ornaments of Regalitie, is neuerthelesse exposed to many injuries, pro-

ceeding from head-strong and forgetfull subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make Azaria to have beene King but one and forty yeeres, after hee came out of his nonage; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the text. The best opinion were that, which gives vnto Ieroboam eleauen yeeres of Raigne with his Father, before he beganne to raigne fingle in the fifteenth of Amazia; did it not swallow up almost the whole Raigne of Ioas, and extending the yeeres of those which raigned in Ifrael (by making such of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the shortest the Raignes of Princes ruling in 40 other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: every man may follow his owne opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for these purposes.

# Q. XII. Of Princes Contemporarie with AMIZIA, and more particularly of SARDANAPALYS.

HE Princes living with Amazia, and in the cleaven yeeres that followed his death, were Ioas and Ieroboam in Ifrael; Cephrenes and Myce- 50 rinus in Egypt; Syluius Alladius, and Syluius Auentinus in Alba; Agamemnon in Corinth; Diognetus Pheredus, and Ariphron in Athens; in Lacedamon Thelectus, in whose time the Spartans wan from the Achaians,

Gerautha, Amyeba, and some other Townes.

But more notable than all these, was Affyrian Sardanapalue, who in the one and twentieth yeere of Amazia, succeeding his father Ocrazapes or Anacyndaraxes, raigned twentie yeeres, and was flaine the last of the eleuen void yeeres which fore-went the Raigne of Azaria. In him ended (as most agree) the line of Ninus, which had held that Empire one thousand, two hundred and fortie yeeres. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparell and behauiour.

In these voluptuous courses hee liued an vnhappie life, knowing himselfe to bee so vile, that he durst not let any man have a sight of him; yet seene he was at length, 10 and the fight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For Arbaces, who gouerned Media under him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and ftrining to counterfeit an harlot, that hee thought it great shame to line under the command of so vnworthiea creature. Purpoling therefore to free himselfe and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of Belesis or Belofas a Chaldean, who told him plainely, that the Kingdome of Sardanapalus should fall into his hands. Arbsees well pleased with this prophecie, did promise vnto Belofus himselfe the government of Babylon; and so concluding how to handle the busines, one of them stirred vp the Medes, and allured the Persians into the quar-20 rell, the other perswaded the Babylonians and Arabians to venture themselves in the same cause. These foure Nations armed fortic thousand men against Sardanapalus, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but gathering such forces as hee could, out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answere to the manner of his retirednesse. For in three battailes hee carried away the better, driving Arbaces and his followers into such fearefull termes, that had not Belofus promifed them constantly some vnexpected succours, they would forthwith haue broken vp their Campe. About the same time, an Armie out of Bastria was comming to affilt the King; but A bases encountring it vpon the 3° way, perswaded so strongly by promise of libertie, that those forces joyned themfelues with his. The sodaine departure of the enemie seeming to be a flight, caused Sardanapalus to feast his Armie, triumphing before victorie. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through ouer-great securitie was unprepared for relistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his wives brother Salamenus to keepe the field, he withdrew himfelfe into the Citie of Ninine; which, till new aides that he fent for should come, hee thought easily to defend; it having beene prophecied, that Niniue should neuer be taken, till the Riuer were enemie to the Towne. Of the greatnesse and strength of Niniue, enough bath beene spoken in 40 our discourse of Ninus. It was so well victualled, that Arbaces (having in two battailes ouerthrowne the Kings Armie, and slaine Salamenus) was faine to lye two whole yeeres before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet he faw no appearance. It feemes that he wanted Engines and skill to force those wals, which were a hundred foot high, and thicke enough for three Charriots in front to passe vpon the rampire. But that which he could not doe in two yeeres, the River of Tygris did in the third: for being high fwolne with raines, it not only drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but threw downe twentie furlongs of the wall, and

made a faire breach for Arbaces to enter.

Sardanapalus, eyther terrified with the accomplishment of the olde Oracle, or 50 feeing no meanes of resistance left, shutting up himselfeinto his Palace, with his wiues, Eunuches and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith hee and they were together confumed. Strabo speakes of a monument of his, that was in Strabolig. Anchiale a Citie of Cilicia, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that Citie and Ther fue vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding meneate

Diod .1.2. c.6.

and drinke, and make merry, encouraging other, with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example, testifie that his nature was more prone to senfuality, than to any vertue beseeming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that Arbaces, when hee first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly hee slew him with a dagger. But the more generall consent of Writers agrees with this rela-Died. Sic.las e. 7 tion of Diedorus Siculus, who citeth Ctesias a Greeke Writer, that lived in the Court of Persia, where the truth might best beknowne.

Concerning the Princes which raigned in Affria; from the time of Semiramis, vnto Sardanapalus, though I beleeue that they were sometimes (yet not, as Orosius 10 hath it, incessantly) busied, in offensiue or else defensiue armes, yet for the most part of them I doe better trust Diodorus Siculus, who faith that their names were overpassed by Ctessas, because they did nothing worthie of memory. Whatsoever they did; that which Theophilus Antiochenus hath faid of them is veric true; Silence and obliuion bath oppressed them.

# CHAP. XXIII.

Of Vzzi A.

The prosperitie of Vizin, and of Ieroboam the second, who raigned with him in Ifrael. Of the Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes after the death of IEROBOAM. Of ZACHARIA, SAL-LVM, MENAHEM and PEKAHIA.

Zzi A, who is also called Azaria the sonne of Iotham, was made King of Iuda, when he was sixteene yeeres old, in the seuen and twentieth yeere of Ieroboam the sonne of Ioas King of Israel. Hee served the God of his father Dauid, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. Hee built Eloth, a Towne that stood neere to the Red Sea, and restored it to Iuda. 40 Hee ouercame the Philistims, of whose Townes hee dismantled some, and built others in sundrie parts of their Territories. Also hee got the mastrie ouer some parts of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites

30

to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous warres, wherein (as Iofphus rehearleth his acts) he beganne with the Philiftims, and then proceeded vnto the Arabians and Ammonites. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seven thoufand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand fixe hundred Cap-2.6 ron. 26.14. taines. For all this multitude the King prepared shields, and speares, and helmets, and other Armesrequisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policie to vse the service of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre the Princes and all the Charriots.

As the victories of Vzzia were farre more important, than the atchieuements

of all that had raigned in Inda, fince the time of Dauid; so were his riches and magnificent workes, equall, if not superior to any of theirs that had beene Kings betweene him and Salomon. For befides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of Warre with triple interest, he had the skill to vse, as well as the happinesse to get. Heeturned his Lands to the best vse, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds convenient to such husbandry. In other places hee had Cattell feeding, whereof he might well keepe great store, having wonne so much from the Ammonites and Arabians, that had aboundance of waste ground serving for pasturage. For defence of his Cattell and Heardsmen, hee built Towres in the wilder-10 nesse. He also digged many Cisternes or Ponds. Iosephow cals them Water-courses, but in fuch drie grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towres hee so commanded the water, that none could without his confent, releeve themselves therewith; questionlesse he tooke the oncly course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship ouer all the Wildernesse; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the vse of Trauailers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of Eloth by the Red Sea, and of sundrie Townes among the Philistims; hee repaired the wall of Ierusalem, which Ions had broken downe, and fortified it with Towres, whereof some were an hundred 20 and fiftie Cubits high.

The State of Ifrael did neuer fo flourish, as at this time, fince the division of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdomes. For as Vzzia prevailed in the South, fo (if not more) Ieroboam the sonne of Iou, King of the tenne Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories, against the Syrians, he wanne the Royall Citic of Damasous, and he wanne Hamath, with all the Countrie thereabout from the entring of Hamath, unto the Sea of the Wilderneffe, that is (as the most 2.Reg. 14.25, 28. expound it) vnto the vast deserts of Arabia, the end whereof was vndiscouered. So the bounds of Israel in those parts, were in the time of this Ieroboam, the same (or not much narrower) which they had beene in the Raigne of Dauid.

But it was not for the pietic of Ieroboams, that hee thrived so well; for hee was an Idolater: it was only the compassion which the Lord had on Israel, seeing the exceeding bitteraffliction, whereinto the Aramites had brought his people, which caused him to alter the successe of warre, and to throw the victorious Aramites, vnder the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of Iehu, to which God had promifed the Kingdome of Ifrael unto the fourth generation, was a Reg. 10.13. now not farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefits, as it had beene at the beginning. But the sinne of Ieroboam the sonne of Nebat, was held so precious, that neither the Kingdome it selfe, given to him by God, was able to draw Iehu from that politike Idolatrie; nor the milery falling vpon 40 him and hisposteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperitie, of Ierobeam the sonne of Ioas, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giver of victorie. Wherefore the promise of God, made vnto lehu, that his sonnes, vnto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of Israel, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gaue warning of the approching end, by an accident (so strange, that wee, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly ghesse at the occasions) forgoing the last acomplishment.

When teroboam the Sonne of Ioas, after a victorious raigne of one and fortie yeeres, had ended his life, it seemes in all reason that Zacharia his Son, should forthwith haue beene admitted, to raigne in his stead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing 30 gotten such a lustre, by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the crowne passed by election, must needes have appeared base; and the vertue of the last King, having beene so great, as might well serue to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the alreadie confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this not withstanding, two or three and twentie

veeres did passe, before Zacharia the Sonne of Ieroboam was, by vnisorme consent. receiued as King. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at Dan and Bethel. where the golden Calues did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance. are likely not to have beene wanting, upon which, the wisedome of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the Armie ( who afterwardes flew one another, fo fait, that in fourteene yeeres there raigned fine Kings) did now by head-strong violence, rent the Kingdome asunder, holding each what hee could, and cyther despising or hating some qualities in Zacharia; vntill, after many yeeres, wearied with diffention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeeld all quiet- 10 ly to the sonne of Ieroboam. That this Anarchie lasted almost three and twentie yeeres, we find by the difference of time, betweene the fifteenth yeere of Vzzia, which was the last of Ieroboam his one and fortieth (his seuen and twentieth concurring with the first of Vzzia) and the eight and thirtieth of the same Vzzia, in the last fixe moneths whereof, Zacharia raigned in Samaria. There are some indeed that by supposing Ieroboam to have raigned with his father cleuen yeeres, doe cut off the interregnum in Iuda (before mentioned) and by the same reason, abbridge this Anarchie, that was before the Raigne of Zacharia in Ifrael. Yet they leave it twelve yeeres long: which is time sufficient to proue, that the Kingdome of the ten Tribes was no lesse distempered, than as is alreadie noted. But I choose rather to follow the 20 more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes raigning abroad in the World, than this doubtfull conjecture, that gives to Ieroboam two and fiftie yeeres, by adding three quarters of his fathers Raigne, vnto his own, which was it felfe indeed fo long, that hee may well feeme to have begunne it very yong: for I doe not thinke, that God bleffed this Idolater, both with a longer raigne, and with a longer life, than he did his feruant David.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of Israel was voide, beforethe raigne of Zacharia; little may suffice to be said of his Raigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely was he King; in which time he declared himselsea worshipper of the golden Calues; which was enough to instifte the 30 judgement of God, whereby he was flaine. He was the last of Iehu's house, being (inclufinely) the first of that line; which may have beene some cause of the troubles impeaching he orderly succession: the prophecie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (belides that Gods promise was extended vnto the vtmost) there was no warrant given to Sallum or to any other, for the death of Zacharia, as had beene given to Ichu, for the flaughter of Ichoram, and for the eradication of A-

Zacharia having beene fixe moneths a King, was then slaine by Sallum, who raigned after him, the space of a moneth in Samaria. What this Sallum was, I doe not find; fauc onely that he was a Traytour, and the sonne of one sabesh, whereby his 40 father got no honour. It seemes that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for him felfe; and now, when al other Competitors were fitten downe, thought eafily to preuaile against that King, in whose person the race of Jehn was to faile. Manifest it is, that Sallum had a strong partie: for Tiphsah or Thapsa, and the Coast thereof euen from Tirzah, where Menahem, his enemie and supplanter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, Sallam received the reward of his treason, and was slaine by Memahem who raigned in his place.

Menahem the sonne of Gadi, raigned after Sallum tenne yeeres. In opposition to Sallum, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: For hee not onely destroyed Tiphfah, 50 and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript vp all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this crueltie beene vsed in revenge of Zacharias death, it is like that hee would have beene as earnest, in procuring vnto him his Fathers Crowne when it was first due. But in performing that

office, there was vied fuch long deliberation, that wee may plainely discouer Ambition, Disdaine, and other private passions, to have beene the causes of this beastly

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it seemes) in the beginning of his Raigne; Pul, King of Assiria, came against the Land of Israel; whom this new King appealed, with a thousand talents of silver, leavied vpon all the substantial men in his Countrey. With this money the Israelite purchased, not only the peace of his Kingdome, but his owne establishment therein: some factious man (belike) having either inuited Pulthither, or (if he came vncalled) fought to vse his helpe, in deposing this ill to beloued King. 10sephus reports of this Menahem, that his Raigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten yeeres, his tyrannie ended with his life; and Peka-

bia, his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Of this Pekahia the storie is short: for hee raigned only two yeeres; at the end whereof, he was slaine by Peka, the Sonne of Remalia, whose treason was rewarded with the Crowne of Ifrael, as, in time comming, another mans Treason against himselfe shallbe. There needs no more to be said of Menabem, and his Sonne, sauc that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Sonne (as wee finde in Infephus) 10(1011) like to his Father in crueltie. Concerning Pul the Affirm King, who first opened vnto those Northerne Nations the way into Palastina, it will shortly follow in order of the Storie, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that Belofus (called also Belefes, and by some, Phul Belochus) who joyned with Arbaces the Median, against Sardanapalus, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that wee relate the end of Vazia's life, who out-lived the happinesse wherein we left him.

# Į. II. The end of V z z I A his Raigne and life.

S the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Priest, was the meane, to preserve the linage of *Dauid*, in the person of *Ions*; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to Vzzia, to bring him vp, and advance him to the Crowne of Jule, when the hatred borne to his Father A-

fought Godin the dayes of ZECHARIA (which under flood the visions of God) and when a chronices.

as he fought the Lord, God made him profper.

But, when he was firong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for hee trangressed V, 16. against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incense, upon the Altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authoritie, by medling in the Priests office, whose power had in enery extremitie beene so helpefull to the 42 Kings of Inda, that meere gratitude, and civill policie, should have held backe Vzzia from incroching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had beene filent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howsoeuer the King forgot his dutie, the Priests remembred theirs, and God forgat not to affift them. Azaria the high Priestinterrupted the Kings purpole, and gaue him to vnderstand, how little to his honour it would proue that he tooke upon him the office of the fonnes of Aaron. There were with Azaria fourescoure other Priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed only in affifting the high Prieft, when (according to his dutie) hee reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. Wee find in Iosephus, that the King had apparelled himselfe in Priestly habit, and that hee Iosant lagists 50 threatned Azarias and his Companions, to punish them with death, vnlesse they would be quiet. Infephus, indeed, inlargeth the Storie, by inferting a great Earthquake, which did tearedowne halfean Hill, that rowled toure furlongs, till it refled against another Hill, stopping vp the high-wayes, and spoyling the Kings Garden in

the passage. With this Earth quake, he sayth, that the roofe of the Temple did

cleave, and that a Sunne-beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprofic. All this may have beene true; and some there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet Amos; wherein they doe much misse-reckon the times. For the Earth-quakespoken of by Amos, was in the daies of Ieroboam King of Ifrael, who dyed feuen and thirtie yeeres before Vazia; fo that Iotham the Sonne of Vazia, which supplyed his Fathers place in gouernment of the Land, should, by this accompt, have beene then vnborne; for hee was but five and twentic yeeres old, when hee beganne to raigne as King. There-2. Ciron. 26.20. forc, thus farre only wee haucassurance; that while V z z I A was wroth with the Priests, the leprose rose up in his forehead, before the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, 10 in all haste to depart the place, and to live in a house by himselfe, vntill he dyed; the rule ouer the Kings house, and ouer all the Land, being committed to Iotham, his Sonne, and Successor. Iotham tooke not vpon himselfe the stile of King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred, yet in a Monument a-part from the rest, because he was a Leper.

#### d. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of VzziA; and of Princes then ruling in Egypt, and in some other Countries.

N the time of Vzzia were the first of the lesser Prophets, Hosea, Ioel, Amos, Obadia, and Ionas. It is not indeed set downe, when Ioel, or Obadia, dia, did prophecie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to bee ranged (according to S. Hieromes rule) with the next before them; then must these two be indeed contemporarie with Hosea

and Amos, who lived vnder King Vzzia. To enquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein Homer lived, hath so painefully beene sought, without reprehension; how 30 can he be taxed, which offers to fearch out the antiquitie of these holy Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet Ionas; who foretold the great victories of Ieroboam King of Ifrael; & therefore is like to have prophecied in the dayes of Ioas, whilest the affliction of Ifrael was exceeding kitter, the Text it selfe intimating no lesse: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdome of Ifrael, are now loft. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason, vnto some very learned, to have belonged vnto the time of Sardanapalus, in whose dayes N inine was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse 40 promises of the Messias.

2. Chron.c.14.

In the Raigne of Vzzia likewise it was, that Esai, the first of the foure great Prophets, beganne to see his visions. This difference of greater and leffer Prophets, is Augactini, Dei taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. Augustine gives reason his er.) of the diffinction) because the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet Esai was great indeed, not only in regard of his much written; or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who thinke him to have beene the sonne of Amos the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellencie, both of his stile, and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole Historie of our Saujour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that hee might 50 as well be called an Euangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wise, That (as stier in met su- Hier ome fayth) one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Hiflorie of matters aireadie past.

Boschoris was King of Agypt, and the ninth yeere of his Raigne, by our computa-

tion (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when Vzzia tooke possession of the Kingdome of Inda.

After the death of Bocchoris, Afrehis followed in the Kingdome of Egypt, vnto him succeeded Anysis; and these two occupied that Growne six yeeres. Then Sabacus, an Athopian, became King of Agypt, and held it fiftie yeeres, whereof the tenne first ranne along with the last of Vezia his Raigne and life. Of these and other A. grptian Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to be intermedled with the bulineffe of Inda.

In Athens, the two last yeeres of Ariphron his twentic, the seuen and twentieth 10 of Thespeius, the twentieth of Agamnestor, and threethe first of Agamnestor and twentic, made even with the two and fiftic of Vzzia: as likewise did in Alba the last seuen of Silvius Aventinus his seven and thirtie, together with the three and twentic of Silvius Procas, and two and twentic the first of Sylvius Amulius. In Media Arbaces beganne his new Kingdome, in the first of Vzzia, wherein, after eight and twentic yeeres, his Sonne Sofarmus succeeded him, and raigned thirtie yeeres. Of this Arbaces, and the division of the Assyrian Empire, betweene him and others. when they had oppressed Sardanapalus, I hold it convenient to vse more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great vncertaintie in the Storie of the Alfirian Kings, who have alreadic found the way into Palestina, and are not likely to

#### d. IIII.

Of the Affyrian Kings, descending from PHVL: and whether PHVL and BELOSUS were one person; or beads of sundrie Families, that raigned a-part in Niniue and Babylon.



Y that which hath formerly beene shewed of Sardanapalus his death. it is apparant, that the chiefe therein was Arbaces the Median; to whom the rest of the Consederates did not only submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to bee judged by him; receiuing by his authoritie sentence of death, or pardon of their for-

feited lines. The first example of this his power, was shown evpon Belosus the Babylonian, by whose especiall advice and helpe, Arbaces himselfe was become so great. Yet was not this power of Arbaces exercised in so tyrannical manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, eyther to the Princes that had affifted him, or to the generalitie of the people. For in the condemnation of Belofus, heyled the counfaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne Grace; allow-40 ing him to hold, not only the Citic and Province of Babylon, but also those treasures,

for embezeling whereof his life had beene endangered. In like manner, he gaue rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retayning (as it appeares) only the Soueraignetie to himfelfe, which to vse immoderately hee did naturally abhorre. Hee is said, indeede, to have excited the Medes against Sardanapalus, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, hee destroyed the Citie of Niniue; permitting the Citizens neuerthelesse to take and carrie away euery one his owne goods. The other Nations that io yned with him, as the Persians and Bactrians, he drew to his side, by the allurement of libertie; which 50 he himselfe so greatly loued, that by flacking too much the reines of his owne Soueraigetic, he did more harme to the generall estate of Media, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territorie of that Countrey was pared narrower by Salmanaffar (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde, in the Scriptures, to have held some Townes of the

Medes, and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to fee that reformation, which Deinees, the fift of Arbaces his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the Allyrians grew to be fuch, as might in fourescore yeeres, if not sooner, both extend it selfe vnto the conquest of israel, and teare away some part of Media, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of Niniue, and subuction of the Affrian Kingdome, whereof the Medes. under Arbaces, had the honour, who may feemeat that time to have kept the Affirians under their fubication, when the reli of the Prouinces were fet at libertie; but in confideration of the Kings themselves, who raigning afterwardes in Babylon and 10 Niniue, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their Hi-

ftorie is made uncertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally received, and the grounds ' whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that worthic man lofeph Scaliger, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neyther shall it be needfull to fet downe a-part the seuerall authorities and arguments of fundrie men adding somewhat of weight or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse; which I will doe as briefly as I can, 20 and without feare to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancic of mine owne, but meerely led by thosereafons which vpon examination of each part, feemed to me most forceable, though to

others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, vntill of late, bath passed as current, is this; That Belofus was the fame King, who, first of the Assyrians, entred Palastina with an Armie; being called Put, or Phul, in the Scriptures, and by Annius his Authours with such as tollow them, Phul Belochus. Of this man it is faid, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got Bibylon by composition made with Aibaces; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of Affgria: finally, that hee raigned 30 eight and fortie yeeres, and then dying, left the Kirgdome to Teglat phala (ar his Sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued some few descents, till the house of Mero. dach premailed. The truth of this, if Annius his Metasthenes were sufficient proofe, could not be gainfaid : for that Authour (fuch as he is) is peremprove herein. But, howfoener sinnius his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, justifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authours, and repugnant vnto no Historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of Diodorus ( which is indeed the foundation whereupon all haue built) that Arbaces and Belofus were Partners in the action against Sardan palus; 40 and that the Bactrians, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewise other Captaines were with gouernements; but that any third Person was so eminent, as to haue Assyria it selfe, the chiefe Country of the Empire, bestowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the least apparence is found in any Historie. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the Assyrians should bee committed vnto a peculiar King at such time as it was not thought meet to trust them in their owne wals and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of Niniue by Arbaess, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policie because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept downe, from aspiring to recouer the Soueraigntie, which else they would have thought to belong, as of right, 50 vnto the Seat of the Empire.

Vpon such considerations did the Romans, in ages long after following, destroy Carthage and dissolue the Corporation, or Bodie politike, of the Citizens of Capua; because those two Townes were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed ouer-

dangerous even to Rome it selfe, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how Tull contra can it be thought that the Affyrians in three or foure yeeres had erected their King- Rullium, or . 2. dome a-new, vnder one Pul? or what must this Pul have beene (of whose desernings, or entermedling, or indeed of whose very name, wee find no mention in the Warre against Sardanapalus) to whom the principall part of the Empire fell, eyther by generall consent in dimfion of the Provinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than Belofts; whose neere Neighbourhood gaue him opportunitie (as he was wife enough to play his owne game) both to get Affyria to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should have attempted to to seize vpon it. The Province of Babylon, which Belofus held, being (as Herodotus Herodotus Herodotus) reports) in riches; and power, as good as the third part of the Persian Empire, was

able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not . enough, he had gotten into his owne bands all the gold and filter that had beene in the Palace of Niniue. And questionlesse to restore such a Citic as Niniue, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such meanes as Belosts had; which

Pal, if he were not Belofus, is likely to have wanted.

CHAP.23. S.4.

Besides all this, had Pul beene a distinct person from Belosus, and Lord of Assiria, which lay beyond the Countries of Babylon and Mesopotamia, it would not have beene an easie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, feeking bootie afarre off in ifrael: the only action by which the name of Phul is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call Pul or Phul, was he same whom prophane writers have called Belosus, Beleses, and Belestis, (in like manner as Iofephus acknowledgeth, that hee, whom the Scriptures called neuer o- 10fepant, b. 18 therwise than Daries the Mede, was the Sonne of Astrages, and called of the Greekes cap-12. by another name, that is, Cyaxares) then is this scruple veterly remootted. For Ban bylon and Mesopotamia did border upon Syria and Palastina: so that Belosus, having Tettled his affaires in Affricatowards the East and North, might with good leifure encroach vpon the Countries that lay on the other fide of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that lookes into all particulars, may find enery one circum-30 stance concurring to proue that Phul who invaded I/rael, was none other than Belofus. For the Prince of the Arabians, who joyned with Arbaces, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith Sardanapalus was overthrowne, did enter into that action, meerely for the love of Belofus. The friendship of these Arabians was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe ouer Euchrates with an Armic into

Syria. Wherefore Belofus, that held good correspondence with them; and whose

most fruitfull Province, adjoyning to their barraine quarters, might yearely doe

them inclimable pleasures; was not only like to have quiet passage through their

borders, but their vemost affistance; yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loued not Israel, should for their owne behoofe have given him intelligence, of the 40 destruction and civill broyles among the tenne Tribes; whereby, as this Pulgot a thousand falents, so it seemes that the Syrians and Arabians, that had felt an heavie Neighbour of Ieroboam, recovered their owne, fetting vp a new King in Damafeo, and clearing the Coast of Arabia, (from the Sea of the Wildernesse to Hamash) of the Hebrew Garrisons. Neyther was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations divided by Euphrates hold together in fo good termes of friendship: it was ancient confanguinitie; the memorie whereof was availeable to the Syrians, in the time of David, when the Aramites beyond the Rivercame over willingly, to the succour of Hadadezer, and the Aramites about Damasco. So Belos us had good reason to looke into those parts; what a King raigning so farre off as Niniue, should have to doe in

50 Syria, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to Euphrates, it were hard to fhew.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the Chaldeans into Palestina, it may be doubted, lest it should seeme to have ill coherence with that which hath beene faid of the long Anarchic that was in the tenne Tribes.

For if the Crowne of Israel were worne by no man in three and twentie yeeres, then is it likely that Belofus was eyther vnwilling to stirre, or vnable to take the aduantage when it was fairest, and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough, to seeke after helpe from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish Phul from Belosus, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that Belosus did passe the Riuer of Euphrates as soone as hee found likelihood of making a prosperous journey. then may it feeme that the inter-regnum in I frael was not fo long as we have made it: for three and twentie yeeres leifure would have afforded better opportunitie, which ought not to have beene loft.

For answere hereunto, we are to consider, what Orosius and Eusebius have written concerning the Chaldees: the one, that after the departure of Arbaces into Media, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they preuailed and grew mightie, betweene the times of Arbaces and Deioces the Medes. Now though it be held an errour of Orofius, where he supposeth that the occupying of Babylonia by the Chaldeans, was in manner of a rebellion from the Medes; yet herein hee and Eufebius doc concurre, that the authoritie of Arbaces did restraine the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull only of it selfe. Now, though fome have conjectured that all Affyria was given to Belofus (as an overplus, belides the Province of Babylon, which was his by plaine bargaine made aforehand) in re- 20 gard of his high deseruings, yet the opinion more commonly received is, that hee did only encroch upon that Prouince by little and little, whilest Arbaces lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there pailed but twelve yeeres betweene the death of Arbaces, and the beginning of Memahem his Raigne; manifest it is, that the conquest of Asserting, and settling of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold Belofus occupyed, befides the restauration of Niniue, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his Raigne, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather ferue to prove that Phul and Belofus were one person; for as much as the journey of Phulagainst Ifrael was not made untill Belofus could find leifure; and the time of 20 advantage which Belofus did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely in that Province of which Phul is called King. Briefly, it may bee faid, that he who conquered Affria, and performed somewhat vpon a Countrie so farre distant as Palestina, was likely to have beene, at least, named in some Historie, or, if not himselfe, yet his Countrey to have beene spoken of forthose victories: but we neither heare of Phul, in any prophane Authour, neyther doth any Writer, facred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts what some of the Assirans, done in those times; whereas of Belosus, and the power of the Chaldeans, wee find good Re-

Surely, that great flaughter of fo many thousand Assirians, in the quarrell of Sar- 40 danapalus, together with other calamities of that long and vnfortunate warre, which ouerwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine and vtter defolation of Niniue, must needes have so weakened the state of Assiria, that it could not in thirtie yeeres space be able to inuade Palastina, which the ancient Kings, raigning in Niniue, had, in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable Belofus to Subdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of Media, and being (especially if he had compounded with the Meds) by the interpolition of that Countrey, scure of the Seythinns, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turne Southward, and trie his fortune in those Kingdomes; whereinto civill diffention of the inhabi- 50 tants, and the bordering enuie of the Arabians and Aramites about Damasco, friends and Coulins to the Chal leans and Mesopotamians, did inuite him. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of Pul in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderstood of Belofus; euch as by the names of Nebuchad-

nezzar, Darius the Mede, Artashasht, and Abashuerosh, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the same, whom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their own Countries, haue called Nabopollassar, Cyaxares, and Artaxerxes: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath beene written of olde, nor neede to trouble our selues and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted; other things, of more importance, will of themfelues easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of 10 this point (confidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether Pul were Belofus, or some other man: the whole race of these Affirian and Babylonian Kings, wherin are found those famous Princes, Nabonaffer, Mardocempadus, and Nabopollassar (famous for the Astronomicall observations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore Belofus or Belefis were that Phul which inuaded Ifrael; if he and his posteritie raigned both in Niniue and in Babylon; if he were father of Teglat-Phal-Afar, from whom Salmanafar, Senacherib, and Afarhaddon descended: then it is manifest, that we must seeke Nabonassar, the Babylonian King among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other then Salmana. far, who is knowne to have raigned in those yeeres, which Ptolomey the Mathemati-20 cian hath affigned vnto Nabonassar. As for Merodach, who supplanted Asar-haddon, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintaine the contrarie part, will not bee satisfied with such conjectures. They lay hold vpon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to ouerthrow all the premisses, upon which it is inferred. For (fay they) if Nabonasfar, that raigned in Babylon, could not be Salmanasfar, or any of those other Assyrian Kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that Phul and Belosus were feuerall Kings. This confequence is so plaine, that it needs no confirmation. To proue that Nabonassar was a distinct person from Salmanassar, are brought such argu-

30 ments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworne to hold the contrarie. For first, Nabonassar was King of Babylon, and not of Assiria. This is proved by his name, which is meerely Chaldean, whereas Salman, the first part of Salmanaffars name, is proper to the Afgrians. It is likewise proued by the Astronomicall obfernations, which proceeding from the Babylonians, not from the Assyrians, doe shew, that Nahonaffar, from whom Ptolomie drawes that Epocha, or account of times, was a Babylonian, and no Affyrian. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is consirmed by the successor of Nabonassar, which was Mardocempadus, called in his owne language Mero-dac-ken-pad, but more briefely in Esay his prophesie, Merodach, by the former Esay 39.1. part of his name; or Merodach Baladan, the sonne of Baladan. Now if Merodach, the 40 Sonne of Baladan, King of Babel, were the sonne of Nabonassar, then was Nabonassar

none other then Baladan King of Babel, and not Salmanassar King of Assyria. What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, Nabonassar & Salmanassar, which in Greeke or Latine writing hath no difference, we are taught by Scaliger, that in the Hebrew letters there is found no affinitie therein. So concerning the places of Babylonia, whereinto Salmanaffar carried captive some part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Province of B.b; lon Salmanaffar had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of Babylon it selfe. To conclude, Merodach began his raigne ouer Babylon in the fixt yeere of Hezekia, at which time Salmana sar tooke Samaria; therefore, if Salmana sar were King of Babylon, then 50 must we say that he and Merodach, yea and Nabonassar, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer Iofeph Scaliger; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded upon likelihood of coniectures,

hath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessarie inference. Touching all that was said before of Phul Belosus, for the prouing that Phul and

Belolus were not fundrie Kings; Ioseph Scaliger pitties their ignorance, that have from their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painefull men the confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have wonne the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning Annius his Authors, given such offence, that men refused thereupon to reade their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answere.

For mine owne part, howfoeuer I believe nothing that Annius his Berofus, Metalthenes, and others of that stampe affirmes, in respect of their bare authoritie; vet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellowes alleaged in it: I have (somewhat peraduenture too often) alreadie spoken my minde of Annius his Authors: 10 neverthelesse, I may say here againe, that where other Histories are silent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we finde, and serueth to explaine or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are those honest and painefull men (as Scaliger termes them, meaning, if I miltake him not; good filly fellowes) who fet downe the Asyrian Kings from Pul forwards, as Lords also of Babylon, taking Pul for Belofin, and Salmanagar for Nabonagar, fuch Writers as a man should be eashamed or vnwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow Annies, though difliking him in generall) Gerard Mercator is not so slight a Chronologer, that hee should be 20

laughed out of doores, with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons betweene Scaliger and Mercator, they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of Scaliger, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be resisted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that Nabonasar was King of Babylon; that hee was not King of Asyria, fome men doubt whether Scaligers reasons be enough to proue. For though Nabonasar bea Chaldean name, and Salmanasar an Asyrian; yet what hinders vs from beleeuing that one man in two languages might bee called by two feuerall names? That Astronomie flourished among the Chaldees, is not enough to proue Nabonasar scal, canon, i. either an Astrologer, or a Chaldean. So it is, that Scaliger himselfe calls them, Pro- 30 phetas nescio quos, qui NABONAS SARYM Astronomum suisse in somnis viderunt; Prophets I know not who that in their fleepe have dreamt of NABONASSAR, that he was an

Whether Nabonasar were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negative. But as his being Lord over the Chaldeans, doth not prove him to have been elearned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him, not to have been also King of Asyria. The Emperor Charles the fift, who was borne in Gant, and Philip his Sonne, King of Spaine, and Lords of the Netherlands, had men farre more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, then were any that I read of then living in Spaine, if Spaine at 40 that time had any; yet I thinke, Posteritie will not vsethis as an argument, to proue that Spaine was none of theirs. It may well be, that Salmana Sar or Nabona Sar, did vie the Allyrian Souldiers, and Babylonian Schollers: but it feemes, that hee and his posteritie, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise King Philip lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the Netherlands, by fuch a course. As for the two vnanfwerable arguments, (as Scaliger termes them, being me thinks none other than anfweres to somewhat that is or might be alleaged on the contrarie side) one of them which is drawne from the vnlike found and writing of those names, Salmana far and Nabonaffar in the Hebrew, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is 50 not likenesse of found, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that Salmana Sar might be Lord of some places in the Province of Babylon, yet not King of Babylon it selfe: this indeede might bee so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto

Hitherto there is nothing faue conjecture against conjecture But in that which is alleaged out of the Prophet Efar, concerning Merodich the Sonne of Baladan; and in that which is faid of this Merodach, or Mardokenpadus, his being the Successor of Nabonassar, and his beginning to raigne in the fixt veere of idezekia, I finde matter of more difficultie, than can be answered in hast. I will therefore deferre the handling of these objections, untill I meete with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of Hezekia, wherein Merodach hued & was King. Yet that I may not leaue too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I herefatisfie him; that how strong soener this argument may seeme, Scalito ger himselfe did live to retract it, ingenvously confetting, that in thinking Merodach

to be the Sonne of Nabonassar, he had beene deceined.

Nowtherefore let vs confider, in what for they have fashioned their Storie, who taking Pulto be a diffined person from Belofus or Beleftis, have in like fort, as was necessarie, diffinguished their off-spring, making that of Pul to faile in Alarhaddon, which left all to Merodach the Babylonian. And here I must first confesse mine owne want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the bodie of this Historie, in one view. Divers, indeede, there are, whom I have feene, that fince lofeph Scaliger deliuered his opinion, have written in fauour of some one or other point thereof: 20 but Sethus Calinfins himfelfe, who hath abridged Scaligers learned Worke, Deemendatione Temporum, hath not beene carefull to give vs notice, how long Belefus, Baladan, Pul, or Tiglat Pulaffar, did raigne, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in Soiliger) but is content to let downe Baladam, for the same person with Nabonassar, which Scalig r himselfe renoked. In this case therefore I must lay downe the plot of these deuided Kingdomes, in such fort as I finde it contriued by Augustinus Torniellus; who onely of all that I have seene, sets downe the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that raigned in Asyria after Sardanapalus, distinguishing them from Belofin, and his Posteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This Torniellus is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. Paul, whose Annales were printed the 3º last yeere; he appeares to me a man of curious industrie, found judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those Protestant Writers, by whose Bookes hee hath received good information, and enriched his workes by inferting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse he hath openly professed to follow Scaliger, whose helpe, without wrong or dishonour to him life, hee hath both vied and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe right vnto Torniellus; but confesse my selfe to have received benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annales had sooner come to light; for that as hee hard much confirmed mee in some things, so would hee have instructed and emboldened mee, to write more fully and leffe timorously in other things 40 which now I have not leifure to renife. Particularly in that coniecture (which I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared left it had ouer-haftily passed out of my hand, and beene exposed to other mens constructions) of the foure Kings that inuaded the Vallie of S.dam, and were flaine by Abraham, I finde him aduenturing as I have C.1, 0.13. done, to fay, that they may probably be thought to have been some pettic Lords; the contrarie opinion of all Writers not with standing. But now let vs consider how he hath ordered these last Asyrian and Babylonian Kings.

After the destruction of Sardanapalus, Arbaces being the most mightie, sought to get all to himselfe, but was opposed by Belosus; in which contention, one Phul, a powerfull man in Asyria, fided with Belofus, and they two prevailed so farre, that fi-

50 nally Arbaces was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the Roman Empire, betweene Octavian, Anthonie.

Another conjecture is (for Torniellus offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainetie) that Arbaces made himselfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the seate

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of his Empire in Media, appointing Belofus his Lieutenant in Babylonia, and Phal in Assiria. But in short space, that is, in source yeeres, it came to passe, by the just judgement of God, that Phul and Belofus rebelled against Arbaces, like as Arbaces had done against Sardanapalus, and in stead of being his Viceroyes, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this later opinion Torniellus himselfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resoluing to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guesse. Hauing thus deuised, how Phul and Relosus might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, hee orders their time, and their fuccessors, in this manner.

Foure yeeres after Arbaces, Phul beginnes to raigne, and continues eight and fortie yeeres. Theglatphalafar (whose name, and the names of other Princes. I write diverfly, according as the Authors whom I have in hand are pleafed to diverfifie them) succeeding vnto Phul, raigned three and twentie. Salmanassar followed him, and raigned tenne. After him Senacharib raigned feuen: and when hee was flaine. Afarhaddon his sonne tenne veeres; in whom that Line failed.

The same time that Phul tooke vpon him as King of Assiria, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for so it had beene more likely) Belosus vsurped the Kingdome of Babylon, and held it threescore and eight yeeres; at the least threescore and eight yeeres did passe, before N abonassar followed him in the possession.

To Nabonassar, whom (with Scaliger) hee thinkes to be Baladan, are affigued fixe and twentie yeeres: then, two and fiftie to Merodach, or Mardocempadus: foure and twentie to Ben Merodach: and lastly, one and twenty to Nabolassar, the father of Nabuchodonofor, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these Assyrian and Babylonian Kingdomes, I may truly fay, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to Belofus, and confound him with Phul, appeare to me more neerely resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that Torniellus would have conceived two different wayes, by which Phul might have gotten Assyria (for how Belosus came to get Babylon, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. Headhæres to the later of the 20 two, as better agreeing with Diodore, and other Historians. But he perceived that to make Phul on the suddaine King of Asyria; or to give him so noble a Province, as would of it selfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most vnlikely to have happened, vnlesse his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had beene proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath hee deuised the meanes, whereby Phul might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arife, Why this Phul, being one of the three that divided all betweene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Division it selfe, and the civile Warres that caused it, were never heard of. Questionlesse, the interver- 40 ting of some Treasures by Belosus, with his Judgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoided; but that either wee must contesse, the Dominion given to Phul to have beene exceeding his merits, or else his merits, and name withall, to have beene strangely forgotten: either of which is enouga to make vs thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of Phul and Belofus against Arbaces, it was almost impossible for the Assyrians to recouer such strength in foure yeeres, as might ferue to hold out in rebellion: for Belofus, it was needleffe to rebell, confidering, that Arbaces did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an ouer- 50 great fauourer of libertie) euen the Medes, that were vnder his owne Gouernment, to doe what they lifted.

But it is now fit that wee perule the Catalogue of these Kings: not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but

speaking of their order and time in generall. If it bee so vulawfull to thinke, that fome of Annius his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well in his) may bee true, especially such, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparant likelihood, why then is it said, that Phal did raigne in Allyria eight and fortie yeeres? For this hath no other ground than Annius. It is true, that painefull and judicious Writers have found this number of yeeres, to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them tooke it from Annius. Let it therefore be the punishment of Annius his forgerie (as questionlesse he is often guiltie of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probabilitie, hee be not belee-10 ned for his owne fake; though for our owne fakes we make vie of his boldneffe, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) wee are vnwilling our selues to be Authors, of new, though not vnprobable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commoditie, that wee may without blushing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon Annius, against whom wee shall be sure to finde friends that will take our part.

CHAP.23. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

The raignes of Theglathalasar and Salmanassar did reach, by Annius his meafure, to the length of fine and twentie yeeres the one, and senenteene the other; Tornicllu hath cut off two from the former, and seuen from the later of them, to fit (as I thinke) his owne computation; vsing the libertie whereof I spake last: for that any Author, faue our good Metasthenes, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did raigne, it is more then I have yet found. To Senasherib and Afarbaeldon, Torniellus giues the same length of raigne, which is found in Metaschenes. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much vnto them clues, as may well bee allowed vnto a man so judicious as is Torniellus: yet could wish, that he had forborne to condemne the followers of Annius, in this bufinesse, wherein he himselfe hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them.

than to fay, as elfe he must have done, almost nothing.

The like libertie we finde that he hath vsed in measuring the raignes of the Chaldeans; filling up all the space betweene the end of Sardanapalus, and the beginning 30 of Nabonassar, with the threescore and eight yeeres of velosis. In this respect it was, perhaps, that heethought Belofus might have begunne his raigne somewhat later then Phal; for threefcore and eight yeeres would feeme along time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no yong man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his raigne, seeing his life reacheth to the end of fuch a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein hee was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeede, eight and fortie yeeres had beene somewhat of the most, considering that hee seemes by the Storie to have been little lesse, at such time as hee joyned with Arbaces; and therefore the addition of twentic yeeres did vvell deserve that note (which Torntellus advisedly gives) that if his raigne extended not of farre, then the raigne of fuch as came after him, occupied the middle time, vnto

I neither doe reprehend the boldnesse of Torniellus, in conjecturing, nor the modestie of Scaliger and Sethus Caluifius, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend only vpon likelihood. Forthings, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from vs by Antiquitie, must be described in Flistorie, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discouerie, that is, either by leauing some part blanke, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of loade-stone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riuers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by follow-50 ing experience, and found contrarie to truth. Yet indeede the ignorance growing from distance of place, allowes not such libertie to a Describer, as that which arifeth from the remedilesse oblinion of consuming time. For it is true that the

Poet faith;

-Neg, feruidis Pars inclusa caloribus Mundi, nec Borea finitimum latus, Duratag, sole Nines, Mercatorem abiqunt : horrida callidi Vincunt aquora Nauita.

Nor Southerne heate, nor Northerne fnow That freezing to the ground doth grow, The subject Regions can fence, And keepe the greedie Marchant thence. The subtile Shipmen way will find, Storme neuer fo the Seas with winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe ferue only to mislead such discourrers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers, eyther some angry curses, or well deserved scorne; but to keepe their own credit, they cannot serue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretic jest of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthie Spanish Gentleman, who had beene employed by his King in planting a Colonie vpon the Streights of Magellan: for when I asked him, 20 being then my Prisoner, some question about an Island in those Streights, which me thought, might have done eyther benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the Painters wives Island; faying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife fitting by, defired him to put in one Countrey for her; that the, in imagination, might have an Island of her owne. But in filling vp the blankes of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be seared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themselues to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good Copie of an ancient Author could bee found, shewing (if wee haue it not alreadie) the perfect truth of these vncertainties? would it be more shame to have beleeved in the meane 30 while, Annius or Torniellus, than to have beleeved nothing? Here I will not fay that the credit, which we give to Annius, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust Scaliger or Torniellus, than Annius, yet him than them, if his aftertion bee more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seemes to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation, I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as have once gotten the credit of being generall, fo to deale as Pacunius in Capua did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senatours of the 40 Citie to death. He lockt the Senatours vp within the State-house, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercie; obtayning thus much, that none of them should perish, vntill the Commonaltie had both pronounced him worthie of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was haftie; for as fast as every name was read, all the Towne cryed, Lethim dye: but the execution required more leifure; for in substituting another, some notorious vice of the Person, or basenesse of his condition, or infufficiencie of his qualitie, made each new one that was offered, to be rejected: so that finding the worfe and lesse choise, the further and the more that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

è. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

Fter this division of the Assyrian Empire, followes the inflauration of the Olympian games, by Iphitus, in the raigne of the same King Vzzia, and in his one and fiftieth years. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that these games were established by Iphitus, in the first of Iotham: yet is not that opinion so generall, but that Authors, waightic enough,

haue given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things vnto the facred Historie, which are found in prophane Authors, wee should not bee too carefull of drawing the Hebrewes to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that fetting in due order these beginnings of accompts, we joyne them to matters of Israel and Inda, where occasion

These Olympian games and exercises of activitie, were first instituted by Hercules, who measured the length of the race by his owne foot; by which Pythagor as found out the stature and likely strength of Hercules his bodic. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine Olympus, but from the Citic Olympia, otherwise Pisa, neere vin-20 to Elis; where also Iupiters Temple in Elis, famous among the Gracians, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of Iupiter Olympius. These games were exercised from every fourth yeare compleat in the plaines of Elis, a Citic of Peloponnesus, necre the River Alpheus.

A feet the death of Hercules, these meetings were discontinued for many yeares, and Gell. 1. c. Law-giuer then liuing: from which time they were continued by the Gracians, till Hermippus. the raigne of Theodosius the Emperor, according to Cedrenus: other thinke that they

were dissolued under Constantine the Great. From this institution, Varro accompted the Gracian times, and their stories, to be 30 certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous: and yet Plinie gives Plinie gives Plinie gives little credit to all that is written of Greece, till the raigne of Cyrus, who beganne in the five and fiftieth Olympiad, as Eufebius out of Diodore, Caftor, Polybius, and others hath gathered, in whose time the seuen wife Gracians flourished. For Solon had speech with Crassus, and Crassus was overthrowne and taken by Cyrus.

Many patient and piercing braines have laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of these Olympiads, namely, to set them in the true yeare of the World, and the raigne of fuch and fuch Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accomptathat is. of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly jumpe in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against Iulian, and Didymus, beginne the Olympiads the nine and fortieth of AO Ofias, or Azariah.

Eufebins, who is contrarie to himselfe in this reckoning, accompts with those that Eufeb. de Prap. finde the first Olympiad in the beginning of the foure hundreth and fixth veere after Enang. 1.10,6.3. Troy, yet he telleth vs, that it was in the fiftieth yeare of Vzzia, which is (as I finde it)

Eratosthenes placeth the first Olympiad foure hundred and seven yeares after Troy, Eratosth, apud reckoning the yeares that passed betweene; to whom Dionysius Halicarnoffeus, Dio-Clem. Alex.
Strongly. dorus Siculus, Solinus, and many others adhere.

The distance betweene the destruction of Troy, and the first Olympiad, is thus collected by Eratosthenes. From the taking of Troy, to the descent of Hercules his Po-50 steritie into Peloponnesus, were fourescore yeares; thence to the Ionian expedition, threescore yeares; from that expedition to the time of Lycurgus his government in Sparta, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first O'ympiad, one hundred and eight yeares. In this account the first yeare of the first Olympiad is not included.

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uang 1.8.6.2.

CHAP. 27. S. 6.

But vaine labour it were, to feeke the beginning of the Olympiads, by numbring the yeares from the taking of Troy, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it fuffice, that by knowing the inftauration of these games, to have beene in the foure hundreth and eight yeare current after Troy, we may reckon backeto the taking of that Citic, fetting that, and other accidents, which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certaintie of things following the Olympiads, must teach vs how to finde when they began.

To this good vie, we have the enfuing yeares, vnto the death of Alexander the Great, thus divided, by the same Eratosthenes. From the beginning of the Olympiads, to the paffage of Xerxes into Greece, two hundreth fourefcore and feuenteen yeares: 10 from thence to the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre, eight and fortic yeares; forwards to the victorie of Lylander, seuen and twentie; to the battaile of Leuctra. thirtie foure; to the death of Philip King of Macedon, fine and thirtie; and finally to the death of Alexander, twelve. The whole summe ariseth to foure hundred fiftie and three yeares; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the Olympiads in the one and fiftieth years of Vzziah, we have arguments, grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of Cyrus his raigne, and the death of Alexander; as also vpon the Astronomical calculation of fundrie Ecliples of the Sunne as of that which happened, when 20 Xerxes fet out of Sardis with his Armie to inuade Greece; and of diversother.

Touching Cyrus, it is generally agreed that his raigne as King, before hee was Lord of the great Monarchie, began the first yeere of the five and fiftieth Olympiad, and that he raigned thirtie yeeres; they who give him but twentie nine yeeres of Tull.deDiu.l.1. raigne (following Herodotus rather than Tully, Iulline, Eulebius, and others) beginne July. I.a. English de Prep. a yeere later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of Alexander set by Euang. Ino c.3. all good Writers, in the first yeere of the hundreth and fourteenth Olympiad. This later note of Alexanders death, serves well to leade vs back to the beginning of Cyrus; as many the like observations doe. For if we reckon vpwards from the time of Alexander, we shall finde all to agree with the yeeres of the Olympiads, wherein Cy- 30 ress beganne his raigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to fignific a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of Cyrus, in the first veere of the fine and fiftieth Olympiad, vnto the end of the Persian Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth Olympiad, we find two hundred and thirtie yeeres compleat: from the beginning of Cyrus his Monarchie, which lafted but seuen yeeres, we finde compleat two hundred and seuen yeeres, which was the continuance of the Persian Empire.

Now therefore feeing that the first yeere of Cyrus his Monarchie (which was the last of the sixtieth Olympiad, and the two hundreth and fortieth yeere from the inslitution of those games by Iphitus) followed the last of the seventie yeeres, of the 40 captiuitie of Inda, and desolation of the Land of Israel; manifest it is, that wee must reckon backe those seventie yeeres, and one hundred threescore and ten yeeres more, the last which passed under the Kings of Juda, to finde the first of these Olympiads; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of Vzzia, as wee have already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serue well to the same purpose. For examples sake, that which was seene when Xerxes mustered his Armie at Sardis, in the two hundreth threescore and seventh yeere of Nabonassar, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth Olympiad; leades vs backe vnto the beginning of Xerxes, and from him to Cyrus, whence we have a faire way through the threefcore and ten 50 yeeres, vnto the destruction of Ierusalem; and so vpwards through the raignes of the last Kings of Iuda, to the one and fiftieth yeere of Vzzia.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these Olympiads beganne.

To tell the great solemnitie of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all Greece they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running. Wrastling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Mastrie in those feates, whereof there was good vse, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises, that served onely for oftentation. Thirther also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all than thought themselues excellent in any laudable qualitie, to make triall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them 10 should get the honour, of having plaied the best part.

The Eleans were Presidents of those Games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partialitie, who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Oline, without any other commoditie following, than the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when Diagoras had seene his three Sonnes crowned for their feuerall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: Morere, DIAGORAS, non enim in calum ascensurus es; that is; Die. DIAGORAS, For thous shalt not clime up to heaven: as if there could bee no greater happinesse on earth, than what alreadie had befallen him. In the like sense Horace 20 speakes of these Victors, calling them,

> Ouos Elaa domum reducit Palma calestes.

Horat, Carpilla

Such as like heavenly weights doe come With an Elæan Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or the fongs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these Olympian prizes; but even grave Historians 30 thought it a matter worthie of their noting. Such was (as Tullie counts it) the va- Tullie Orat. pra nitic of the Greekes, that they effected it almost as great an honor, to have wonne Flaces, the victorie at Running or Wrastling in those games, as to have triumphed in Rome for some famous victorie, or conqueit of a Prouince.

That these Olympian games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fifteenth day of the Moneth Hecatombeon, which dothanswere to our June; and what meanesthey ysed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I mav now returne vnto the Kings of Inda, and leave the merrie Greekes at their games, whom I shall meete in more serious emploiments, when the Persian quarrells draw to the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of Ionia and Hellespont.

Of IOTHAM and his Contemporaries.

OTHAM the Sonne of Vzziah, when hee was fine and twentie yeeres old, and in the second of Pekah King of Israel, was anointed King in 21Kings 15.33 ? Ierusalem, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threescore cubits vpright, and therefore called Ophel: besides divers Cities in the Hills of Iuda, and in the Forrests, Towers,

and Palaces: heinforced the Ammonites to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundreth talents, and of Wheate and Barly two thousand measures: hee raigned fixe and twentie yeeres: of whom Iosephus gives this testimonie: Eiusmodi vero

Princeps hie fuit, ot nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres : ot qui Deum adeo pre coluerit. hominibus (uis adeoiuste prafuerit, whem ipsam tanta sibi cura essepassus sit, er tantopere auxerit, vt vniuer (um regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem cius incolis atque cinibus fælix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtuc effecerit : This was such a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: hee worshipped God foreligiously, hee governed his men fo righteously, hee was fo provident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplifie it, that by his vertue and proweffe hee made his whole Kinedome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Sernants, Inhabitants and Citizens. prosperous and happie.

This is all that I finde of *lotham*: his raigne was not long, but as happie in all 10

things, as he himselfe was denout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded Phelesteus in Corinth: after whom, the Corinthians erected Magistrates, which gouerned from yeere to yeere. And yet Paufanias in his second Booke, with Strabo and Plutarch, in many places are of opinion, That Corinth was gouerned by Kings of the race of the Bacide, to the time of Cyplelus, who droue them out.

2. Kings 15.

Pauf,l.36

Teglathphalaffar, or Tiglathpeleser, the sonne of Phul, the second of the Babylonians and Affyrians that was of this new race, about this time inuaded Ifrael, while Pekah (who murthered his Master Pekaiah) was King thereof. In which Expedition hee tooke most of the Cities of Nephtali and Galile, with those of Gilead, ouer Iordan, and 20 carried the inhabitants captine. This Tiglath raigned fine and twentie yeeres, according to Metasthenes. But Krentzhemius findes, that with his sonne Salmanassar he raigned yet two yeeres longer: which yeeres I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the Aera of Nabonassar beginnes with his single raigne, but reckon them to Tighlath Phulassar himselfe, who therewith raigned seven and twentie yeeres:

Afchylus, the sonne of Agamnester, about the same time, the twelfth Archon in Athens, ruled five and twentic yeeres. Aleamenes gouerned Sparta: after whom, the Estate changed, according to Eusebius: but therin surely Eusebius is mistaken. For Disdore, Plutarch, Pausanias, and others, witnesse the contrarie. Pausanias affirmeth, That Polydorus, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and raigned threescore 30 yeeres, and out-lived the Meffeniack Warre: which was ended by Theopompus, the

sonne of Nicander, his royall companion.

At this time lived Nahum the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the Af-Syrian Empire, and of the Citie of Winine; which succeeded (saith Insephus) a hundred and fifteene yeeres after. The Cities of Cyrene and of Aradus were builtat this time, while in Media, Sofarmus and Mediaus raigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

ò. VII.

Of ACHAZ and his Contemporaries.



HAS, or Achaz, succeeded vnto Iotham in the seventeenth yeere of Peka, the sonne of Remalia: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers raigne, who began in the second of the same Peka, and raigned sixteene. but not complete yeeres. This Abaz was an Idolater, exceeding all his

predecessors. Hee made molten Images for Baalim, and burnt his sonne for sacrifice before the Idoll Moloch, or Saturne, which was represented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calfe, set vp not farre from Ierusalem, in a Valley 50 shaddowed with Woods, called Gehinnom, or Tophet, from whence the word Gehenna is vsed for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the ende the pitifull cries of the children

might not be heard: which vnnaturall, cruell, and deuillish Oblation, Ieremie the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. Hierome vpon the tenth of Matthew hath written at large. By the prohibition in Leuiticus the eighteenth, it 6.7.19.32. appeareth that this horrible finne was ancient; in the twelfth of Deuter onomie, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practifed elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from Iudea, divers Authors witnesse; as Virgil in the fecond of his Ancids, - Sanguine placastis, &c. and Silius, - Poscere cade Deos. Saturne is faid to have brought this cultome into Italie, besides the casting of many foules into the River of Tyber, in stead of which, Hercules commanded, that the to waxen Images of men should be throwne in and drowned. The Deuill also taught the Carthaginians this kinde of butcherie, in so much, that when their Citie was beficeed, and in diffresse, the Priess made them beleeve, that because they had spared their owne children, and had bought and brought vp others to bee offered that therefore Saturne had flirred vp, and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be flaine, and offered to Saturne or Satan, to appeale him: who befides these forenamed Nations had instructed the Rhodians, the people of Crete, and Chios, of Meffer Dion. Lt. na of Galatia, with the Maffagets, and others, in these his services: Further, as if hee Diod. 1,20. were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 20 (as Acolla writeth) the Mexicans and other people of America, were brought by the Deuill under this fearefull feruitude, in which he also holdeth the Floridans and Virginians at this day.

Acoft. de Hift.

For the wickednesse of this King Ahaz, God stirred vp Rezin of Damaseus; and Pekah the Sonne of Remaliah, King of Ifrael against him, who inuaded Iudaa, and befieged Ierusalem, but entred it not.

The King of Syria, Rezin, possest himselfe of Elah by the Red Sea, and cast the Iewes out of it, and Pekah flaughtered in one day an hundred and twentie thousand Indeans, of the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time Maaleiah, the Sonne of Achaz 2. Chron. 28.6. was also slaine by Ziehri, with Azrikam the Gouernour of his house: and Eleanath 30 the second person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the Ifraelites led away to Samaria: but by the counfell of the

Prophet Oded, they were returned and deliucred backe againe.

As Ifrael and Aram vexed Inda on the North; so the Edomites and the Philistims, who euermore attended the ruine of Indea, entred upon them from the South; and tooke Bethfemes, Aialon, Gaderoth, Socho, Timnah, and Gemzo, flew many people, and 2.chron. 28. carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when Achaz saw himselfe environed on all sides, and that his Idolls and dead gods gaue him no comfort, hee sent to the Assyrian Tiglathpileser, to desire some alde from him against the Israelites and Aramites, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings 2-Kings 16,

Tiglathpileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that role in Palastina. His Father having lately made himselfe from a Provinciall Lieutenant, King of Babylon and Assyria, had a little before led him the way into Iudea, inuited by Menaham, King of Ifrael. Wherefore now the Sonne willingly harkened to Achaz, and embraced the advantage. As for Belochus himselfe, he was content to affigne some other time for going through with this enterprise: because (as I have faid before) he was not firmely fettled at home, and the Syrian Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But Tiglath, having now, with the treasures of Ierusalem, prepared his Armie, first inuaded the Terri-50 torie of Damaseus, wanne the Citic, and killed Rezin, the last of the race of the Adads, who beganne with Dauid, and ended with this Achaz. At Damascus Achaz met Tiglath, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, sent it to Vriah the Priest, commanding the like to be made at Ierusalem, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the Syrians. In the meane while Tiglath possest all Bajan, and the rest

beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Tribe of Reuben, Gad, and Manasse. And then paffing the River, he mastered the Cities of Galilee, invaded Ephraim, and the King. dome of Ifrael, and made them his Vasfalls. And notwithstanding that he was innited and waged by Achaz, yet after the spoile of Ifrael, he possess himselfe of the greater part of Inda, and as it leemeth, inforced Achaz to pay him Tribute. For in the second of Kings, the eighteenth, it is written of Ezechia, that he revolted from Albur, or rebelled against him, and therefore was inuaded by Senacherib. After Ahaz had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth yeere of his raigne hee

died: but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of Inda. With Abaz lived Medidus, the third Prince in Media, who governed fortie yeeres, 10

Eustin Chron. faith Eusebius: Diodorus and Ctesias finde Anticarmus in stead of this Medidus, to

have beene Sofarmus his Successiour, to whom they give fiftie yeeres.

Tiglath Phileser held the Kingdome of Assyria, all the raigne of Abaz: yet so, that Salmanaffar his Sonne may feeme to have raigned with him some part of the time. -Kings as. 16. For we finde that Abazdid fend unto the Kings of ASHVR to helpe him. The Genewa note faics, that these Kings of Ashur were Teglath Pilefer, and those Kings that were vnder his Dominion. But that hee or his Father had hitherto made fuch conquests, as might giue him the Lordship ouer other Kings, I doe neither finde any Historie, nor circumstance that proueth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of Ashur, were Tiglath, and Salmanassar his Sonne, who raigned with his Father, as 20 hath beene said before: though how long hee raigned with his Father, it bee hard to define.

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At this time beganne the Ephori in Lacedamon, a hundred and thirtie yeeres after Plut.invitasoli. Lycurgus, according to Plutarch. Eufebius makes their beginning farrelater, namely, in the fifteenth Olympiad. Of these Ephori, Elalus was the first; Theopompus and Polydorus, being then joynt Kings. These Ephori, chosen euery yeere, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and confent. For (faith Cicero) they were opposed against their Kings, as the Roman Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of Abaz died A schrolus, who had ruled in Athens ever fince the fiftith yeere of Vzzia. Alcamenon the thirteenth of the Medon- 30 tide, or Gouernours of the Athenians (so called of Medon who followed Codrus) fucceeded his Father Afchylus, and was the last of these Governors: he ruled only two yeeres. For the Athenians changed first from Kings (after Codrus) to Governors for life; which ending in this Alcamenon, they erected a Magistrate, whom they termed an Archon, who was a kind of Burghomaster, or Gouernor of their City for ten yeeres.

This alteration Paulanias in his fourth Booke beginnes, in the first yeere of the eight Olympiad. Eufebius and Halicarnassaus in the first of the seventh Olympiad; at

which time indeed, Carops the first of these, began his ten yeeres rule.

The Kingdome of the Latines governed about three hundred yeere by the Sylvij, of the race of Aneas, tooke ende the same Ahaz time: the foundation of Rome, being 40 laied by Romulus and Romus in the eight yeere of the same King. Codoman builds it the eleventh of Achaz, Bucholzer in the eighth, as I think he should, others somewhat later, and in the raigne of Ezechias. Cicero, Eutropius, Orosius, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the fixth Olympiad. But Halicarna (leus. Solinus Antiochenus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius, to the first yeere of the seuenth: who feeme not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the best accompt.

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# CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Antiquities of Fialie, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahas.

è. I. Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italie.



30

N D here to speake of the more ancient times of Italia. and what Nations possess it before the arrivall of . Eneas, the place may seeme to inuite vs : the rather because much fabulous matter hath beene mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. Italie before the fall of Troy, was knowne to the Greekes by divers Hallear, Lx. names : as first Hesteria, then Ausonia, the one name arising of the Seate, the other of the Ausones, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also Oenotria, which it had of the Oenotri: whom Halicarnassaus thinks to have been the first, that brought

a Colonie of Areadians into that Land. Afterward it was called Italie of Italies: concerning which changes of names, Virgil speakes thus.

> Est locus Hesperiam Gray cognomine dicunt: Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque vbere gleba: Oenotrij coluëre viri, nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which Greekes Helperia name, Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie. Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame, That by late ages of Posteritie, 'Tis from a Captaines name called Italie.

Who this Captaine or King may have beene, it is very vicertaine. For Virgil 42 speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enoughit is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole Countrie, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to finde out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrie, Reineccius hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of Halicarna flans, Halicarn las, who speakes of a Colonie which the Eleans did leade into Italie, before the name of Italie was given to it: Secondly, vpon that of Iustine, who faith, that Brundusium tus. 1.12. was a Colonie of the Etolians: Thirdly, vpon that of Strabo, who affirmes the Sumbol.6. same of Temela or Templa, a Citie of the Brutij in Italie: Lastly, upon the au-50 thoritie of Plinie, who shewes that the Italians did inhabite onely one Region of the Plin. 1.3.c.5:

Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is faid of the Eleans and Ætolians, who (as hee shewes) had one originall; from them hee brings the name of Italia. For the word Italia, differs in nothing from Mitolia, faue that the first Letter is cast away, which in the Greeke

out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of Troy.

wherewith Annius hath filled Berofus, holds it but a figment.

gil last rehearsed, wherein hee would not have said, -

beene one person.

like changes are very familiar in the Lolic Dialect; of which Dialect ( being almost

proper to the Etolions) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words

little altered, were retained by the Latines, as Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Quintilian, and

Prissian the Grammarian teach. Hereunto appertaines that of Julian the Apostata.

who called the Greekes, cousins of the Latines. Also the common original of the

Greekes and Latines from lauan; and the Fable of lanes, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as Greece and Italie lay, and was stamped on Covnes. with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to Inuan, 10

father of the Greekes and Latines: who fayling ouer the Ionian Sea, that Ives be-

tweene Atolia and the Westerne parts of Greece and Italie, planted Colonies in

both. Now whereas Requeccius thinkes, that the names of Atlas and Italias belon-

ged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of Berofus, who called Cethim, Ita-

lus; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of Dardanus, whilest hee a-

bode in Italie with Electra, the daughter of Atlas, yet is it by arguments (in my va-

luation) greater and stronger, cally disproued. For they who makemention of

Atlas, place him before the time of Moles: and if Atlas were Cethim, or Kittim, then

was he the sonne of Iauan, and nephew of Iapheth, the eldest sonne of Noah: which

antiquity farre exceedes the name of Italie, that began after the departure of Hercules 20

Likewise Firgil, who speakes of Atlas, and of Dardanus his marriage with Ele-

Etra, hath nothing of his meeting with her in Italie; but calleth Electra and her fifter

Maia (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine Atlas in Africa, naming Italia among

the Kings of the Aborigenes; which he would not have done, had Atlas and Italias

that Resneccius himselfe, whose conjectures are more to be valued then the dreames

Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem, had that name beene heard of ere Darda-

nus left the Countrey. But seeing that, when Hercules, who died a few yeeres be-

fore the Warre of Troy, had left in Italie a Colonie of the Eleans (who in a manner

were one and the same Nation with the Etolians, as Strabo, Herodotus, and Paula-

nias teach) then the name of Italie began: and feeing Virgil makes mention of Italias

among the Italian Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that Italias was Com-

mander of these Eleans. For though I remember not, that I have read of any such

Greeke as was named Italus; yet the name of Etolus, written in Greeke Aitolus, was

King of Elis, and founder of the Atolian Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to de-

rive the name of Italus from Ætolus, then Italia from Ætolia. So may Virgils autho-

ritie stand well with the collections of Reyneceiu; the name of Italie being taken

both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

very famous both among the Etolians, and among the Eleans, he being sonne of a 40

As for the authoritie of Berolus in this case, wee neede the lesse to regard it, for

That the name of Italie began long after Atlas, it appeares by the Verses of Vir- 30

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words is common, and the letter (a) is changed into (a) which change is found in the name of Athalia an Island neere Italie, peopled by the Athalians; and the

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

N Italie the Latines and Hetrurians were most famous; the Hetrurians having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the Latines by the vertue and felicitie of the Romans, who were a branch of them, subduing all Italie, and in few ages whatsoeuer Nation was knowne in Europe: together with all the Westerne parts of Asia, and

North of Africk.

The Region called Latium, was first inhabited by the Aborigines, whom Halicarnasseus, Varro, and Reyneccius (following them) thinke to have beene Arcadians: and this name of Aborigines (to omit other fignifications that are strained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the Arcadians are knowne in vaunting manner to have alwaies vsurped, fetching their antiquitie from beyond the Moone; because indeede, neither were the inhabitants of Peloponnesus inforced to forsake their seates so oft as other Greekes were, who dwelt without that halfe Island, neither had the Arcadians so vnsure a dwelling as 20 the rest of the Peloponnesians, because their Countrie was lesse fruitfull in land. mountainous, and hard of accesse, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlikemen. Some of these thereforehaving occupied a great part of Latium, and held it long, did according to the Arcadian manner, stile themselues Aborigines, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might bee that the Arcadians who dwelt fomewhat farre from Sea, and are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, should have beene Authors of new discoueries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulnesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforceth the superfluous companie to seeke another seat, and that some 30 expeditions of the Arcadians, as especially that of Euander, into the same parts of Italie, are generally acknowledged.

After the Aborigines, were the Pelasgi, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gaue name to al Grecce: but their antiquities are long fince dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glorie such in Italie, as could long sustaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The Sicani, Ausones, Aurunci, Rutili, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of Latium, which by Saturne was brought to some civilitie;

and he therefore canonized as a god.

This Saturne S. Augustine calleth Sterces or Sterculius, others terme him Stercu-40 tius, and fay, that hee taught the people to dung their grounds. That Latium tooke his name of Saturne, because he did tatere, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from Iupiter, it is a questionlesse fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanitie to thinke that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King raigning in those parts was so mightie, that it should be hard to finde one Countrie or an other, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And veras most fables and poeticall fictions, were occasioned by some ancient truth, which See lib. 1. eag. 6. either by ambiguitie of speech or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkly ex- \$1.6 feq. presse (for so they fained a passage ouer a River in Hell, because death is a passage to 50 another life, and because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painefull, thereforethey named the River styx of Hate, Cocytus of Lamentation, and Acheron of Paine: so also because men are stonie-hearted, and because the Greeke Adol people,

and xaes stones, are neere in found, therefore they fained in the time of Dencalion stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones) in like manner it may

- Nunc fama minores

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Acts 17.23. E (4) 45.15. be, that the original of Saturnes hiding himselfe, was some allusion to that old oninion of the wifest of the Heathen, that the true God was ignotus Deus, as it is noted in the Acts; whence also E/ay of the true God saies, Tu Deus abdens te. For it can not be in vaine, that the word Saturnus should also have this very signification, if it bee derined (as some thinke) from the Hebrew Satar, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not, but that the original of this word, Latinm, ought rather to be fought elsewhere.

Remeccius doth conjecture that the Cereans, who descended of Cethim, the Sonne of Lauan, were the men who gaue the name to Latium. For these Ceteans are remembred by Homer as aiders of the Troisns in their Warre. Strabo interpreting the place of Homer calls them subjects to the Crowne of Troy. Hereupon Reynecous gathers, 10 that their abode was in Alia . viz. in agro Elastico; in the Elastian Territorie, which agreeth with Strabo. Of a Citie which the Lolians held in Asia, called Elea, or Elaia. Paulanias makes mention: Stephanus calls it Cidamis, or (according to the Greeke writing) Cidamis, which name last rehearsed bath a very neeresound to Cethim, Citim, or Cithim; the Greeke Letter (D) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (TH) differing onely in the strength or weakenesse of vtterance, which is found betweenemany English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these Ceteans being descended of Cethim, Cittim, or Kittim, the Sonne of Iauan, who was Progenitor of the Greekes, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called Elaites, or Elai- 20 tes, it is very likely, considering that among the Arcadians, Phocians, Atolians, and Eleans, who all were of the Folique Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine Eleus, the Hauen Eleas, the people Elaita, the Cities Eleus, Elaia, and Elateia, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then Elatini, from whence Latini may come. Now whereas both the Ceterand Arcadians, had their originall from Cethim, it is nothing vnlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neuerthelesse differ in found and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called Sabinus, to whom some (deriving the Sabines from him) give the name of Sabus: in the like manner might he whom the Arcadians would call Elatus (of which name 30 they had a Prince that founded the Citie Elateia) bee named of the Ceteans Latinus. Reyneccius pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when Eurypilus, Lord of the Ceteans, being the Sonne of Telephus, whom Hercules begat youn Auge, the Daughter of Aleus King of Arcadia, was flaine by Achilles in the Troian Warre: then did Telephus, brother to Euripylus, conduct the Ceteans; who (fearing what euill might befall themselves by the Greekes, if the affaires of Troy should goe ill) passed into that part of Italie, wherethe arcadians were planted by Ocnotrus. And Reyneccius farther thinks, that Telephus being the more gracious among the Oenotrian Arcadians, by the memorie of his Grand-mother Auge, an Arcadian Ladie, was well contented to take an Areadian name, and to be called Elatus, which in the dialect and pronunciation 40 either of the Ceteans, or of the Oenotrians, was first Elatinus, and then Latinus: That this name of Elatus may have been taken or imposed by the Arcadians, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of Aphidas, the other of Elatus, who were Sonnes of Arcas King of Arcadia, which gaue name to the Countrie: and betweene these two Families the succession in that Kingdome did passe, almost enterchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the Trojan warre it fell into the hand of Hippotheus of the race of Elatus, in whose Posteritie it continued vntill the last. Againe, the name Latinus, having a derivative sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of Reyneccius, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leffe re- 50 proofe, confidering that it is not easie to finde either an apparent truth, or faire probabilitie among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of

ø. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines untill ANEAS his commine.

He Kings which raigned in Latium before the arrival of Anew, were. Saturnus, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus. Of Saturne there is nothing remembred, saue what is mentioned alreadie, and many sables of the Greekes, which whether they be appliable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the Saturne

10 of the Greekes, called by them Kporo, or some other, stilled Saturne by the Aborigines. For the age wherein hee lived, may very well admit him to have beene the same: \*Exclide often but the names of \* Sterces, and Stercutius (for it may be, this name was not bor- cals the Idols rowed from the skill which hee taught the people, but rather the foile which they of the heathen doos flereores: laied on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him feeme and hence it

Of Picus it is said, that he was a good Horse-man. The sable of his being chan-wee reade for ged into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well feeme (as it is interpreted) to have Belzebus, Belzegrowne from the skill which he had in footh-faying, or dinination, by the flight and interpreted chattering of Fowles. Faunus, the Sonne of Pieus, raigned after his Father. Hee Dominus Ster-20 gaue to Eusender the Arcadian (who having flaine by mischance his Father Echemiss corcus; and it may be that King of Arcadia, fled into Italie) the waste grounds on which Rome was afterward after that Sa-

Fauni, called Fatua, the lifter of Faunus, was also his Wife, as all Historians a-an Idol, it pleagree; shee was held a Prophetesse, and highly commended for her chastitie; which sed God that praise in her must needs have beene much blemished by her marriage, it selfe being in a like sense this name stermeerely incestuous.

It is not mentioned that Faunus had by his fifter any child, neither doe we reade ficke vano of any other Wife which he had, saue only that Virgil gives vnto him Latines as his Acres 4. Sonne, by a Nymph, called Marica.

But who this Marica was it is not found, saue onely that her abode was about the Riuer Liris neere Minturne.

Of the name Latinus, there are by Pomponius Sabinus recounted foure : one, the Sonne of Faunus, another of Hercules, a third of Vly fes by Circe, the fourth of Telemathus. Suidas takes notice onely of the second, of whom hee faith, that his name was suidas in the Telephus, and the people anciently named the Cety, were from his furname called word Latini, Latini. This agrees in effect with the opinion of Reyneccius, the difference confifting almost in this only, that Suidas calls Telephus, the Sonne of Hercules, whereas Reyneccius makes him his Nephew, by a sonne of the same name. This Latinus having obtained the succession in that Kingdome after Faunus, did promise his only Daughter 40 and Heire Lauinia, to Turnus the sonne of Venilia, who was lifter to Amata Latinus

But when Eners arrived in those parts with fifteene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might bee imbarked according to the rate which Thucydides allowes to the Vessells then vsed, about one thousand & two hundred men: then Latinus finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the Troian, and moued with the great reputation of Aneas, which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of Troy, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with Turnus, who incented herewith, fought to avenge himfelfe by warre: which was foone ended with his owne death.

50 Of Amatathe Wife of Latinus, it is very certaine, that were shee an Italian, shee could not have borne a Daughter marriageable at the arrivall of £neas; vuleffe we should wholly follow Suidas, and rather give the conduct of the Ceter into Italie, to Telephus the Father, than to his Sonne, who served in the last yeere of the Troian Warre. But Reyneccius holds her an Assatique, and thinkes withall, that Lauinia was

borne before Telephus came into Italie. That this name Amata, by which Virgil and Halicarnasseus call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by Varro: who calleth her Palatia: which name very well might bee derived from the Greeke name Pallas, Amata, which fignifieth beloued, or deare, was the name by which the High Priest called euery Virgin, whom hee tooke to serue as a Nunne of Vella; whereforeit is the more easily to be thought a surname, how soeuer Vireil discourse of her and Venilia her fifter.

Laninia, the daughter of Latinus, being given in marriage to Aneas, the Kingdome of Latium, or the greatest part of that Countrie, was established in that race : wherin it continued vntill it was ouer-growne by the might and greatnesse of the Romans. 10

# Q. IIII. Of ÆNEAS, and of the Kings and Governours of Alba.



NEAS himselfe being of the royall bloud of Troy, had the commaund of the Dardanians: hee was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the Troians. By his wife Crenfa, the daughter of Priamus, hee had a sonne called Ascanius; whose surname vvas Iulus, having before the ruine of Troy (as Virgil notes) beene furna-20 med Ilus. But when Eneas vvas dead, his wife Lauinia, the daughter of Latinus, being great with child by him,

and fearing the power of this Ascanius, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a sonne, called therevpon Sylvius, and surnamed Posthumus, because hee was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of Lauinia was so euill taken by the people, that Ascanius procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and vfing her as a Queene, did foster her young sonne, his halfe-brother Syluius. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the fituation of the place; Ascanius leaving to his mother in law the Citie Laninium, which Eneas had built, and called after his new wives name, founded the Citie 30 Alba Longa, and therein raigned. The time of his raigne was, according to some, eight and twentie yeeres: Firgil gives him thirtie; others five and thirtie, and eight and thirtie. After his decease, there arose contention betweene Sylvius, the sonne of Aneas, and Iulus the sonne of Ascanius, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of Lauinia, Inlus was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdome to Sylvius Posthumus, whose posteritie were afterward called Syluy.

The raigne of the Alban Kings, with the continuance of each mans raigne, I finde thus let downe

C	10W1	IC.			
	ı.	Syluius Posthumus.	29		40
	2.	Syluius Eneas.	31		
	3.	Syluius Latinus.	50	,	
	4.	Syluius Alba.	39	<u> </u>	
	۶٠	Syluim Atis.	26	ł	
	6.	Śyluius Capys.	28	\$	
	7.	Syluius Capetus.	13	Lyeares.	
	7· 8.	Syluius Tiberinus.	8	(	
	9.	Sylnius Agrippa.	41	1	
	10	. Syluius Alladius.	19		
		. Syluina Auentinus.	. 37	1	56
	I 2	. Syluius Procas.	23		
	13	. Syluius Amalius.	44	. ]	
	Sy	luius Numitor.			
	•	Ilia, called also Rhea and Sylnia.			
	Rø	mulus. Remus.			The

CHAP.24. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthie of re-

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of Latium: who standing much vpon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called Pri/ci Latini, Of Tiberinus some thinke that the River Tiber had name, being formerly called albula: but Virgil gives it that denomination of another called Tibris, before the comming of Aneas into Italie. The Mountaine Auentinus had name (as many write) from Auentinus King of the Albanes, who was buried therein: but Virgil hath it otherwife. Iulius, the brother of Auentinus, is named by Enfebius as father of another Iu-10 lius, and grandfather of Iulius Proculus; who leaving Alba, dwelt with Romulus in Rome. Numitor, the elder sonne of Procas, was deprined of the Kingdome by his brother Amulius; by whom also his sonne Agesthus was slaine, and Ilia his daughter made a Nunne of Velta, that thereby the issue of Numitor might be cut off. But the conceived two fonnes, eyther by her vncle Amulius, as fomethinke; or by Mars, as the Poets faine; or perhaps by some man of warre. Both the children their vncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the Laws which so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. Whether it was fo, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of Antho, the daughter of Amulius, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by 20 all, that the two children were preserved, who afterward revenged the crueltie of their vncle, with the flaughter of him and all his, and restored Numitor their grand. father to the Kingdome; wherein how long hee raigned, I find not, neyther is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of Alba and of Latium were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of Rome; vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concernes the things of Italie) is dependant. After the death of Numitor, the Kingdome of Alba ceased; for Numitor left no male issue. Romulus chose rather to live in Rome; and of the Line of Sylvius none else remained. So the Albanes were gouerned by Magistrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely Caius Cluilius, who in the dayes of Tullus Hoftilius, King of 20 the Romanes, making Warre vpon Rome, dyed in the Campe; and Metius Suffetius, the successor of Cluilius, who surrendred the Estate of Alba vnto the Romanes, hauing committed the hazard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each fide, who decided the quarrell by Gombattin which, the three brethren Horati, the Champions of the Romanes, prevailed against the Curiaty, Champions of the Abanes. After this Combat, when Metius (following Tullus Hostilius with the Albane forces against the Veientes and Fidenates) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the Romanes to fuch an ouerthrow, as might make them weak enough for the Albanes to deale with Tullus, who notwithstanding this falsehood. obtained the victorie, did reward Metius with a cruell death, causing him to be tyed 40 to two Chariots, and fo torne in pieces. Then was Alba destroyed and the Citizens carried to Rome, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made Patritians; among which were the Iuly: of whom E. Iulius Cafar being descended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedegree, in full affembly of the Romanes, then gouerned by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and judgement, obtained the Soucraignetic of the Roman Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posteritie; whereby the name of Aneas, and honour of the Troian and Alban Race, was so revived, that seldome, if cuer, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glorie.

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# 3. V

· Of the beginning of Rome, and of ROMVLVS birth and death.



Stra.l.5.fol.159

F Rome, which denoured the Alban Kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat vacettaine) depend much youn the birth and education of Romalus, the grand-child of Numi-tor; the last that raigned in Alba. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations between Euphrates and the Ocean were broken

in peeces by the yion teeth of this fourth Beaft, it is not to bee described in one 10 place, having beeneather worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident into the discourse preceding. Q. Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calphurnius Pifo, Sempronius, and others, seeke to derive the Romans from Ianus: but Herodotus, Marfylus, and many others of equall credit, give the Gracians for their ancestors: and as Sirabo reportethin his fifth Booke; CAECILIVS rerum Romanorum scriptor co argumento colligit, Romain à Gracis esse conditam, quod Romani Gracovitu, antiquo instituto HERCVLIVE saman faciunt, matrem quoque EVANDRI venerantur Romani; CAECILIVS (saith he) a Romane Historiographer, doit by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greekes, because the Romanes, after Greekish sashion, by ancient Ordinance doe facrisce to HERCVLES: the Romanes also worship the mother of 20 Evan Desi.

Plutarch in the life of Romulus remembers many founders of that Citie: as Romanus the sonne of Plysses and Circe; Romus the sonne of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent thither from Troy; or that one Romus, a Tytant of the Latines, who drawe the Tuscans out of that Cothriey, built it. Solinus bestowes the honour of building Rome upon Euru er; saying; That it was beforetimes called Valentia. Heraclides gives the denomination to apaptine Ladie, brought thither by the Grecians: others say; That it was anciently called Febru, after the name of Februa, the mother of Maris, witnesses anciently called Februa, even from the sonder Countain Dei. But Livie will have it to be the worke of Romalus, even from the soundation: of whom and his 30 consorts Inneral to a Roman Citizen vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verses:

Attamen vi longe repetas, longeg, reuoluas Maiorum qui ques primus fuitile tuorum, Mut paftor fuit, aut illud quod dicerenolo.

> Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so farre; Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were, Some Shepheard was, or else, that Ileforbeare. meaning cyther a Shepheard, or a Theese.

Now of Romulus begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That he had Rhea for his mother, and Mars was supposed to be his father; that he was nurst by a Wolfe, found and taken away by Faustrala, a Shepheards wife. The same vnnaturall nursing had Cyrus, the same incredible fostering had Semiramis; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as Plutarch sayth, it is like enough that Amulius came couered with armour to Rhea, the mother of Romulus, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to mee that hee might have two purposes, the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdome; the other to satisfie his appetite, because she yas faire and goodly. For shee being made a Nunne of the Goddesse Vesta, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also find in Fauchet his Antiquitez de Gaule, that Meroneë, King of the Frans, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but Fauchet sayes, Let them beleeve it that list; It le croira qui voudra:

Fauchet.fol.11

CHAP.24.S.3. of the Historie of the World.

also of Alexander, and of Scipio African, there are poetical inventions: but to answere these imaginations in generall, it is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatrie, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, couer such slips as they made, by protesting to bee forced by more then humane power: io did Oenone confesse to Paris, that shee had beene ranished by Apollo. And Anchyses boasted that hee had knowne Venus. But Rhea was made with childe by some man of Warre, or other, and therefore called Mars. the God of battell, according to the fense of the time, Genone was ouercome by a strong to wit, and by fuch a one as had those properties ascribed to Apollo. The Mother of Merouee might fancie a Sea Captaine to be gotten with yong by such a one : as the Daughter of Inachus fancied, according to Herodotus. Aneas was a bastard and begotten vpon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie Venus, and was therefore the child of luft, which is Venus. Romulus was nurft by a Wolte, which was Lupa, or Lupina, for the Curtelans in those dayes were called Wolfes, que nunc (fayth HALI-CARNASSAEVS) honestiori vocabulo amice appellantur; Which are now by an honester name called friends. It is also written, that Romulus was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather out of the world by his Father Mars, in a great storme of thunder, and lightning: fo was it faid that Anew vanished away by the River Nu-20 micus : but thereof Liaie also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion, that the storme was the furie of the Senatours, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authours agree, that there was an vnnaturall darkenesse, both at his birth and at his death, and that hee might bee slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vnlikely. For the Emperour Anastasius was slaine with lightning, so was Strabo the Father of Pompey flaine with a thunder-bolt: so Carus the Emperour (who succeeded Probus) whilest he lodged with his Armie vpon the Riuer Tigris, was there slaine with lightning. But a Mars of the same kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of warre, and by violence destroyed. And that he dyed by violence (which destinie followed most of the Roman Empe-20 rours) it appeareth by Tarquinius Superbus: who was but the seuenth King after him: who when hee had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that hee should not bee buried, for (faid he) Romulus himselfe dyed and was not buried. But let Halicarnasseus end this dispute; whose words are these: They (layth he) who draw neerest to the trub, (ay that he was flaine by his owne Citizens; and that his crueltie in punishments of offendors, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his stughter. For it is reported. that both when his mother was rauished, whether by some man, or by a God, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth coursed with darkenesse like unto night, and that the same did happen at bis death.

Such were the birth and death of Romulus: whose life historified by Plutarch, 40 doth containe (besides what is here alreadie spoken of him ) the conquest of a few myles which had soone beene forgotten, if the Roman greatnesse built vpon that foundation, had not giuen it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. Avaliant man hee was, very strong of bodic, patient of travell, and temperate in dyet, as forbearing the vie of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect reuenge of the death of Taius, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He raigned seuen and thirtic yeeres: first alone, then with Tatius, and after his death fingle, till he was flaine, as is alreadic shewed: after which time the Soueraigntie fell into the hands of Numa, a man to him vn-50 knowne, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein Rome it selfe in her later times hath somewhat resembled this King. For having long beene sole Governesse till Constantinople shared with her: afterwardes, when as the Greeke Emperour was crushed by forraine enemies, and the Latines dispoyled of Imperial power, she fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe hooke to the

Ece 2

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Sword, & therewith victorious to excelline magnificence, from whence by the fame degrees it fell, being driven from luxurie to defensive armes, and therein having bin vnfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Crossers staffe.

And thus much of Rome in this place by occasion of the Storie of the times of King Ahaz, during whose raigne in Iurie, the foundations of this famous Citie were laied.

# CHAP. XXV.

# Of EZEKIA, and his Contemporaries:

Of the beginning of EZECHIAS, and of the agreeing of PTOLOMIES, NABONASSAR, NABOPOLASSAR and MARDOCEM-PADVS, with the historie of the Bible.

20



S the first yeere of Ahaz his Raigne was confounded with the last of his father Iotham, so was the later end of his fixteene veeres taken vp in the three first of Ezekias his Sonne. This appeares by the Raigne of Holea, ouer Ifrael, which beganne in the twelfth of Ahaz. and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with Ahaz his toureteenth. But the third of Holea was the first of Ezekia; so it followes, that Ezekia beganne to raigne in his Fathers foureteenth yeere. Like e- 30 nough it is, that the third yeere of Hofea, the same being the fourteenth of Ahaz, was almost spent when

Ezekia beganne, and so the fifteenth yeere of Ahaz may have beene concurrent,

for the most part, with the first of Ezekia.

By supposing that Hosea beganne his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeere of Abaz was almost compleat, some would find the meanes how to disloyne the first of Hezekia from the fifteenth of Ahaz, placing him yet one yeere later, of which yeere, Ahaz may perhaps have lived not many dayes. But feeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeres of Ezekia, may not be removed out of their places; it is vaine labour

to alter the first yeere.

2.Kime, 8.13.

In the foureteenth of EZEKIA, SENACHERIB invading Inda, and the Countries adjoyning, loft his Armie by a miraculous stroke from Heauen, fled home, and was flaine. The yeere following it was that God added fifteene yeeres to the life of Ezekia, when he had alreadie raigned fourteene of his nine and twentie: and the fame yeere was that miracle seene of the Sunnesgoing backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one Bartholomew Scultet, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day which answered vnto the twentie fifth of April, in the Iulian yeere, being then Thursday. I have not seene any workes of Scultet; but furely to find a motion fo irregular and miraculous, it is necessarie that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. How soever it bee, the 50 fifteenth yeere of Ezekia is agreed upon; and therefore wee may not alter the first. 2. Chron, 28, 27. As for that faying, which is vivall in the like cases, that A H & Z sept with his Fathers, and EZEKIA bis Sonneraigned in his stead, it doth no more proue that Ezekia raigned not with his Father, than the like faying doth inferre the like at the death of Iehofaphat, and succession of Iehoram; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to raigne whilest his Father lived, we have alreadie said enough.

Of this godly King Ezekias, we finde, that his very beginning teltified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were fo, that his vnfortunate and vngracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sonnes proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeere and first moneth of his raigne, wherein Ezekins opened the doores of the Temple, 2.chio.29. 2.3. were to be understood as the beginning of his fole gouernement; we plainely finde it to have beene his first worke, that he opened the doores of the house of the Lord,

to which Achaz had thut vp, cleanfed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idols, reftored the Priests to their offices, and estates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered 2, chron. 29. which had beene for many veeres neglected, and brake downe the brasen Serpent of Moles, because the people burnt incense before it, and he called it Nehushtan, a Kings 18. which fignifieth a lumpe of braffe. He did also celebrate the Paffe ouer with great magnificence, inuiting thereunto the Israelites of the ten Tribes: many there were.

euen out of those Tribes, that came vp to Ierus slem, to this feast. But the generall multitude of I/rael did laugh the Messengers of Ezekia to scorne.

It was not long erethey that scorned to solemnize the memorial of their delinerance out of the £gyptism scruitude, fell into a new seruitude, out of which they 20 Bener were delinered. For in the fourth of Ezekia his raigne, Salmanaffar the Sonne of liglath, the Sonne of Belochus, hearing that HofenKing of Ifrael had practifed with Soe King of Agypt, against him, inuaded Ifrael, besieged Samaris, and in the third yeare (after the Inhabitants had endured all forts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into Affria and Media: among whom Tobias and his Sonne of the same name, with Annahis Wife, were sent to Winine, in whose Seates and Places the Asyrians fent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the Ifraelites, as those of Cutha, Ana, Hamah, and Sphernaim, besides Babylonians: whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

30 These later Asyrian Kings, and the Persians, which followed them, are the first, of whom wee finde mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serue most aptly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of Historie. True it is, that of Cyrus and some other Persians, we finde in the Bible the same names by which other Authors have recorded them: but of Phul and Salmanifar, with other Affyrian, Chaldean Kings, diversitie of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of Salmanasiar, King of Assur, who raigned in the time of Abaz, and Ezekia, Kings of Inda, and of Hofea King of Ifrael, whom he 42 carried into captiuitie: and wheras Ptolomie makes mention of Nabonaffar, speaking precifely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that Salmanassar and N abonassar were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it bee shewed of Nebuchadnezzar, that hee was the same, whom Ptolomie calleth

Of both these points Bucholeres hath well collected sufficient proofe from the exact calculations of fundrie good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares, that betweene Nabonasar and the birth of Christ, there passed seven hundred fortie and fixe yeares: at which distance of time the raigne of Salmanassar was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the same Bueholerus alleageth out of Erasmus Reinholdus,

10 in the Prutenick Tables. Mardocempadius King of Babylon (whom Ptolomic, Speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures cal Merodach, who fent Embassadors to Hezekia, King of Iuda. So that if wee reckon backwards to the difference of time, betweene Merodach and Salmanafar, we shall finde it the same which is betweene Mardocempadus and Nabo-

naljar. Likewise tunctius doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of Samaria. to the denastation of ierusalem, in the nineteenth of Nebuchadnessar, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirtie and three yeeres: the selfe-same distance of time is found in Ptotomie, betweene Nabonassar and Nabopolassar. For, whereas Ptolomic seemes to differ from this accompt, making Nabonassar more ancient by an hundred and fortie yeeres, than the destruction of lerusalem, wee are to understand that he took Samaria in the eighth yeere of his raigne; so that the seuen foregoing yeares added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall euen with that of Ptolomies Computation is, that from the first of Nabonapar, to the fifth of Nabopolagar, there passed one hundred twentie 10 and scuen yeeres. Now it wee adde to these one hundred twentie seuen, the thirteene ensuing of Nabuchadnessers yeeres, before the Citie and Temple were destroied, we have the samme of one hundred and fortie yeeres. In so plaine a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may serue for all. that Ptolomie placeth the first of Nabopolass, one hundred twentie and two veeres. after the first of Nabonassar, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the confent of all Mathematicians: which inaccompt of times I hold more fure than the authoritie of any Historic; and therefore I thinke it follie to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall observations doe for throughly concurre.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned Scaliger doth rest vnanswered. whereby he proved Buladan the Father of Merodach, to have been this Nabonaffar, I will not spare to look a word or two ingiging the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which Protomie recorded, after the time of Nabon iffar, were in the raigne of Mardocempadus; the second yeare of whose raigne is, according to Ptolomie, concurrent in part with the twentie feuen of Nabanaffar. For the fecond of three ancient Eclipses which hee calculates, being in the second yeare of Mardocompadius, was from the beginning of Nabonassar twentie seuen yeeres, seuenteene daies, and eleuen houres : the accompt from Nabona far, beginning at high-noone the first day of the Agyptian moneth Thot, then 30 answering to the twentie fixt of Februarie; and this Eclipse being fiftie minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of Februarie; so that the difference of time betweene the two Kings Nabonassar and Mirdocempadus, is noted by Ptolomie, according to the Agyptian yeeres. But how does this proue, that Mardocempadus or Merodach, was the Sonne of Nabonaffar? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Succesfor, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to fatisfie me, in this argument, that Scaliger himselfe did afterwards belieue Merdocempadus to haue beene rather the Nephew, than the Sonne of Baladan, or Nabonassar. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne; hee might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But 40 because our Countrie-man Lidyate hath reprehended Scaliger for changing his opinion; and that both Tornielliss, who followes Scaliger herein, and Seihus Calusfius, who hath drawne into forme of Chronologie, that learned worke, De Emendatione Temporum, doe hold up the same affertion, confounding Buladan with Nabonassar: I hauetaken the paines to fearch, as farre as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might proue the Kindred or succession of these two. Yet cannot I finde in the Almagest (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduer se to Scaliger; and other good authoritie, I know none, in this businesse) any fentence more neerely prouing the fuccession of Merodech to Nahonassar, than the place now last rehearfed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was 50 Father to the other, than (that I may vie a like example) the as neere succession of William the Conqueror, declares him, to have beene Sonne, or Grand-child to Edward the Confessor. This considered, wee may safely goe on with our accompt from Nabonassar, taking him for Salmanassar; and not fearing, that the Readers will

be driven from our booke, when they finde something in it, agreeing with Annius. for a fruch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, raigned in Babylon, and Asignia. in those very times which by Diodorus and Ptolomie are affigued to Belefus, Nahonallar, and Mardocempadus, and the rest: no good Historie naming any others, that raigned there in those ages, and all Astronomicall observations, fiely concurring, with the yeeres that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

#### ð. I I.

Of the danger and deliverance of Indea from SENNSCHERIB.

Hen Salmanassar was dead, and his sonne Sennacherib in possession of the Empire, in the fourteenth yeere of Ezechias, he demanded of him fuch Tribute as was agreed on, at fuch time as Tiglath, the Grand-father of Sennacherib, and Father of Salmanaffar, invited by Alaz, inuaded Rezen King of Damafens, and delivered him from the dange-

rous Warre which Israel had undertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when Ezechias denied, Sennacherth, having (as it feemes) a purpose to in-20 uade Egypt, sent one part of his Armie to lie before terusaters. Now though Ezechias (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirtie hundred talents of filuer, and thirty talents of gold: wherewith he prefented Sennacherib, now fet downe before Liebis in Judica, yet vnder the colour of better affurance, & to force the King of India to deliuer holtages, 2.Kina8.221 the Asserian environed Ierusalem with a groffe Armie, and having his Sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

Ezechias directed his three greatest Counsellers, to parlie with Rabsaces, ouer the Wall; and to receive his demands: who yfed three principall arguments to perfwade the people to yeeld themselves to his Master Sennacherib. For though the 30 Chancellor, Steward, and Secretarie, fent by Ezcobias, defired Rabfoces to speake vnto them in the Syrian tongue, and not in the intill, yet hee with a more loud voice directed his speech to the multitude in their owne language. And for the first, hee made them know, That if they continued obstina e, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, be inforced to eate their owne dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, healtogether difabled the King of Deppt, from whom the Indeans hoped for fuccour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which whoso - 2. Kings 18.21. ener leaneth, pierceth his owne hand: Thirdly, that the gods who should helpe them, Executas had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brasen Serpent, which had beene preserved ever since Moses time: 40 and withall he bade them remember the gods of other Nations: whom notwithftanding any power of theirs, his Mafter had conquered and throwne downe; and

for God himfelfe, in whom they trusted, hee persuaded them by no meanes to relie on him; for he would deceive them. But finding the people filent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had vinderstood that the King of Arabia was marching on with a powerfull Armie, hee himselfe left the Assyrian forces in charge to others, and fought Sennacherib at Lebna in Indian, either to informe him of their resolution in Ierusalem, or to conferre with him concerning the Armie of Terbaca the Arabian. Soone vpon this there came letters from Sennacherib to Ezechias, whom he partly aduited, and partly threatned to submit himselfe: vsing the 50 same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But Exechias

fending those Counsellers to the Prophet E/17, which had lately beene fent to Rabfaces, received from him comfort, and affurance, that this Heathen Idolater should not preuaile; against whom the King also befought aide from Almightie God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of Sennacheribs letter, before the

dotus mentio-

haca, nor of lerufalem, nor

of the Armie

2.Kin,19.

there. E/ai 29.6.

Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true. That the King 2. Kings 19. of ASHUR had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no Gods, but the worke of mans hands, even wood and stone, &c.

The reason that moved Sennacherib to desire to possesse himself in haste of Ierusalem, was, that he might thereinto haue retraited his Armie, which was departed, as it seemeth, from the siege of Pelusum in Egypt, for seare of Terhaca: and though the Scriptures are filent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the Chronicles or Paralipomenon, speake but of the affaires of the lewes in effect) yet the ancient Berofus, and out of him tofephus, and S. Hierome, together with Herodo-

Hered. 1.2. p. 69. tist, remember it as followeth. Herodotus calleth Sennacherib King of Arabia and Af. 10 fyria: which he might justly doe, because Tiglath his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from Pekah King of Israel: as Gilead ouer Iordan, and the rest of Arabia Petras adjoyning: the same Herodotus also maketh Sethon King of Agypt, to be Vulcans Priest, and reporteth that the reason of Sennacheribs returne from Pelusium in Agypt, which hee also belieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rars had in one night eaten in funder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons of that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him:

10/4011.linear. but the approch of Terhaca, remembred by Iofephus and Berofus, was the more vrgent. S. Hierome vpon the seuen and thirtie of Esay, out of the same Berofus, as also Her, Euterp.L. in part out of Herodotus, whom Iofephus citeth somewhat otherwise than his words 20 lie, reports Senacheribe retraitin these words. Pugnasse autem Senacherib Regem Asyriorum contra Agyptios, & objediffe Pelusum, ismá, extructis aggeribus, vrbi capiende, venisse TARACHAM Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & vna nocte iuxta Ierusalem, centum octoginta quing, millia exercitus Asyrij pestilentia corruisse narrat HE-

RODOTUS: & plenissime BEROSUS Chaldaice seriptor Historia, quorum fides de proprijs libris petenda est; That SENACHERIB King of the Asyrians fought against the \* To wit in Agyptians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the part, for Hero- Citie, TARHACAS King of the Ethiopians came to helpe them, and that in one night, neth nothing, neere Ierusalem, one hundred eightie fine thousand of the Asyrian Armie perished by pestineither of Tar- lence; of thefe things (faith HIEROME) \*HERODOTVS reports : and more at large 30 BEROSVS a writer of Chaldean Storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne bookes. Out of Elay it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assrian Armie was in this manner: Thou first be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great

noise, a whirle-winde and a tempest, and a flame of denouring fire. But Iosephus hath it more largely out of the same Berofus, an authoritie (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted, SENNACHERIBUS autem ab Egyptiaco bello Iofant l. 10 c.1. revertens, oftenditibiexercitum, quem fub RABSACIS Imperio reliquerat pefte divinitus immisa deletum, prima nocte posteaquam Vrbem oppugnare carperat, absumptis cum

Ducibus & Tribunis, centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copijs sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, adregiam qua Ni- 40 nus dicitur. Vbi paulo post per insidias Seniorum, è filijs suis, Adramelechi, & Sciemer otherser. Selennar 1, vitam amifit: occifus in ipfo Templo quod dicitur AR ASCI; quemprawho slew him, cipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsis & in Armeniam fugien-

ashewas pray- tibus, Asaracoldas minor filius in Regnum successit; Sennacherie (faith ing to Nefice IOSEPHUS) returning from the Agyptian Warre, found there his Armie, which he had left under the command of RABSACES, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begunne to affault the Towne: one hundred fourescore and fine thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftaines and Coronells. With which destruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, hee made great marches into his Kingdome; to his Royall Citie, which is called Winus, where 50 shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes, Adrametech and Se-

LENNAR or SHAREZER, he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to ARASCES. or NES-ROCH: whom he especially worshipped. These his sonnes being for their parricide chased a-Eldranica va. way by the people: and flying into Armenia, As AR AGOLDAS his yonger sonne succee-

ded in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his raigne fent new troupes out of Allyria and Samaria, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his grandfather Salmanasar. What this Nefroch was, it is vncertaine: Hierone in his Hebrew traditions hath fomewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certaine, that Venus Vrania was worshipped by the Asyrians; and so was Inpiter Belus, as Dion, Eusebius, and Cyrillus witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonne had to murther him; but the Lyr. most likely is, that he had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on Affarhaddon. Tobit tells vs, That it was fiftie fine dayes after Senacheribs returne, ere he was murthered by his sonnes; during which time he slew great num-10 bers of the Israelites in Nineue, till the most just God turned the Sword against his owne breft.

# ð. III.

Of EZEKIAS his sicknesse and recoverie; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.

Fter this maruellous deliuerie, Ezekias fickened, and was told by Isaiah; that he must die: but after hee had before to deliuerie, Isiah, as hee was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recouerie after three dayes, and a prolongation of his life for fifteene yeeres. But Ezekias somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a figne to confirme him: whereupon, at

the prayer of Isatah, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrarie way, and 2. King 10. went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of Achaz. The cause that moued Ezekias to lament (faith Saint Hierome) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despaire that the Messas should come out of the house of Danid, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the Pestilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges layed to the Botch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wife-men of Chaldea had told to Merodach, King of Babylon, the first of that house, he sent to Ezekias, to be informed of the cause: at which time Ezekias shewed him all the Treasure hee had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet Isaah, who told him; The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and what sower thy fathers have layed Elay :9. up in fore to this day, shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall bec left, saith the Lord. It may feeme strange, how Ezekia should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for Senacherib had robbed him of all, the yeere before. But the spoile of the same Senacherib his Campe repayed all with advantage, and made Ezekia richer vpon the fuddaine then euer he had beene: which vnexpected wealth was a strong temptati-40 onto boasting. After this time Ezekia had rest, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made vnto his life, he died, having raigned nine and twentie yeeres. One onely offensiue Warre he made, which was against the Philistims with good successe. Among his other acts (shortly remembred in Ecclesiasticus) hee Eccles.

denised to bring water to Ierusalem. In two respects they say that hee offended God: the one, that hee rejoyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemie; the other, that hee so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbeare to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moved Ezekias (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassiadors of Merodach in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit 50 him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recourie of his health; as also in that Merodach had weakened the house of Senacherib, his fearefullenemie. For Merodach, who was Commander and Lieutenant under Senacherib in Babylon, vfurped that State himselfe, in the last yeere of that King, and held it by strong hand against his sonne Assarbaddon; who was not onely simple, but impaired in strength,

by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage Merodach espied, and remembring, that their ancestor Phul Belochus had set his owne master Sardanapalus besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himselfe to take the opportunitie which this Kings weakenesse did ofter, as it had beene for Belochus to make vse of the others wickenesse: and so, finding himselfe beloved of the Babylonians, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed. The assertion of this historie is made by the same arguments that were vsed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching Phul Belochus; which I will not here againe rehearse. So of this new Race, which cut a sunder the Line of Winus, there were onely sine Kings.

Phul Belochus.
Tiglath Philassar.
Salmanassar.
Senacherib.
Assarbaddon,

But for a finuch as the last yeere of Salmanassar was also the first of Senacherib his sonne, we reckon the time, wherein the house of Phul held the Assyrian Kingdome, to have been an hundred and one yeeres, of which, the last sive and twentie vvere spent with Ezekia, vnder Salmanassar, Senacherib, and Assardadon.

# δ. III**I**.

The Kings that were in Media during the raigne of Ezekia: Of the difference found betweene fundrie Authors, in rehearling the Median Kings.

Other contemporaries of Ezekia: of CANDAV
Les, Gyges, and the Kings descended from Hercyles.

N the time of Exèkia, Medidus, and after him Cardiceas, raigned in Media. Whether it were so, that varietie of names, by which these Kings 30 were called in seuerall Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeede they were; or whether the sonnes raigning with the fathers, have caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of

Time, wherein they gouerned Media, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themselves, of Ctessas and Annius his Metasthenes, have beene faultie, as neither of these two Authors is over-highly commended of trustinesses: shat the names, number, and length of raigne, are all very diversly reported of these Median Kings, that followed Arbaces: Therefore it neede not seeme strange, that I reckon Medidus and Cardiceas as contemporaries with Ezekia. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is sound in those Writers that varie from Eusebius, is more than I do dare undertake. I will onely here set downe the roll of Kings that raigned in Media, accordingly as sundrie Authors have delivered it.

Annius his Metasthenes orders them and their raignes thus:

		0	
Arbaces.	28.	)	
Mandanes.	50.		
Sofarmon.	30.		
Articarmin.	50.	į .	
Arbianes.	122.		
Artaus.	1	>yeeres.	
Attines.	22.		50
Astybarus, with his	20.	li .	,
Sonne Apanda.		1	
Apanda alone.	30.	<b>f</b> i	
Darius with Cyrus.	36.	şi	
	,	,	Diodorus

Diodorus Siculus following Ctesus (as perhaps Annius made his Metasthenes follow Diodore, with some litte variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

Astypara. Sthe continuance of these two he doth not mention.

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with Eusebius. But forasimuch as it seemes to mee an impossible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures 20 founded upon Ctess and Metassbenes, I will lay the burthen upon Eusebius, who liued in an age better furnished than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore shiftee, that these two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with Ezekia) Medidus and Cardiceas, are found in Eusebius: for whether Cardiceas were Diodorus his Arbianes, I will not stay to search. The Kings of Media, according to Eusebius, raigned in this order.

These names, and this course of succession I retaine; but adde vnto these, Cyaxares the sonne of Asyages, according to Xenophon; and sometimes follow Herodotus,
in setting downer the length of a Kings raigne, otherwise than Eusebus hathit: of
which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twentie nine yeeres of Ezekia were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure first that were chosen Gouernours of Athens for ten yeeres; that is, of Charppy, Alimedes, Elidicus, and Hippones. Touching the first of these I heare nothing, saue that Rome was built in his first yeere; of which perhaps himselfe did not heare. Of the second and third I finde only the names. The fourth made himselfe knowne by a strange example of justice, or rather of crueltie, that hee showed vpon his owne Daughter. For hee sinding that shee had offended in vnchastitie, caused her to be locktyp with an Horse, giving to neither of them any foode: so the Horse, constrained by hunger, deaoured the vnhappie Woman.

In Rome, the first King, and Founder of that Citie Romulus, did raigne both be-

50 fore, and somewhat after Ezekia.

In Lydia, Candaules the last King, ruled in the same age.

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CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that raigned in Ægypt, betweene the deline-rance of Israel from thence, and the raigne of Ezekiainfuda, when Ægypt and Iuda made a league against the
Assyrians.

10

That many names of Ægyptian Kings, found in Historie, are like to have belonged only to Viceroyes. In example prouing this out of WILLIAM of Tyre bis Historie of the holy Warre.

He emulation and quarrells arising in these times, betweene the mightic Kingdomes of Agypt and Affyria, doe require our paines, in collecting the most memorable things in £gypt, and fetting downe briefly the state of that Countrie, which had continuedlong a flowrithing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with Asyria for the Maftrie. Of Chamthe sonne of Noah, who first planted that Countrie, and of Osiris, Orus, and other ancient Kings, that raigned there, vntill the Ifraelites were thence delivered, more hath beene faid a'readie than

3º I can fland to; though I hold it no shame to faile in such coniectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynasties, must heere againe helpe me. For it may truely be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are faid to have raigned in Agypt, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as Ioseph was, and such as were the Soldanes in later ages. Therefore, I will not onely forbeare to seeke after those, whom Herodotus and Diodorus have reckoned vp, from the mouthes of £gyptian Pricsts, delivering them by number. without rehearling their names; but will faue the labour of marthalling them in order, whose names only are found; the yeares of their raignes, and other circumstances, prouing them to have beene Kings in deede, being not recorded.

But that I may not seeme before hand, to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what Hift; it were not amisse, to give vnto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historic doth assoord. First therefore, wee ought not to beleeue those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests have reckoned up, to magnific their Antiquities. For weeknow, that . from Abraham, our Sauiour Christ was removed onely fortic two descents, which makes it euident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the Persian Empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in Agypt: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, baue raigned longer than fortie yeeres. It followes that we should square the number of the Agyptian Kings in some even proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countries, As for the rest, whose names we finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy warre written by William Archbilhop of Tyre, may casily perswade himselfe, that it is not hard to find names enow, of such as might be thought to have raigned in Agypi, being none other

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the name of Lydia, if wee beleeue such authoritie as wee finde. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon Argon, who came of Alegus the sonne of Hercules, by Iardana, a bond-woman. The race of these Heraclida continued raigning fiftie fine yeeres (in which two and twentie Generations paffed) the sonne continually succeeding the father. Candaules the sonne of Myr sus was the last of his race, who doated so much vpon the beautie of his owne Wife, that hee could not bee content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one Gyges, the fonne of Daseylus, to behold her naked bodie; and placed the vnwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bed-ward. This was not so to closely carried, but that the Queene perceived Gyges at his going forth, and vnderflanding the matter, tooke it in such high disdaine, that she forced him the next day to require the Kings follie with treason. So Gyges, being brought againe into the fame chamber by the Queene, flew Candaules, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of Lydia. He raigned thirtie eight yeeres, beginning in the last of Ezekia, one yeere before the death of Romulus.

This Region was first called Maonia. Lydus the sonne of Atys raigning in it, gaue

After Gyges, his sonne Ardys raigned nine and fortie yeeres; then Sadyattes, twelue; Halvattes, fiftie feuen; and finally Crafus, the sonne of Halyattes, fourteene yeeres:

who lost the Kingdome, and was taken by Cyrus of Persia.

And here by the way we may note, that as the Lydian Kings, whom Crafus his 20 Progenitor disposses, are deduced from Hercules, so of the same Hercules there sprang many other Kings, which gouerned severall Countries very long; as in Asia, the Mysians; in Greece, the Lacedamonians, Messenians, Rhodians, Corin-

thians, and Argines; and from the Argines, the Macedonians; as likewife from the Covinghians, the Syraculanes: belides many great and famous, though private, Families.

But of the Heraelida that raigned in Lydia, I have not troubled my selfe to take notice in the times of their seuerall raignes: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, and the follie of this last

King Candaules.

CHAP.26. S.1.

then Regents or Viceroies. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trou-

ble themselues with turning ouer many Authors.

When Elhadech the Caliph ruled in £gypt, one Dargan, a powerfull and a subtile man, made himselfe Soldan, by force and cunning, chaling away Sanar an Arabian, who was Soldan before and after him. This Dargan ministred matter of quarrell to Amalricke King of Ierusalem; and sustained, with little losse, an inuasion, which Amalricke made vpon Egypt. Hecreupon hee grew so insolent and proud, that Sanar the former Soldan hoped to make his partic good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter Agypt. Briefly, Sanar sueth to Novadine, King of 10 Damasco, for aide, who sends an Army of his Turkes, vnder the command of Syracon, against the Soldan Dargan. So Dargan and Sanar met, and fought: The Victoric was Dargans; but hee enjoyed it not : for in few daies after, hee was slaine by treason. whereby Sanar did recouer his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the Kindred and Friends of Dargan, that he could finde in the great Citie of Cairo.

To all these doings, the Caliph Elhadech gaue little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilest he might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles

presently arise, which (one would thinke) doe neerely touch the Caliph himselfe. Syracon with his Turkes, whom Sanar hath gotten to come into Agypt, will not 20 now be entreated there to leave him, and quietly goe their way home. They feize vpon the Towne of Belbeis, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of more companie from Damasco, for the conquest of al Agypt. The Soldan perceives their intent, and findes himselse not strong enough to expell them; much lesse to repell the Turkish Armie, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Mes-

fengers to King Almaricke of Ierufalem, whom with large promifes, he gets to bring him aide, and so drives out the Turkes. Of all this trouble, the great Caliph heares nothing, or not so much, as should make him looke to the playing of his owne game.

A greater mischiese ariseth, concerning the Caliph Elhadech particularly, in his owne Title. Syracon, Captaine of the Turkes that had beene in Egypt, goes to the 20 Caliph of Baldach (who was opposite to him of £gypt, each of them claiming as heire to Mahomet, that falle prophet, the Soueraignetic ouer all that were of the Saracen Law) and tells him the weakeneffe of the Agyptian, with his owne abilitie of doing feruice in those parts, offering his best meanes for the extirpation of the Schismaticall Caliph, and the reduction of all Egypt, with the Westerne parts, vnder the Subjection of the Babylonian. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Easterne Prouinces are vp in Armes; and Syracon, with a mightie power, defcendeth into Agypt. The noise of this great expedition so affrighteth King Almaricke, that with all his forces he hasteth into Agypt: well knowing how neerely it concerned him and his Kingdome of Ierusalem, to keep the Saracens from ioyning 40 all vnder one head. Sanar the Soldan perceiuing the faithful care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselse in giving them all manner of content, as it behoued him: for by their admirable valour, he finally draue the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victorie was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strangeit is (which most concernes our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the Caliph, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to have beene King in title only, who medled so little in the Gouernment? The Soldan, finding that the Christians (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King Almaricke, vpon condition, that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (William of Tyre cals 10 it a Tribute; the Saracens, perhaps, called it a Penfion) which the Kings of Ierufalem should receive out of Laypt, for this behoovefull assistance. But the Christians vnderstanding that the Soldan (how much soeder he tooke vpon him) was subject to an higher Lord, would make no bargaine of fuch importance, with any other than

the Calipb himselfe. Hercupon Hugh Earle of Cafarea, and a Knight of the Templars, are fent vnto Elbadech, to ratific the conenants. Now shall we see the greatnesse of the Calipb and his estate.

These Embassadors were conneighed by the Soldan to Cairo; where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through darke Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of Æthiopians, which with al diligence, did reverence vnto the Soldan, as he paffed along. Through these streights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beautie and riches, that they could not retaine the gravitie of Embassadors, but were enforced 10 to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they faw goodly marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought ouer with emboffed works, curious pauements. fish-ponds of marble with cleare waters, and many forts of strange Birds, vnknown in these parts of the world, as comming perhaps from the East Indies, which then were vndiscouered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the Caliph his Eunuche's conveighed them into other Courts within these; as farre excelling the former, as the former did furpasse ordinary houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearle, how, the further they entred, the more high state they found. and cause of maruaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrot these things,

was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the Caliphs owne 20 lodgings, which were yet more flately, and better guarded, where entring the prefence, the Soldan having twice proftrated himfelfe, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he ware about his neck, and throw himselfe on the ground, before the curtaine, behinde which the Caliph fate. Presently the trauerse, wrought with Gold and pearles was opened, and the Caliph himselfe discouered, sitting with great Maiestie on a throne of gold, having very few of his most inward servants and Eunuches about him. When the Soldan had humbly kiffed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King Almericke, desiring the Caliph himselfe to ratifie them, in presence of the Embassadors. The Caliph answered, That he would throughly performe all 20 which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would have

him to give his hand vpon the bargaine; which the Agyptians, that flood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnes condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of Cafarea faw that the Caliph gaue his hand, neither willingly nor bare, hee told him roundly thus much in effect. SIR, Truth feekes no holes to hide it felfe; Princes, that will hold couenant, must deale openly, nakedly, and sincerely a Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargaines with your Gloue. Much adoc there was about this: for it seemed against the Maiestie of such a Prince to yeelde so farre. But, when it would none o-40 therwife be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his Servants) hee

vouchfafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and fo rehearling the couenants word by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the

Embassadors, with such rewards as testified his Greatnesse.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may different the Image of the ancient Pharaoh, and his Viceroy: we fee a Prince of great effate, fitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the meane season, vsing all Royal power, making warre and peace; entertaining, and expelling Armics of strangers; yea making the Land of Egypt tributarie to a forraine Prince. What greater authoritie was given 50 to Tofeph, when Pharaoh faid vnto him, Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word

shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings Throne will I bee about thee, Behold, I have Set thee over all the Land of Azypt?

I doe not commend this forme of Government; neither can I approoue the coniecture of mine Author, where hee thinks, that the Egyptians, ouer fince Fff 2

Iolephs time, have felt the burden of that servitude, which hee brought vpon them. when he bought them, and their Lands, for Pharaoh. Herein I finde his judgement good; that he affirmes this manner of the Agyptian Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practifed by the Pharaohs. For we finde, that even the Piolomies (excepting Ptolomaus Lazi, and his sonne Philadelphus, founder and chablisher of that race) were given, all of them, wholly to please their owne appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Countrie affoorded, were indeede sufficient to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the Agyptians held their Princes, gave them to fecuritie, whereby they might the better trust their officers, with so ample Commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroyes gouerning ofgypt, is fet downe by Mofes, and that a lively example of the same is found in William of Tyre; who lived in the same age; was, in few yeeres after, Chancellour of the Kingdome of lerusalem; and had full discourse with Hugh Earle of Casarea, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remaines, that wee bee not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleeue that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous Ægyptians have honored with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of fuch, as we finde by circumstance, likely to have raigned in that Countrie; after 20 whom it followes that we should make enquirie.

### ò. II.

Of ACHERRES; whether he were V CHOREVS that was the eighth from OSYMANDYAS. Of OSYMANDYAS and his Tomber.

N this businesse I hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope to 30 attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as Diodorus varies from Herodotus, Eusebius, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue fought to gather the truth out of these and others, finde no one with whom they can agree? In this case Annus would doe good ser-

nice, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others doc either say nothing, or that which may justly bee suspected. I will therefore hold my felfe contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of Osiris, Iss, Orus, and those antiquities removed so farre out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of Ifrael out of Agypt, it shall suffice, that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Eufebius, haue not beene filent, and that Reineccius hath taken 40 paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or found Scattering in others.

From the departure of Ifrael out of Agypt, vnto the raigne of Thuoris (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greeks call Proteus) there is little or no disagreement about the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I fet downe the same which are found in Eusebius, and give to cuerie one the same length of raigne.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded vnto Chenchres, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seemes to Reinecrius to be the same whom Diodorus calls Vehoreus, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in Diodorus of a great King, named Ofymandyus, from whom Vchoreus is faid to be the eighth; it will 50 either hardly follow, that Timaus (as Reineceius coniectures) was the great Ofymandyas; or else that this Acherres was Vehoreus : for the distance betweene them was more then eight generations. Mercator iudgeth Osymandyas to have beene the husband of Acencheres, Orns the second his Daughter; thinking that Manethon (cited

(cited by Iosephus) doth omit his name, and insert his wives, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wives right. As for Vohoreus, it troubles not Mercator to finde him the eighth from this man : for he takes Ogdous, not to fignific in this place of Diodore (as that Greeke word elfe doth) the eighth, but to be an Agretian name, belonging also to Veboreus, who might have had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vexe my braines in the vnprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that Diodore hath found of this Ofmandyas, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the Egyptians did fabulously expound. For whereas there was pourtraied a great Armie with the fiege of a Towne, the captivitie of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the Egyptians said to denote the conquest of Bactria made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which Diodore so particularly describes, to have been erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of Agypt, and to their Viceroves; whilest yet they were not so ambitious, as every one to have his owne particular monument, striuing therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many statuacs, therein placed, by the Warres, the judgement Seate, the receiving of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the account of Revenues, and plentie of all Cattaile and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the 20 seuerall Offices of a Gouernour. On the Tombe of Ofmandyas was this inscription. I am O S Y M A N D Y A S King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie. let him exceede some of my workes. Let them, that hope to exceede his workes, labour to know what he was. But fince by those wordes, Or where I lie, it should feeme that hee lay not there interred, wee may lawfully suspect that it was Tofeph. whose body was preserved among the Hebrewes, to be buried in the Land of Canaan, and this emptie Monument might King Orus, who out-lived him, erect in honor of his high deferts, among the royall Sepulchers. To which purpose, the plentic of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name ofymandy as doth not hinder this coniecture; seeing Ioseph had one new name given to 30 him by Pharaoh, for expounding the dreame, and might, vpon further occasions. have another, to his encrease of honor. As for that stile, King of Kings, it was perhaps no more than Beglerbeg, as the Turkilh Ballaes are called that is, Great about the Great.

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP.26. S.2.

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls outright, betweene the times of Ioseph and Acherres (for Acherres was the eighth in order, that raigned after the great Orw, whose Viceroy Ioseph was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to fortifie mine owne coniccture, as touching Iofeph, nor to inferre any likelihood of Acherres his being Vchoreus. For it might well bee, that Memphis was built by some such King as was Gehoar, Lieutenant vnto the Caliph Eleain, who having to his Masters Iohn Leo Hish.

vse, conquered £gypt, and many other Countries, did build, not farre from old Memphis, the great Citie of Cairo (corruptly so pronounced) naming it El Cahira, that is, an enforcing, or an

imperious Mistresse, though he himselfe were 2 Dalmatian

flaue.

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d. III.

Of CHERRES, ARMEVS, RAMESSES, and AMENOPHIS. Of MYRIS. and the Lake that beares his name.



Hen Acherres had raighed eight yeeres, Cherres succeeded, and held the Kingdome fitteene yeeres: then raigned Armeus five yeeres, and after him Ramesses, threescore and eight. Of Armeus and Ramesses is that Historie vnderstood by Eusebius, which is common among the 10 Greekes, under the names of Danaus and Agyptus. For it is faid that

Danaus, being expelled out of Egypt by his Brother, fled into Greece, where he obtained the Kingdome of Argos: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom vpon feeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his Brothers fiftie Sonnes, but commanded cuery one of them to kill her husband the first night; that onely Hypermnestra, one of his Daughters, did sauc her husband Lynceus, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudse sisters, when they died, were enjoyined this foo-

lish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking Vessell with water.

The raigne of Danau in Argos was indeed in this age; but that Armeus, was Danaus ; and Ramesses, Egyptus; is more then Reineccius belecues: hee rather takes 20 Armeus to have beene Myris, or Meris, who caused the great lake to be made which beares his name. For my owne part, as I can eafily beleeue, that he which fled out of Agypt into Greece, was a man of such qualitie as the Soldan Sanar, of whom we spake before; so doe I not finde how in so short araigne, as fine yeeres, a worke of that labour could be finished, which was required vnto the Lake of Myris, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulchre and his wines being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in Argos. Wherefore of Myris, and of all other Kings, whose age is vncertaine, and of whose raignes we have no assurance, I may truly fay, that their great workes are not enough to prooue them of the house of Pharaoh, seeing that greater deedes or more absolute, then were those of Ioseph, who 30 bought all the people of Agypt as bond-men, and all their Land for bread; of Gehorr, who founded Cairo; and of Sanar, who made the Countrie Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set downethe length of their raignes, whom we finde to have followed one another in order of succession; but in rehearling the great acts which were performed, I will not fland to examine, whether they that

didthem were Kings or no.

The Lake of Myris is, by the report of Diodore and Herodoius, three thousand fixe hundred furlongs in compasse, and fistic sadomes deepe. It served to receive the waters of Nilus, when the ouer flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Coun- 40 trie; and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not rise high enough. In opening the sluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fiftie talents; but the Lake it selfe defraied that cost; seeing the tribute imposed upon Fish taken therein, was every day one talent, which Myris gaue to his Wife to buy sweet ointments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middest of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchers of Myris and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to Herodotus) fiftie paces high; having on the tops their statues, sitting in Thrones. I finde not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians; yet is it very great. The yeeres of Armeus are by Manethon divided, by inferting one Armelis (whom Eusebius omits) that should have raigned one yeere and odde moneths of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After Ramesses, his sonne Amenophis held the Kingdome fortie yeares. Some give him only nineteene yeeres; and Mercator thinkes him to have beene the

of the Historie of the World. CHAF.26. S.4.

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King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have already spoken in the first Booke.

# ò. IIII.

Of the Kings that raigned in the Dynastie of the Larthes.



ETHOSIS, or Zethus, raigned after his Father Amenophis, fiftic five yeeres. To him are ascribed the samous acts of that ancient Sesoftris. But the state of the World was not such in these times, that so great an expedition, as the old Sesosiris made, could have beene either eaan expedition, as the old selour is made, some data.

fily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paf-

sed had it now beene performed, as any man will perceive, if hee looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and consider who lived with this Zethus. With this King beganne the Dinastie of the Larthes; which Reineceius conjectures to have had the fame fignification, wherein the old Kings of Hetruria were called Lartes, (the Hetrurians being iffued out of Lydia, the Lydians out of Egypt) and to have fignified as much as Imperator or Generall. The Warres in which these Kings were Generalls. I take to have beene against the Ethiopians for sure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of Palestina, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they trauailed ouer the defart fands, on the other hand; to seeke matter of conqueit, in the poore Countries of Africa. But these Generalls (if the Larthes were fuch) were not many. Fine only had that title; and the last of these tookeit, perhaps, as hereditarie from the first; in such fort as the Roman Emperors were proud for a while, to be called Antonini, till the most vusueable conditions of Heliogabalus, made his Successors forbeare the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appeares by this particular) tooke name from the Kings, that the Kings also did administer the government them-30 selues; and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much vnto the Viceroies, But it is to be confidered, that what is faid of these Larthes, depends only vpon conjecture, and that the authoritic of the Regents, or Viceroies, might bee great enough, though some few Kings tooke the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For fo we finde in lohn Leo, that the Soldan of Agypt (after fuch time as the 10hn Leo, 1.3) Soldan Saladine, murdering the Caliph, got the Soucraignetic to himselfe) had vnder him a Vicerov, stiled Eddaguadare, who had authoritie to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almost as great, as the Soldans owne. Yet was there also the Amir Cabir, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good, spend of 49 the Soldans Treasure. So might the Office of the Viceroies continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generalls vpon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnesse of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawne; whether from their Countrie, as those of the Thebans and Diapolitans, or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many thinke, that the seuenteenth Dynastie was called of the Sheep-heards, because loseph gouerned in part therof; or from the Kings themselues that raigned; as this was said to be of the Larthes or Generalls. The next, as Manetho (but Annius his

50 now returne to the bulinesse which we left. Ramfes was King after Zethus, or Sethofts, threefcore and fixe yeeres. He is mistaken for that second Sefostris, of whom I have spoken in the first Bookes. I finde nothing worth rehearfall of this Ramfes, or of Amenophis, and Annemenes, that followed him in order, the former of which raigned fortie, the later fixe and twentie

Manetho) hath it, was without any Larthes or Generals, yet was it not without Kings,

for a much as Vaphres, and Sefac, raigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs

Thuoris, the last of the Larthes, raigned only scuen yeeres; yet is hee thought to have beene that Process, of whom Herodotus hath mention, faying, That hee tooke Helena from Paris, and after the fack of Troy, restored her to Menelaus. Incede fay no more in refutation of this, then that the time of Thuoris his raigne, lasted not fo long as from the Rape of Helen to her restitution.

This Proteus or Cetes (as he is named by some) together with Thon, and others. mentioned by Greeke Writers in this bulinesse, or inother such matters, may seeme to be under Officers: for such only are like to have had their residence about Phase to

ros, and the Sca-coast, where Menelaus arrived.

Of Proteus, who detained Helen, it is faid, That he could forctell things to come. and that hee could change himselse into all shapes: whereby is signified his crastic head, for which he is growne into a Prouerbe. The Poets fained him a Sca-God, and keeper of Neptunes Scale-fishes, for belike he was some vnder-Officer to the Admirall, having charge of the Fishing about the Isle of Pharos, as was faid before.

Remphes, the Sonne of Proteus, is reckoned the next King, by Diodore, as also by Herodotus, who calls him Ramsinitus, and tells a long tale, fit to please children, of his couetousnesse, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning Theese, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may believe what he list. How long 20 this King raigned I know not, nor thinke that either hee, or his Father, did raigne

# è. V.

Of Egyptian Kings whose names are found scattering in sundrie Authors. their times being not recorded. The Kings of Agypt, according to CEDRENVS. Of VAPHRES and SESAC.



Any other names of Agyptian Kings, are found scattered heere and there; as Tonepher jobis, of whom Suidas deliuers only the bare name and title; Senemures, or Senepos, mentioned in Macrobius, who perhaps was the same that by Suidas is called Senyes, or Euenes, noted by occasion of a great Phisicion that lined under him; Banchyris, recorded

by the same Suidas, for his great justice; and Thulis, of whom Suidas tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Isle of Thule, which some take to be Iseland; and that he consulted with the Deuill, or (which is all one) with Seraphis, defiring to know, who before him had beene, or after him should be so mightie as himselfe. The answere or confession of the Deuill 40 was remarkable; which I finde Englished in the translation of Plesis his worke, Of the truenesse of Christian Religion. The Greeke Verses are somewhat otherwise, and more imperfect in those Copies that I have of Cedrenus and Suidas, but the sense is all one, which is this:

First God, and next THEW ORD, and then THESPRITE, Which three be ONE, and joyne in ONE all three: Whose force is endlesse. Get thee hence fraile wight, The Man of Life vnknowne excelleth thee.

I should have thought that Suides had borrowed all this of Cedrenus, had I not 50 found somewhat more in Suidas, than Cedrenus hath hereof; as the forme of inuocation which Thulis vsed, and that clause, of his giving name to the Iland: though in this last point I hold Suidas to be deceived; as also Cedrenus is, or (at least) seemes

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.26.S.5. to me, in giuing to this King such profound antiquitie of raigne. Indeede the very name of that Booke, cited often by Cedrenus, which he calls Little Genesis, is alone

enough to breede suspition of some impossure: but the Frierly stuffe that hee alledgeth out of it, is such as would serue to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparant, that he was a man both deuout, and of good judgement, in matters that tell within his compasse. I will here set downe the List of olde Egyptian Kings de-

livered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of Egypt that he sets downe, is Mizraim, the sonne of Cham, After him hee findes many of a new race, deriving their pedegree thus: Nimrod, the 10 fonne of Chus, was also called Orion; and further, tooke vpon him the name of the Planet Saturne, had to wife Semiramis, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three sonnes; Picus, surnamed Iupiter, Belus and Ninus. Picus chasing his father out of Affyria into Italie, raigned in his stead thirtic yeeres, and then gaue up that Kingdome to Inno, his fifter and wife, and to Belus his sonne : after which Belus, who raigned onely two yeeres, Nimus had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother Semiramis. But Picus went into Italie, to visite his olde father Saturne; Saturne forthwith religned the Kingdome to him. Pieus Inpiter raigned in Italie threescore and two yeeres, had threescore and tenne Wines or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Isle of Crete. The principall of Iupi-20 ters sonnes were Faunus, Perseus, and Apollo. Faunus was called by the name of the Planet Mercurie : hee raigned in Italie, after his father, five and thirtie yeeres : and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into Egypt, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of Mizraim, hee got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirtie yeeres. After Mercurie, Vulcan raigned in Aegypt foure yeeres and a halfe. Then Sol, the some of Vulcan, raigned twentie yeeres and ahalfe. There followed in order Sosis, Osris, Orus, and Thules, of whome we spake before: the length of their seuerall raignes is not set downe. After Thules, was the great Sesostris King twentie yeeres. His successor was Pharao, called Naresho, that held the Crowne fiftie yeeres, with which there passed from him the surname of 30 Pharao, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of Cedrenus I hold it enough to set downe as I finde them: let their

credit rest vpon the Author.

Others yet we finde, that are said to have raigned in Aegypt, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whome I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiositie, in the search made after these already rehearsed,

then of negligence, in omitting fuch as might have beene added. Vaphres, the father in law to Salomon; and Sefac, the afflicter of Rehoboam; leade

vsagaine into faire way, but not faire. The name of Vaphres is not found in the Scriptures; but wee are beholding to Clemens Alexandrinus and Eufebius for it. Clem. Strom.Lt 40 These give vs not the length of his raigne; but we know, that he lived in the times Enfelde Prep. of David and of Salomon. He came into Palestina with an Armie, tooke Gezar from the Canaanites, and gaue it to his daughter, Salomons wife: though for her fake per-1.King 9. 16.50 haps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) Sefac his sonne did fauour the enemies of Salomon, who kept fo many Wives and Concubines, besides this Aegyptian Princesse. In the life of Rehoboam all hath beene written that I finde of Sefac, excepting the length of his raigne, which must have beene sixe and twentie yeeres, if he were that Smendis with whome Eusebius beginnes the one and twentieth Dynastie.

Now for a fmuch as it would ferue to no great purpose, that week new the length 50 of Sefachis raigne, and of theirs that followed him, vnleffe therewithall we knew the beginning of Sefac, vpon which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the fourth yeere of Iehoiakim, King of Inda, in which Pharao ZV eco was flaine, I reckon vpwards the yeeres of the same Neco, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of Sesae: by which acommpt, the first yeere of Sesae is found, concurrent

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with the twentieth of Salomons raigne, and the twentie fixt of Sefac with the fift of Rehoboam: wherein Sefac spoyled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, then loss the Israeltte and Crassus the Romane did; who, after him, spoyled the Temple of terusalem.

To fill vp the time betweene Sefae and Neco, I have rather taken those Kings that I find in the Greeke Historians, than them which are in Eufebius his Catalogue. For of these that are delinered by Eusebius, wee finde no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, sauc onely of Bocchoris, who is remembred by Diodore, Plutarch, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to have beene a King, Hercunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in Eulebius by Ac. 10 thiopians, which got the Kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appeares by the Prophet Esay, that the Councellors of Pharao did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, insomuch, that they said of Pharaoh, 1 am the Sonne of the Wife, I am the Sonne of the ansient King. But that which overthrowes the reckoning of Eusebius, is, the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of Iuda. For though it please him well to see how the raignes of Iofias and Neco meete by his computation, yet this indeede marres all; the raigne of loss being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting, to compare the raignes of the Kings of Iuda with theirs of Ifrael: by which occasion, Ioram, King of Israel, is made to raigne three yeeres after Ahazia of Iuda; Samaria is taken by Sal. 20 manassar before Hezekia was King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings, haue their beginnings placed in some other yeere of their collateralls than the Scriptures haue determined.

# Q. VI.

Of CHEMMIS, CHEOPS, CEPHRENES, and other Kings recited by
HERODOTYS and DIODORYS SICVLYS, which
raigned betweene the times of REHOBOAM and EZEKIA.

Ollowing therefore the Greeke Historians, I place Chemmis, or (according to Diodore) Chembis, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after Sesac. He eraigned fiftie yeeres, and built the greatest of the three Pyramides, which was accompted one of this worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame

of fire, growing from the bottome spwards narrower and narrower to the toppe. This of Chemmis being foure-square, had a Base of seuenakers enery way, and was aboue sixe akers high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had lasted, 40 when Diodore saw it, about a thousand yeeres, without complaining of any injurie that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the raigne of Chemmis, vnto the age of Augustus Casar, wherein Diodore lined, are indeede a thousand yeeres; which gives the better likelyhod vnto this time wherein Chemmis is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, late Writers tessifie, that they have seene them yet sanding.

After Chemmis, Diodore placeth Cephrenes his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his sonne Chabreus succeeded. Herodotus hath Cheeps (who might bee Chabreus) and Cephrenes after him. These are said to have beene brethren; but the length of their raignes may argue the later to have beene sonne to the former: for Cheops raigned fiftie yeeres; Cephrenes fiftie sixe. These were, as Chemmis had beene, builders of Pyramides, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These Pyramides were ordained to be Tombes, for those that raised them;

Diodor.l.1.
Herod.l.2.

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but the malice of the Ægyptians is said to haue cast out their bodies; and to haue called their Monuments by the name of an Heardsman, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entituling a poore sellow to their workes, was held to be the casting out of their bodies; otherwise, it is hard to conceiue, how it might bee, that they, who had not power to auoide the sike slaueric, laid vpon them by the yonger brother, or sonne, should haue power or leisure to take such reuenge vpon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale deuised against Cheops his Daughter; That her Father, wanting mony, did prositiute her, and that shee, getting of every man that accompanied her, one

10 flore, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that flood in the middeft of the other three. Belike shee was an infolent Lady, and made them tollow their drudgery, for her fake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a Monument,

with the superfluitie of her Fathers prouisions.

Mycerinus, the sonne of Cephrenes, raigned after his Father fixe yeeres. He would haue built as his foregoers did, but preuented by death, finished not what hee had begunne. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which Cheeps and Cephrenes had kept flut. But an Oracle threatned him with ashort life of fixe yeeres only, because of this his denotion; For (said the Oracle) Egypt (bould have beene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeeres, which thy Pradeceffors new, and performed for their parts, but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou line but fixe yeeres. It is very strange, that the Gods should bee offended with a King for his pietie; or that they should decree to make a Countrie impious, when the people were desirous to serue them; or that they having so decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter destinie, and make the ordinance of the Gods to faile in taking full effect. But these were Aegyptian Gods. The true GoD was, doubtlesse, more offended with the restitution of such Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, whether Chemmis did not learne somewhat at Ierusalem, in the last yeere of his Father sefac, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanitie of his Aegyptian superstition? Sure it is that his raigne, and the raignes of Cheops, and Cephrenes, were more long and more happie, than that of Mycerinus, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both daies and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, hee had changed his nights into daies, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the Deuill, than the restitution of Idolatriedurst then seeme, when it could speede no better. I finde in Reinecolus fistie yeeres affigned to this King; which I verily beleeue to have beene some errour of the print, though I finde it not corrected among other fuch ouer-fights: for I know no Author that gives him so many yeeres, and Reineccius himselse takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned Mycerinus with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next vnto Mycerinus, by Diodore, who speakes no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his Predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by diners Authors, as one that loued justice; and may be taken for that Banchyris, whom Suidas commends in that kinde: Ensebius reckons four eand

fortie yeeres of his raigne.

After Bocchorus, one Sabacus an Acthiopian followes, in the Catalogue of Diodore; but certaine ages after him. Herodotus, quite omitting Bocchorus, hath Afrehis; who made a sharpe law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paied. This Afrehis made a Pyramis of brick, more costly and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of those that the former Kings hadraised. Besides this Afrehis, Herodotus placeth one Anysis, ablinde man, before the Aethiopian. The raignes of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the Aegyptians, to magnific their antiquities, accounted betweene Bocchorus and him that followed them. But all this could make but sixe yeeres, and so long doth Functius, so long doth Reineccius hold, that these two Kings, betweene them both, did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnprobable.

2.King.18.24.

bable, that the raignes of two Kings should have beene so soone spent; he may doe it by taking some yeeres from Sethen or Pfammeticus, and adding them to either of these. To adde vnto these, without subtracting from some other, would breede a manifest inconvenience: for a smuch as part of Sefac his raigne, must have beene in I. King. 14.15. the fift of R E HOBOAM, as also the last of Pharao Neco was the fourth of lehoiakim. 2. Chien. 12.0.2. and the first of Nebuchadnezzar. For mine owne part I like it better to allow fixe yeeres only to these two Kings, than to loose the witnesse of Herodotus, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speake of Senacheribs warre; at which time Sethon was King of Aegypt. I will not therefore adde yeeres unto these obscure names; for by adding vnto these men three yeeres, wee shall thrust the beginning to of Sethon out of place, and make it later than the death of Senacherib. In regard of this agreement of Herodotus with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his Accyptian Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great enuie, to leave both Alreha and Anylis out of the roll; which were cally done, by placing selec lower, and extending his life yet fixe yeeres further, or more, (if the like abridgement shall be required of Planmeticus his raigne) into the vecres of Rehobeam.

Of Sabacus the Aethiopian, who tooke the Kingdome from Amy fis, it is agreed by the most, that he raigned sistic yeeres. He was a merciful! Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour you malefactors; by whose toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out 20 their feruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vie than pompe, to the fingular benefit of the Countrey. Zonaras calls this King Sua; the Scriptures call him So. Holea, the last King of Israel, made a League with him against Salmanastar. little to his good : for the Aegyptian was more rich than warlike, and therefore his

friendship could not preserve the Israelite from destruction.

It teemes, that the encroching power of the Affyrian, grew terrible to Aegypt a. bout these times; the victories of Tiglath Phulassar, and Salmanassar, having eaten so farre into Syria, in the raigne of this one King So or Sabacus. Yea, perhaps it was in his daies (for his raigne beganne in the fourth of Menahem) that Phul him selfe did make the first entrance into Pilastina. This caused so to animate the halfe subdued 30 people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Successor gaue them was so faint, that Senocheribs Embassador compared the Aegyptian succour to a broken staffe of Reede. Such indeede had Hofea found it, and such Ezekia might have found it, had hee not beene supported by the stronger staffe of Him, that rules all Nations with a 10d of yron. It appeares by the words of Rablake, that the opinion was great in Iuda, of the Agyptian forces, for Charrets and Horfe-men; but this power, what soever it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of Agypt it felfe, which So left vnto Sethon his successor, having now fulfilled the fiftie yeeres of his raigne. Herodotus and Diodorus have both one tale, from the relation of Acgyptian Pricits, concerning the departure of this King; faying, that he 40 left the Countrie, and willingly retired into Ethiopia, because it was often fignified vnto him in his dreames, by the God which was worshipped at Thebes, that his raigne should be neither long nor prosperous, vnlesse he slew all the Pricits in E. gyps; which rather than to doe, he refigned his Kingdome. Surely, these Agyptian gods were of a strange qualitie, that so ill rewarded their Scruants, and invited Kingsto doe them wrong. Well might the Agyptians (asthey likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the propertie of Dogs, which love their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should have fained this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some denice of the fearefull old man, who feeing his Realme in danger of an inualion, fought an 50 honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with drawing himself into Athiopia, where he had beene bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the £thiopia into which he went, was none other than Arabia, whereof Tirhaka the King (perhaps at the infligation of this man) raifed an Armic against Senacherib, when hee

meant to inuade £gypt, within two or three yeeres after? But I will not trouble my selfe with such enquirie. This I hold, that So, or Sabacus, was not indeede an Æthiopian (for in his time lived the Prophet Esay, who mentioneth the antiquitie of Pharaohs house) but onely so surnamed for his education, and because islining from thence, he got the Kingdome from Anysis, who was his opposite. The quiet and milde forme of his Gouernement; his holding the Kingdome fo long without an Armie; and many other circumstances argue no lesse. But whether finally hee betooke to a private life, or whether hee fore went his Life and Kingdome at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speake of Sethon his next Suc-10 ceffor, who is omitted by Disdore, but remembred by Herodotus, by a fure token of his haning beene King.

of the Historie of the World.

#### d. VII.

Of SETHON who raigned with Ezekia, and sided with him against SENNACHERIB.

CHAP.26. S.7.

He first yeere of Sethons raignefalls into the twelfth of Ezekia, which was the fift of Sennacherib. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of A Bris and Egypt, being then ingaged in a Warre, the iffue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serue. The Asgrian had the better men of warre;

the Agyptian better prouision of necessaries: the Asyrian, more Subjects; the Agyptian, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of Allur, ma-

nie that were Agyptian in heart, though Agyrian in outward shew.

Of this last fort were Ezekia, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned Pharao, to protect them against his owne great Enemie, preferred the friend-3° ship of so neere and mightie a Neighbour, before the seruice of a terrible, yet sarre remoued King. But herein was great difference, betweene Ezekia and his Subjects: For the good King, fixing his especiall confidence in God, held that course of policie, which hee thought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrie: the multitude of Indea, looking into the faire hopes which this Agyptian league promiled, were puffed up with vaine conceits, thinking that all was fafe, and that now they should not neede to feare any more of those jniuries, which they had suffered by the Affyrians, and so became forgetfull of God, taking counsaile but not of him. The Esty 30.10 Prophet Estry complained much of this presumption; giving the people of Inda to understand, That the Agyptians were men, and not God, and their Horsesslesh, and not 40 Spirit; that God himselfe should defend Israel vpon repentance, and that AssvR Should fall by the (word, but not of man. As for the Agyptians ( faid the Prophet ) they Elayat.v.3.

are varitie, and they shall beloe in vaine, their strength is to sit still. According to the Prophets words it came to passe. For in the treatie of Confe-Esay 3.4. deracie that was held at Zoan, all manner of contentment and affurance was given to the Iewes, by Sethon, or his Agents, who filled them with fuch reports, of Horses and Charets, that they did not looke (as Elay faith) unto the holy one of Ifrael, nor feeke unto Eliy 31.1,20 the Lord. But he yet is wifeft.

After a while came Sennacherib with his Armie, and wakened them out of these dreames; for Sethon their good Neighbour, as neere as hee was, did seeme farre off, 50 being unreadie, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seeme that he purposed, rather to make Palastina than Agypt the stage, whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the Affyrians and lewes, weakening one another, should yeeld vnto him a faire aduantage over both. Yet he fought with monie; for he sent Horses and Camels laden with treasure, to hire the Arabians, whom

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Esa) 30.6.

Esay calleth a people that cannot profit. These Arabians did not profit indeede; for (besides that it seemes by the same place of Esay, that the rich treasures miscarried, and sell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from Tirhaea,) all the strong Cities of Iuda were taken by Sennacherib, except Libna, Lachis, and Ierusalem it selte, which were in fore distresse, till the sword of God, and not of Man, descated the Assignment, who did goe, for seare, to his Tower, that is, he sled to Ninene, where he was slaine.

8 fay 31.90

Concerning this expedition of Sennacherib, Herodotus takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against Agypt, where the men of warre, being offended with Sethon their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to beare armes in de- to fence of him and their Country; that Sethon being Vulcans Prieft, bemoaned himselfe to his god, who by dreame promifed to fend him helpers; that hereupon Sethon, with such as would follow him, which were crafts-men, shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards Pelusium; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of Sennacherib by night, did so gnaw the bowes quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were fainethe next day to flie away in all haste, finding themselies disarmed. In memorie hereof (saith Herodotus) the statue of this King is set up in the Temple of Vulcan, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription: Let him, that b holds me, ferue Gol. Such was the relation of the Egyptian Priefts. wherein how farrethey swarued from the truth, being desirous to magnifie their 20 owne King, it may easily be perceived. It seemes that this Image of Sethon was fallen downe, an Ithe tale forgotten in Diodorus his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did for beare to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the Nation of the Jewes was then well knowne to the world, whereof every child could have told, how much falsehood had beene mingled with the truth.

We finde this historie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That Sennacherib King of the Affyrians, and Arabians, (so Herodotus calleth him : the Syrians or peraduenture some borderers upon Syria, being meant by the name of Arabians) liued in this age, made Warre vpon Ægypt, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that Vulcan did vnto his Priest; 30 happy it was (if Sethon were a Priest) that he took his god now in so good a moode. For within three or foure yeeres before this, all the Priests in Egypt should have beene flaine, if a merciful King had not spared their lives, as it were halfe against the gods will. Therefore this last good turne was not enough to scrue as an example, that might stirre up the Egyptians to pietie, seeing that their denotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did represent Sennacherib himselfe, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the Agyptian manner of expressing things) the shamefull iffue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by meanes which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of 40 God, shewed upon this ungodly King, was indeede a very good motiue to pietie. But the embleme, together with the Temple of Vulcan (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that Sethon, finding himselfe in danger, did call vpon his gods, that is, vpon Vulcan, Serapi, or any to whom hee had most denotion. But so had other of his Predecessors done in the like neede: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the Ienes (cuen fuch of them as most were given to Idolatrie) would have been ashamed of the confidence which they reposed, in the Charets of Agypt, be- 50 cause they were many, and in the Horse-men, because they were very strong; had it beene told them, that Sethen, in stead of sending those Horse-men and Charets, was befeeching Valcan, to fend him and them good luck, or else (for these also were Agyptian gods) addressing his praiers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoever it was, doubtlesse the prophecie of Esay tooke essect, which said, They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor helpe, nor doethem good, but shall beea shame and also a reproch. Such is commonly the issue of humane wisedome, when resting secure vpon prouision that it selse hath made, it will no longer seeme to stand in need of God.

CHAP.26. S.7.

Some there are who take Sethon to have beene set downe by Eustinus, under the name of Tarachus the Athiopian; and therefore the twentie yeeres which are given to Tarachus, they allow to the Raigne of Sethon. These have well observed, that Tarachus the Athiopian is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of Agypt, but as so a friend to that Countrie, or at least an enemie to Sexacherih, in the war last spoken of the Athiopians (as they are englished) over which her raigned, being indeede Chusses or Arabians. Hereupon they suppose aright, that Eusebius hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they thinke, that this Tarachus or Turhaka, is placed in the roome of Sethon, and therefore give to Sethon the twentie yeeres of Tarachus, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this Athiopian (as he is called) began his Raigne over Agypt, by Eusebius his accompt, after the death of Senacherib and of Ezekia, in the first yeere of Manisses King of India. Therefore he, or his yeeres, have no reference to Sethon.

Herodows forgets to tell how long Sethon raigned; Functive peremptorily, citing 20 no Authour, nor alleaging reason for it, sits him downe thirtie three yeers; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my selfe at the first, for measuring the Raignes of these Egyptian Kings. The yeeres which passed from the fift of Rehaboam, unto the fourth of teboiakim, I so divide among the Egyptians, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom hee is sound, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of Raigne is uncertaine; that is, upon this Sethon. By this accompt I find the thirtie three yeeres, that are set downe by Functions, to agree very neerely, if not precisely, with the time of Sethons Raigne; therefore I conforme my ownereckoning to his, though I could

be content to have it one yeere leffe. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of Psammitieus, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this Historie will shortly bring me, the Lagran affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of Iuda, to which is meete that I returne.

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CHAP.

Esay 31.1.

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Iuft.Martyr.

Glycas pag 275.

# CHAP.27. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

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# CHAP. XXVII.

# Of MANASSE and his Contemporaries.

The wickednesse of MANASSES. His imprisonment, Repentance, and Death.



ANDSSE, the Sonne of Ezekias, forgetting the pietie of his Father, and the prosperitie which followed him, fet vp, repaired, adorned, and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Deuill was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, hee himselfeesteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the hofte of Heauen, as gods, and 20 worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his Sonnes for a Sacrifice to the Deuill Moloch, or Melchor, in the Valley of Hinnon, or Benhennon: wherein was kindled the

fire of Sacrifice to the Deuills.

He also gaue himselfe to all kinde of Witchcraft and Sorcerie, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent bloud, as Ieru(alem was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet E/ay (who was also of the Kings race, and as the Iewes 30 affirme, the Father in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neere vnto the Fountaine of Silve to be fawne in funder, with a woodden faw, in the eightieth yere of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous then hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeede are illent hereof yet the fame is confirmed by Epiphanius, Isldore, Eu-2. chron. 33. 11. /cbins, and others too many to rehearfe, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captaines of the Host of the Kings of As HVR, which tooke MANASSE, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chaines, and carried him to Babel: Where after he had lien twentie yeere as a caprine, and dispoiled of all honour and hope; yet to his heartie repentance and continuall praier, the God of infinite mercie had respect, and moved the Assyrians heart to deliver him.

It is also likely that Merodach, because he loued his father Ezechias, was the easilier perswaded to restore Manasse to his libertie and estate. After which, and when hee was againe established, remembring the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detelted his former foolish and deuillith Idolatry, and cast downe the Idols of his owne erection, prepared the Alrar of God, and facrificed theron. He repaired a great part of Ieru(alem: and dyed after the long raigne of fiftie fine yeeres. Glycas and Suidas report, that Manaffe was held in a case of yron by the Asyrians: and therein sedde with bread of branne

and water, which men may beleeve as it shall please their fancies.

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Of troubles in Egypt following the death of SETHON. Theraigne of



Hat the wickednesse of King Manasses was the cause of the euill, which fell youn his Kingdome and Perfon, any Christian must needes beleeue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite Merodach, who fulfilled Gods

pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owneends) desirous of enlarging his Empire to make attempt upon Inda. For the Kingdome of Agypt, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of luda leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civill diffension, and after two yeeres, ill amended by a division of the government betweenetwelue Princes. After some good agreement betweene these eleuen of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This Inter-regnum, or meere Anarchie, that was in Agypt, with the division of the Kingdome following it, is 20 placed by Dioclore, who omitteth Sethon, betweene the raignes of Sabacus, and Plammiticus: but Herodotus doth set the Arislocratie, or twelve Gouernours, immedistely before Pfammiticus, who was one of them, and after Sethon.

The occasion of this diffension seemes to have been the vncertainetie of title to that Kingdome (for that the Crowne of Agypt passed by succession of bloud, I have often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not fettled, untill one had obtained the Soueraignetie.

These twelue Rulers gouerned sifteene yeeres, in good seeming agreement, which to preserue, they made strait couenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should 30 depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drinke offering, in Vulcans Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this vnitie lasted, they joyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built necre vnto the Lake of Maris; a worke so admirable, that (as Herodotus, who beheld it, affirmes) no words could giue it commendation, answerable to the statelinesse of the worke it selfe. I will not here set downe that unperfect description, which Herodotus makes of it, but thinke enough to fay, that he preferres it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, or any of the fairest workes in Greece. Diodorus reports this Labyrinth to haue beene the worke of Marus, or Menides, a King which lived five generations before Pro-40 tem, that is, before the Warre of Iroy, and from this Labyrinth (faith hee) Dedalus tooke the patterne of that which hee made for Minos in Creete. Who this Marus, or Menides was, I cannot tell. Reineccius takes him to haue beene Annemenes, which raigned immediately before Thuoris. But this agrees not with Diodore: for Dadalus and Minos were both dead long before Annemenes was King. Belike Reineccius, defiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of Manethon, Charemon, and others, that are found in Io (ephin, touching Amenophis and his children, to the storie of A- 10/cont. Applic. masis, & Actisanes the Ethiopian, mentioned by Diodore; held it consequent, after he had conjectured Manethons Amenophis, to be Dioclorus his Amasis; that Sethon should be Actifanes, and that Annemenes should bee Marus. If in this case I might intrude 30 a conjecture; the times which wee now handle, are those, about which Reineccius hath erred in making fearch; Amasis was Anysis; Actifanes was Sabacus; and Marus was one of the setwelue Princes, to whom Herodotus gives the honour of building

this famous Labyrinth. For Actifanes the Athiopian deposed Amasis; Sabacus the

Æthiopian deposed Anysis; Adisanes gouerned well, and was milde in punishing

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offendors; so likewise was Sabacus; Marus the next King after Actifanes built this Labyrinth; and the next (lauing Sethon, whom Diedore omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after Sabaeus, performed the same worke, according to Herodotus, who was more likely to heare the truth, as living necrer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein Diodore beleeued the Priests, might bee a part of the Agyptian vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boatting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Hals, Parlours, and other circumstances remembred by Herodotus, in speaking of this building, doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemne feast in Vulcans Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cups. Hereupon Psammiticus, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith supplyed the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbare to kill him, but, being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by Diodore as a fable, which I beleeue to have beene none other: In the rest Herodotus and Diodore agree, saying, that Planemiticus hyred Souldiers out of Carin and Ionia, by whose aide he vanquished his Companions, and 20

made himfelfe fole King.

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The yeeres of his raigne, according to Herodotus, were fiftie foure; according to Eusebius, fortie foure; Mercator, to reconcile these two, giues fortie foure yeeres to his single raigne, and ten to his ruling, joyntly with the Princes before spoken of. Indeede, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for hee cannot in reason be supposed to have beene then a yong fellow) into the number of the twelve Gouernours, must be thought to have lived vnto extreme old age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threescore and nine yeeres. I therefore yeeld rather to Eusevius; but will not aduenture to cut fine yeeres from the Aristocratic: though peraduenture Psammiticus was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or 30 as next of bloud) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and wasten yeeres com-

panion in that gouernement.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeeres of these Aegyptians, as we finde them set downe, are more by one, than serue to fill up the time, betweene the fift of Rehoboam, and the fourth of Iehoiskim. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeere from Sethons raigne; that was of vncertaine length; or else (which I had rather doe; because Function may have followed better authoritie than I know, or than himselfe alleageth, ingiuing to Section a time so neerely agreeing with the truth) wee must confound the last yeere of one raigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. 40 For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are fet downe in Chronologicall tables, raigned precifely so many yeeres as are ascribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the surplusage of one mans time, supplied the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last yeere of those fifteene, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the first of Pfammiticus; who furely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himfelfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in Agypt, who entertained any strait amitie with the Greekes; that hee retained in pay his Mercenaries of Caria, Ionia, and Arabia, to whom hee gaue large rewards and possessions; and that 50 he greatly offended his Egyptian Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilest his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into Syria. Vpon this difgrace it is faid, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, for sooke their naturall

Countrie

Countrie of £gypt, and went into £thiopia, to dwell there : neither could they be renoked by kinde Messages, nor by the King himselfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when hee told them of their Countrie, their Wines, and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrie, and that nature had enabled them to get other wines and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought up in such fort, as they might not heare any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out, what Nation or Language was moltancient; for almuch as it feemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speake that language, which men spake at 10 the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried, Beccus, Beccus, which word being found to lignific Bread in the Phrygian tongue, served greatly to magnific the Phrygian antiquitie. Goropius Becanus makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his Low-Dutch; in which the word Becker, fignifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of Goropius his works, may finde enough of this kinde, to perswade a willing man, that Adam and all the Patriarchs vsed none other tongue than the Low-Datch, before the confusion of languages at Babel; the name it selfe of Babel, being also Dutch and given by occasion of this consusion; for that there they beganne to babble, and talke, one knew not what.

But I will not infift upon all that is written of Pfimmities. The most regardable 20 of his acts was the flege of Azotee in Paleforna, about which he spent nine and twentie veeres. Neuer haue wee heard (faith Herodotus) that any Citie endured fo long a ficee as this; yet Pfammitieus carried it at the last. This Towne of Azotus had beene wonne by Tartan, a Captaine of Senacherib, and was now, as it seemeth, relee-

ned, but in vaine, by the Babylonian, which made it hold out fo well.

# ð. III.

what reference these Ægyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of MANASSES. In what part of hisraigne MA NASSES was taken prisoner.

Ere it certainely knowne, in what yeere of his raigne Manaffes was taken prisoner, and how long it was before hee obtained libertie; I thinke weethould finde these Agyptian troubles to have beene no fmall occasion, both of his captinitie and enlargement : God so dispo-

fing of humane actions, that even they, who intended onely their owne businesse, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the civill warres in A-49 gype that followed upon the death of Sethen; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were into twelve peeces; or the warre betweene Planmitieus and his Colleagues; or the expedition of Plammiticus into Syria, and the fiege of Azotus, might minister vnto the Babylonian, either such cause of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessitie of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make fure worke with the King of Inda. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the deliuerie of Manasses, after he was taken. For hee was taken (as to fephus hath it) by fubtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrie, but only waste it. So that the lewes, hauing learned wit, by the ill successe of their folly, in redceming Amazia, were like to 50 bemore circumspect, in making their bargaine upon such another accident: and the Babylonian (to whom the Aegyptian matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of inda could affoord, had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, whereby hee should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agree-

ment; when by quitting his present advantage over the lewes, hee might make his

way the fairer into . Egypt.

Now concerning the yeere of Manaffes his raigne, wherein hee was taken prifoner; or concerning his captiuitie it selfe, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are filent, and lofephus gives no information. Yet I finde cited by Torniellus three opinions. the one of Beilarmine, who thinkes that Manasses was taken in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne; the other of the Author of the greater Hebrew Chronologie, who affirmes, that it was in his twentie feuenth yeere; the third, of Rabbi Kimhi vpon Ezekiel, who faith, that he was fortie yeeres an Idolater, and lived fifteene yeeres after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is vpheld by Torniellus, who rejects the second, 10 as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alleaged by Torniellus in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to fauour the Cardinall, as farre as he may, (for where need requires, hee doth freely diffent from him) than to have vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before hee gaue his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of Bellarmine: the one, that Ammon the Sonne of Manaffes, is faid by Infephius, to have followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had Manafes growne old in his finnes, it is not like that bee should have continued, as hee did, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the sinnes of Manasses might not be distin- 20 guished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them workes of his youth, which appeared when he was twelue yeeres old; though it were granted that hee continued in them (according to that of Rabbi Kimbi) vntill he was but fifteene veeres from death. Touching the fecond; howfoeuer it be a fearefull thing, to cast off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sinnes, which are not forfaken before the age of two and fiftie yeeres, shall bee punished with finall impenitencie. But against these two collections of Torniellus, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That Manafles continued longer in this wickednesse, than Bellarmine hath intimated, if not as long 30 as Rabbi Kimbi hath affirmed. In the second Booke of Kings, the euill which Manasses did, is remembred at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; so that his ameadment may seeme to have taken vp no great part of his life, the storie of him SKings 22.17. being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter. Concerning the rest of the acts of MANASSES, and all that he did, and his sinne that hee sinned, are they not written in the booke of the Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda? The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearling the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of Iebojakim, the great Grand-child of this Manaffes, it is faid; Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this upon Iuda, that hee might put them out of his fight, for the sinnes of MANASSE, according to all that 40 hee did, and for the innocent bloud that hee shed (for he filled Ierusalem with innocent bloud) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Whoso considers well these places, may finde small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of Manasses was no earlier then fifteene yeeres before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty feuen yeeres old, he repented, and becomming a new man, liued in the feare of God fortie yeeres after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth can not be discouered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeeres of civill dissension in Egypt, fourteene or sisteene yeeres following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Soueraignetie: the warre of Pfammiticus against his Associates: and source and twentie yeeres, of the nine and twentie, wherein the siege of Azotus continued, being all within the time of Manasses, did leaueno one part of his raigne (after the first fifte ene yeeres) free from the danger of being oppressed by the Babylonian, whose men of warre had continual occasions of visiting his Countrie. All which I will adde hereto is this; that the fifteenth of

Manaffes, was the last yeere of Sethon in Egypt, and the one and thirtieth of Merolach his raigne, or (accounting from the death of Afarhaddon) the twentieth: The leven and twentieth of Manalles was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of Merodach: his fortieth, was the twentie third of Pfammiticus, and the fift of Nabulassar, the sonne of Merodach in Babylon: but which of these was the vecre of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbeare to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seeme to draw all matters ouer violently to mine owne

This was the first great mastrie that the Babylonians had of the Kingdome of Iu-10 da. For though Achaz promised Tribute to Silmanassar, yet Ezechias neuer payed it. True it is, that hee hoped to flay Semnacheribs enterprise against him, by presen- 2. Kings 18: ting him with three hundred talents of filuer, and thirtie of gold, befides the plate

which couered the doores and pillars of the Temple.

But Manaffes being pressed with greater necessitie, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the Bab; lonian would impose vpon him; among which it seemes, that this was one, (which was indeede a point of seruitude) that hee might not hold peace with the Agaptians, whilest they were enomics to Balylon. This appeares not onely by his fortifying with men of warre all the strong Cities of Juda after his returne ( which was rather against Pfammiticus, whose partie hee had forsaken, than 20 against the Babylonian, with whom hee had thenceforth no more controuersie) but likewise by that opposition, which Iosias made afterwards to Pharao Neco, in famour of Nabulillar, which had beene against all reason and policie, if it had not beene his dutie by couenant. Of this I will speake more in convenient place.

## t. IIII.

Of the first and second Messenian Warres, which were in the raignes of Ezekia, and Manasses Kings of Iuda.

30

Manasses

Ow concerning fuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of Manasses, the most remarkeable were the Messenian Warres; which happening in this age, and being the greatest a-eftion performed in Greece, betweene the Troian and Persian Warres, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first Messenian Warre beganne and ended in the daies of Ezekia; the second in the raigne of Manifes: but to avoide the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I have thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is 40 needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of Hercules, driving the issue of Pelops, and the Acheans, out of their feates, divided their lands betweene themselves, and ere-Sted the Kingdomes of Lacedamon, Argos, Meffene, and Corinth; all which agreeing well together a while, didafterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloudie Warres; whereof these Messenian were the

The pretended grounds of the Messenian Warre, are scarce worth remembrance; they were so fleight. Ambition was the true cause of it; wherewith the Lacedamonians were fo transported, that any thing served them as a colour, to accomplish their greedie desires. Yet other matter was alleaged; namely, that one Polychares 50 a Meffenian had flaine many Lacedemonians, for which the Magistrates of Sparta defiring to have him yeelded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The Messenians on the other fide, excused Polychares, for that he was growne frantick, through injuries received from Eusphnesa Lacedemonian. This Eusphnes had bargained to give pasture to the Cattell of Polychares, and was therefore to receive part of the increase:

but not confented with the gaine appointed, hee fold the Cattaile, and Slaues that kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, faying, that they were stollen. Whilest the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the flaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The Lacedamonian being thus deprchended, confessed all, and promised large amends: which to receive, he carried the Sonne of Polychares home with him; but having him at home, hee villanously slew him. Wherefore, the Lacedamonians having refused, after long fute made by the wretched Father, to doe him right against this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrell, out of those things, which hee did in that madnesse, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the Messent to ans, & further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vnto the judgement of the Amphictyones, who were as the generall Counfaile of Greece, or to any other faire course. But the Lacedemonians, who had a great desire to occupy the faire Countrie of Mellene, that lay close by them, were not content with fuch allegations. They thought it enough, to have some shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, fecretly tooke an oath, to hold warre with Meffene, till they had mastered it: which done, they seized vpon Amphia, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercie, very few escaping.

Hereupon the Messenians tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemie. A furious 20 battaile was fought betweene them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victorie. The Messenims did strongly encampe themselues; The Lacedemontans, viable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre beganne in the fecond were of the ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the fourteenth Olympiad, having lasted twentie yeeres. The two enemie Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the Lacedemonians wasting the inland parts of Mef-(ene; and the Meffenians, the Sca-coast of Laconia. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to helpe. The Areadians, Argines, and Sicronians, tooke part with Messene; the Spartans had, besides many Subjects of their owne, aide from Corinth, and hired Souldiers out of Crete. So a second, third, and sourth battaile 30 were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first; fauing that, in the fourth battaile, the Lacedamonians were enforced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was stil vncertaine, though in one of them the Messenians lost Euphaes their King.

in whose stead they chose Aristodemus.

Many yeeres were spent ere all this bloud was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of monie to entertaine Souldiers, caused the Warre to linger. And for the fame reasons, did the Messemans for sake all their inland Townes, excepting Ithome, which was a mountaine with a Towne vpon it, able to endure more, than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authors tell vs, the Lacedamonians were so obstinate, in this Warre, because of their vow, that having absented themselves ten 40 yeeres from Sparta, their wines sent them word, that their Citie would grow vnpeopled, by reason that no children had been borne them in all that time: Wherevpon they fent back all their ablest yong men, promiseuously to accompanie the yong women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called Parthenians. Diodorno referres the begetting of these This degrees Parthenians to a former time. But in processe of this Messenian Warre, when the Deuillin an Oracle had aduised the Messenians to sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of \* Egyptus, that so they mig't be victorious against the Lacedamonians; the lot falling vpon the Daughter of one Lycifeses, Epibolies the Priest, willing to faue her, said, oppliesking of thee was only a follered child, and not borne of the wife of Lecifeus: which answere to Areadia: of which creshon giving delay to the execution of the Maide, Lycifeus secretly fled away with her into which critished in Sparta. Then Aristodemus, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his bilitie of the owne Daughter: but a yong Noble man, being in love with the Maide, when other-Megenian was wise he could not prevaile, said openly that shee was no Virgin, but that he had de-

Diod 1.15. Cresplonby Mcrope, the

Strabo. 1.6.

Orof. l. 1.6.21.

floured her, and got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to disproue the Louers slander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterward falling, by other superstitions, into despaire of prenailing against the Lacedamonians, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Countrie, which he loued most dearely. For after his death the Messenians lost their courage, and finding themselues distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craued peace; which they obtained vnder most rigorous conditions. Halfe the veerely fruits of their Land they were bound to lend vnto Sparta; and they, with their Wives, to make solemne lamentations, at the death of every Spartan King; they so were also sworne to live in true subjection to the Lacedemonians; and part of their

Territorie was taken from them, which was given to the Ame, and such as had

followed the Spartans in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon so vneuen termes, was not like to holdlong. Yet nine and thirtie yeeres it continued (the Mesenians not finding how to help themselues) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able your men, that were growne vp in the roome of those Messenians, whom the former Warre had confumed, beganne to confider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the Lacedemonians, and therefore scorning to serue such Masters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe

20 of these was Aristomenes, a noble Gentleman, of the house of Epytus; who perceiuing the vniforme desires of his Countrie-men, aduentured to become their Leader. Hetherefore founding the affections of the Argines, and Arcidians, which he found throughly answerable to his purpose, began open warre vpon the State of Lacedamon. This was in the fourth yere of the three and twentieth Olympiad; when the Lacedamonians, hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hor, with fuch forces as they could raile of their own, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their Enemies, ere any fuccour were lent them. So a strong battaile was fought betweene them, and a doubtfull; faue that the Messenians were pleafed with the issue, for a smuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords,

30 to thinke them their equalls. Particularly, the valour of Aristomenes appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refufing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeere another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The Lacedemonians brought with them the Corinthians, and some other friends to helpe: the Meffenians had the Argines, Arcadians, and Sicyonians. This also was a long and bloudie fight; but Aristomenes did so behaue himselfe, that finally hee made the Enemies runne for their lives. Of fuch importance was this victory, that the Lacedamonians beganne to bethinke themselues, of making some good agreement. But one Tyrtain an Athenian Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they

40 had gotten to direct them, reenforced their Spirits with his Verses. After this, A. ristomenes tooke by surprise a Towne in Laconia and vanquished in fight Anaxander King of sparta, who did fet vpon him, in hope to have recovered the bootie.

But all these victories of Aristomenes perished, in the losse of one battaile, whereof the honour ( if it were honour) or furely the profit, fell vnto the Laced emonians, through the treason of Aristocrates, King of Areadia, who being corrupted by the enemies with mony, fled away, and left the Messenians exposed to a cruell butcherie. The losse was so great, that together with Andania their principal Citie, althe towns in Mesene, standing too farre from the Sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount Era fortified, whither the multitude, that could not bee

50 fafeabroad, was conneied, into a place of fafetie. Here the Lacedemonians found a tedious worke, that held them eleuen yeeres. For belides that Era it felfe was a strong peece, Aristomenes with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the fiege. Hee wasted all the fields of Messene, that were in the enemies power, and brake into Laconia, ta-

king away Corne, Wine, Cattaile, and all prouisions, necessarie for his owne people; the Slaues and houlhold stuffe he changed into monie, suffering the owners to redeeme them. To remedie this mischiese the Lacedemonians made an Edist, that neither Messen, nor the adjoyning parts of their owne Countrie, should be etilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost vndone by it. Yet the Poet Tyriam appealed this vproare with pleafing Songs. But Arillomenes grew so bold, that he not onely ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured upon the Townes, surprised, and fackt Amyele, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared

no likelihood of taking Era.

In performing these and other services, thrice Aristomenes was taken prisoner; yet fill hee escaped. One escape of his descrues to bee remembred, as a thing very strange and maruailous. Hee had with too much courage aduentured to set voon both the Kings of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senselesse, and carried away prisoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe naturall Caueinto which the Spartans vied to cast head long, fuch as were condemned to die for the greatest offences. To this punishment were Arissamenes and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their falls; Aristomenes (howloeuer it came to passe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among 20 dead carcaffes, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while heeperceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the toppe) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead bodie. Hereupon hee bethought himselfe, that this beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, faued himselfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, hee followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loofe, ranne through an hole, at which came in a little light; and there did Aristomenes deluc so long with his mailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. 20 When some fugitives of Messene brought word to Sparta, that Aristomenes was returned home, their tale founded alike, as if they had faid, that a dead man was reuiued. But when the Corinthian forces, that came to helpe the Lacedamonians in the fiege of Era, were cut in pecces, their Captaines flaine, and their Campe taken; then was it easily beloeved, that Aristomenes was alive indeede.

Thus eleuen yeeres passed whilest the enemies houering about Era, saw no likelihood of getting it; and Aristomenes with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slaue, that had fled from Sparts, betraied the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a Messenian, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rai- 40 nie-winter-night, that the hulband camehome v nlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hiddeher Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leave their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the rest did; as for Aristomeres, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not looke abroad; neither was it to bee feared, that the enemies would stirre, in such a darke-rainie-night, as this was. The slaue that heard these tidings, rose vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the Lacedemonian Campe with the newes. There hee found Emperamus his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him hee vttered all; and obtaining pardon 50 for his running away, guided the Armie into the Towne. Little or nothing was done that right. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreme darkenesse together with the noise of winde and raine, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited, by neere hope of

ending a long worke; the other inraged by meere desperation. The great aduantage that the Spartans had in numbers, was recompensed partly by the assistance: which women and children (to whom the hatred of seruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the freets and other paffages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the Messenans were in continual voile; their enemies tought in course, refreshing themselves with meat and sleepe, and then returning supplyed the places of their wearie fellowes, with fresh Companies. Aristomenes therefore, perceiuing that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as having beene three to daies, and three nights, vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger, and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker fort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midst of the enemies. Emperamus Generall of the Lacedamonians was glad of this: and to further their departure, cauled his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a faire passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and

arrived safe in Arcadia, where they were most louingly entertained.

Vpon the first bruit of the taking of Era, the Arcadians had prepared themselves to the rescue : but Aristocrates their false hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was alreadie lost. When Aristomenes had placed his followers in safetic, he chose 20 out fine hundred the luftiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste vnto Sparta, hoping to find the Town secure, and ill manured, the people being runne forth to the spoile of Messene. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the Lacedamonians would be glad to recouer their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred dreadians that offered to joyne with him; but Aristocrates marred all, by sending speedie aduertisement hereof, to Anaxander King of Sparta. The Epille which Anaxander sent backe to Aristocrates, was intercepted, by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open 30 affembly, the Arcadians froned him to death, and casting foorth his body vnburied, erected a monument of histreacheric, with a note: That the Periurer cannot de-

Of Aristomenes no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his sonne Gorgus and other sufficient Gouernours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himselfe to make abode in those parts, hoping to finde the Lacedemonians worke at home. His daughters hec beflowed honourably in marriage. One of them Demagetus, who raigned in the Ile of Rhodes, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marrie the daughter of the best manin Greece. Finally Aristomenes went with his daughters to Rhodes, whence 49 he purposed to have travailed vnto Ardys the Son of Gyges King of Lydia, and to Phraortes King of Media: but death prevented him at Rhodes, where hee was ho-

nourably buried.

The Messenians were inuited by Anaxilus (whose great Grandfather was a Messenian and went into Italie after the former war) being Lord of the Rhegians in Italie, to take his part against the Zancleans in Sicilie, on the other side of the Straights. They did so; and winning the Towne of Zanele, called it Messene, which name it

keepes to this day.

This second Messenian warre ended in the first yeere of the twentie eight Olympiade. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home served 50 the Lacedamonians, found meanes to rebell; but were soone vanquished, and being driven to forsake Peloponnesus, they went into Acarnania; whence likewise, after few ages they were expelled by the Lacedamonians, and then followed their ancient Countrimen into Italie and Sicilie; some of them went into Africa, where they chose vnto themselues a scat. Hhh Τć

It is veric strange, that during two hundred and foure score yeeres, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of Sparta, and loue of their forsaken Countrie, with a desire to returne vnto it. In the third vecre of the hundred and second Olympiad, that great Epaminondas, having tamed the pride of the Lacedamonians, revoked the Messenians home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into Peloponnesw. There did Epaminondes restore vnto them their old possession, and helpe them in building a faire Citie: which, by the name of the Prouince, was called Messene, and was held by them euer after, in despight of the Lacedamonians, of whom they neuer from thenceforth stood in feare.

). V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, while MANASSES raigned. Whether DEIOCES the Medewere that AR-PHAXAD which is mentioned in the Booke of IVDITH. Of the historie of IVDITH.



RDYSKing of Lydia, and Phraortes of the Medes, are spoken of by Pausanias, as raigning shortly after the Messenian warre. Ardys succeeding vary bis farbar Grace because his mineral warre. ceeding vnto his father Gyges, beganne his raigne of nine and fortie yeeres, in the second of the fine and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steppes of his father, who encroaching upon the Ionians

in Asia, had taken Colophon by force, and attempted Miletus and Smyrna. In like manner Ardys wanne Priene, and affailed Miletus; but went away without it. In his raigne, the Cimmerians, being expelled out of their owne Countrie by the Scythians, ouerranne a great part of Afia, which was not freed from them before the time of Alyattes this mans Grand child, by whom they were driven out. 30 They had not onely broken into Lydia, but wanne the Citie of Sardes; though the Castle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King Ardys; whose long raigne was vnable, by reason of this great storme, to ef-

Phraortes was not King vntill the third yeere of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was fixe yeeres after the Messenian warre ended; the same being the last yeere of Manasses his raigne ouer Inda.

Deioces the father of this Phraortes, was King of Media, three and fiftie of these five and fiftie yeeres in which Manasses raigned. This Deioces was the first that ruled the Medes in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his predecessors 40 had done. For they, following the example of Arbaces, had given to the people so much licence, as caused euery one to desire the wholesome seueritie of a more Lordly King. Herein Deieces answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldome gaue presence, which also when he did, it was with such austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiestie, which his Predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportiments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did vprightly and seuerely administer instice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the King- 50 dome. Hee cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching vpon others; but fludied how to gouerne wel his own. The difference found between this King, and fuch as were before him, seemes to have bred that opinion which Berodissi. Herodotus deliners, that Deioces was the first who raigned in Media.

This

This was he that built the great City of Echatane, which now is called Tauris; and therefore he should be that King Arphaxad, mentioned in the storie of Indith, as also Ben Merodach, by the same accompt, should bee Nabuchodonofor the Affyrian, by whom Arphaxad was flaine, and Holophernes fent to worke wonders, vpon Phud and Lad, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last yeere of Deicees to haue beene the nineteenth of Ben Merodach; though others place it otherwise, fome earlier in the time of Merodach Baladan, some later, in the raigne of 2V abula/-(ar, who is also called 2V abuchodonosor.

In fitting this Booke of Indith to a certaine time, there hath much labour beene 10 front with ill fuccesse. The raignes of Cambyses, Darius, Hystaspis, Xernes, and Ochus, haue beene fought into; but affoord no great matter of likelihood : and now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of Ierusalem, have beene thought vpon, and this age that we have in hand, chosen by Bellarmine, as agreeing best with the storie; though others herein cannot (I speake of such as faine would) agree with him. Whilest Camby fes raigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the storie of Iudith, is found standing and dedicated. The other two Persian Kings, Darius and Xerxes are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the Iewes; therefore neither of them could be Nabuchodonofor, whose part they resuled to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of Xerxes hath some conveniences, aptly fitting this Histo-

20 rie; & about al, the opinion of a few Ancient writers (without whose judgement the authoritie of this Booke were of no value) having placed this argument in the Persan Monarchie, inclines the matter to the Raigne of this vaine-glorious King. As for Ochw, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the businesse. Maniscst it is. and granted, that in the time of this Historie, there must be a returne from captiuiticlately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; toacim High Priest; and a long peace, of threescore and ten yeeres or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to bee among the Temes. Likewise on the other side, we must finde a King that raigned in Niniuie, eighteene yeeres at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the Medes; one whom the Iewes refused to affist; one that fought to bee generally adored as God, 30 and that therefore commanded, all temples, of fuch as were accounted gods, to be

destroyed; one whose Viceroy or Captaine Generall knew not the Iewish Nation,

but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Ofall these circumstances; the Priesthood of Ioacim, with a returne from Captiuitie, are found concurring, with either the time of Manasses before the destruction of Ierusalem, or of Xerxes afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the raigne of Xerxes; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captinitic of the Iewes, and desolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuersie is, That the Booke of Iudith is not Canonicall. Yet hath Torniellus done

40 as much, in fitting all to the time of Xerxes, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under Xerxes there were other Kings, among which Arphaxad might be one (who perhaps restored and reedified the Citie of Echatane, that had formerly beene built by Deioces) and Nabuchodonofor might be another. This granted; he addes, that from the twelfth yeere to the eighteenth of Nabuchodonofor, that is fine or fixe yeeres, the absence and ill fortune of xerxes, in his Grecian expedition (which he supposeth to have beene so long) might give occasion vnto Arphaxad, of rebelling : and that Nabuchodonofor having vanquilled and flaine Arthanad, might then feek to make himselse Lord of all, by the Armie which he sent forth vnder Holofernes. So should the Iewes have done their dutie, in adhering to Xerxes their 50 Soueraigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other cir-

cumstances rehearsed before, be well applyed to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of Iurie were agreeable to the Historic of Iudith, and such a King as this supposed Nabuchodonosor, might well enough bee ignorant of the Iewes, and as proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the silence of all Historics, takes away Hhh2

Zudith c.z.ver.

33.0 25.

beliefe, from this coniecture: and the supposition it selfe is very hard, that a rebell. whose King was abroad, with an Armie consisting of seuenteene hundred thou. fand men, should presume so farre, vpon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that hee might doe what he lift, yea that there was none other God then himselfe. It is indeed case to find enough that might be said against this device of Torniellus: yet if there were any necessitie, of holding the booke of Indith, to bee Canonicall, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some desence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it selfe. That ludith lived under none of the Persian Kings, Bellarmine to (whose workes I have not read, but finde him cited by Torniellus) hath prooued by many arguments. That shee lived not in the Raigne of Manasses, Torniellus hath prooued very substantially, shewing how the Cardinall is driven, as it were to breake through a wall, in faying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings Arphaxad and Nabuchodonosor, found out by Torniellus, are the children of meere fantasie, it is so plaine that it needs no proofe at all. Wherefore we may truly fay, that they, which have contended about the time of this Historie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stony field) have chased Holefernes out of all parts of time, and 20 left him and his great expedition, Extra anni foli que vias, in an age that neuer was. and in places that were neuer knowne.

Surely, to find out the borders of larheth, which were towards the South, and oner against Arabia; or the Countries of Phud and Lud, that lay in Holosernes his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not busic my selfe herewith; having already so farre digressed, in shewing who lived not with Manasses, that I think it high time, to return ynto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to have had

their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

۵. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.



HE first yeere of Manasses was the last of Romulus; after whose death, one yeere the Romans wanted a King. Then was Numa Pompilius a Sabyne chosen; a peaceable man and seeming verie religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which Romulus had employed onely in warres, to some good civilitie, and a more orderly fashion of 40

life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiarite with a Nymph called Egeria, who taught him a many of Ceremonics, which hee deliuered vnto the Romans as things of great importance. But all these delivers of Nama were, in his owne indgement, no better then meere delusions that served onely as rudiments to bring the Sauage multitude of theeues and out-lawes, gathered into one bodie by Romulus, to some forme of milder discipline, then their boysterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Bookes that were found in his grave, almost sixe hundred yecres after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that 50 belonged to one L. Petisius a Scribe. Two Cossines or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greeke and Latine letters, which said, That Numa Pompilius the sonne of Pompe, King of the Romans lay there. In the one Cossin was nothing sound; his bodie being viterly consumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped

vp in two bundels of wax; of his owne conftitutions seuen, and other seuen of Phylosophie. They were not onely vncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie desiring to have a sight of these Bookes, when hee perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemne oath that they were against the Religion then in vse. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to bee openly burnt. It seemes that Nums did meane to acquite himselfe vnto wifer ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not beene so foolish as to beleeve the Dostrine wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyson wherewith hee had insected to Rome, when he sate in his Throne, had not less working, when hee ministred the Antidote out of his grave. Had these Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of Tully and Cesar, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discussed, likely it is that they had not onely escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peraduenture generall) effect. Being as it was, they served as a consutation, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was invertence.

Numa raigned three and fortie yeeres in continual peace. After him Tullus Hofilius the third King was chosen, in the fix and fortieth of Manasses, and raigned two and thirtie yeeres, busiled, for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the Albanes, who met him in the field, but in regard of the danger, which both parts had so cause to seare, that might grow vnto them from the Thusenes, caused them to bethinke themselues of a course, whereby without essuin of so much bloud, as might make them too weake for a common enemie, it might bee decided, who

should command, and who obey.

There were ineach Campe three Brethren, Twinnes borne at one birth (Diony-fim fayes that they were Cosen Germans) of equall yeeres and strength, who were appointed to fight for their seuerall Countries. The end was, that the Horaty, Champions for the Romans, got the victory, though two of them first loss their lines. The three Curaty that sought for Alba (as Linie tels it) were all aline, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slaine; but the third Horaton time, pretending seare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equall speede, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning vpon them, he slue them, as it had beene in single sight, man after man, ere they could iopne together and set vpon him all at once. Dionysius reports it somewhat otherwise, telling verie particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first one of the Horatiy was slaine, then one of the Curaty, then a second Horatim, and lastly the two Curaty, whom the third Horatims did cunningly severe one from the other as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old Roman Historie, both in regard of the action it selfe, wherein Rome was laid, as it were in wager, against Al40 ba, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the Roman State obtained.
For the Citic of Alba did immediately become subject vnto her owne Colonie, and
was shortly after, ypon some treacherous dealing of their Gouernour, vtterly razed, the people being removed vnto Rome, where they were made Citizens. The
strong Nation of the Latines, whereof Alba, as the mother Citie, had beene chiefe,
became ere long dependant vpon Rome, though not subject vnto it, and divers
pettie States adiacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were
simall, yet many, I will for beare to rehearse (as being the works of sundrie ages, and
few of them remarkeable considered apart by themselves) vntill such time as this
sourch Empire, that is now in the infancie, shall grow to bee the maine subject of

The feuenth yeere of Hippomenes in Athens, was current with the first of Manaffes. Also the three last Gouernours for tenne yeeres, who followed Hippomenes, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find onely names, Leocrates, Apfander, and Erizias. After Erixias yeerely Rulers were elected.

Hhh 3

Thefe

# CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of MANASSES to the destruction of Ferusalem.

Plut. & Eufeb.

\* Whence in

finus Aftacenus apart of Pro-

deth. Pauf.l. 5.

Iusiin.l.3. Paus. l. 10.

but their time of rule was shortned, and from tearme of life reduced vnto renne veeres; it being thought likely that they would gouerne the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow Diony sies of Halicarnassus, in applying their times vnto those yeeres of the Olympiads, wherein the Chronological table, following this worke, doth fet them. For he not onely professeth himselfe to have taken great care in ordering the rec-Dian. Halied.s. koning of times; but hath noted alwaies the yeeres of the Greeks, how they did answere vntothe things of Rome, throughout all the continuance of this Historic. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of Rome, in the first yere of the seventh 10 Olympiad, and affirmes, that the same was the first yeere of Charops his gouernement in Athens; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from Pausanias, who sets the beginning of these Athenians somewhat sooner. In the Raigne of Manasses it was, that Midas, whom the Poets fained to have had

Thele Gouernours for tenne yeeres, were also of the race of Medon and Codrus.

Assesses, held the Kingdome of Phrygia. Many fables were deuised of him especially that he obtained of Bacchus, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold; by which meanes he had like to have beene started (his meat and drinke being subject to the same transformation) had not Bacchus deliuered him from his miserable facultie, by causing him to wash himselse in the River Pattolus, the streame wherof hath ever since, for sooth, aboun- 20 ded in that precious Metall. Finally, it is said hee died by drinking Buls bloud: being inuaded by the Scythians.

In this age flourished that Antimachus, who (faith Plutarch in the life of Romulus) observed the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of Rome.

The Milesians, or, (as Eusebius hath it) the Athenians having obtavned some power by Sea, founded Macieratis a Citie on the East of Agypt. Pfammiticus herein feemes to have affilted them, who wied all meanes of drawing the Greekes into Agypt, accounting them his furest strength. For neither Miletus nor Athens were now of power sufficient to plant a Colonie in Agypt by force.

About this time Archias with his companion Miscellus, and other Corinthians, 30 founded Syracula in Sicily, a Citie in after-times exceeding famous:

The Citic of Nicomedia sometime \* Astacus, was enlarged and beautified in this Strabothere is age by Zipartes native of Thrace. Sybilla of Samus according to Paufanias lived about

About these times also was Croton founded vpon the Bay of Tarentum by Mispoints where this Citie flan cellus, the companion of Archies that built Syracuse. Strabo makes it somewhat more ancient: and so doth Pausanias.

About the same time the Parthenians being of age and banished Lacedemon, were conducted by Phalantus into Italie: where it is said they founded Tarentum: but Iufine and Pausanias find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and 40 about the same time Manasse yet liuing, the Citie Phaselis was founded in Pamphylia, Gela in Sicily, Interamne in the Region of the Vmbri, now Vrbin in Italie. About which time also Chalcedon in Afia, ouer against Byzantium (now Constantinople) was founded by the Megarenses: who therefore were vpbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of Bosphorus. It were a long worke to rehearse all that is faid to have beene done in the five and fiftie yeeres of Manasses: that which hath alreadie beene told is enough: the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, referring onely Ben Merodach, and Nabulassar, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

CHAP.

è. I.

of Ammon and Iosias.



10

MMON the sonne of Manalle, a man no lesse wicked then was his Father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all forts of Idolatrie: for which God z.King.21. hardened the hearts of his owne servants against 2.chron.33. him: who flew him after he had raigned two yeeres: Philo, Eulebius and Nicephorus giue him tenne yeeres, following the Septuagint.

Iolias succeeded vnto Ammon, being but a childe 2.King.22. of eight yeeres old. Hee beganne to feeke after the 2.6 m 83.34. God of Davidhis Father; and in his twelfth yeere

he purged Inda and Ierufalem from the high places, and the groues, and the carned and molten Images: and they brake downe in his fight the Altars of BAALIM: He caused all the Images as well those which were grauen, as molten, to be stampt to powder, and strewed on their graues that had erected them, and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. Hee also slew those that sacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horses 20 of the Sunne to be burnt. Of Iosias it was prophecied in the time of Ieroboam the first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at Bethel, that a child should be borne vnto the house of David, Iosias by name, and vpon thee (said the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incenses upon thee: a prophecie very remarkeable.

In the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, hee rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time Helkiah the Priest found the Booke of Moses, called Deuteronomie, or, of the Law, which hee fent to the King : which when hee had caused to bee read before him, and considered of the seuere commaundements therein written, the prosperitie promised to those that observe them, and the sor-40 row and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commaunded Helkiah, and others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse Huldah, or, Olds, concerning the Booke, who answered the messengers in these words. Thus faith the Lord, Behold, I will bring cuill opon this place, and opon the inhabitants thereof, euen all the curses that are written 2.chron.34.24? in the Booke, which they have read before the King of Iuda, because they have for saken mee, and burnt incense to other Gods. Onely for the King himselfe, because he was a louer of God and of his Lawes, it was promifed that this cuill should not fall on Iuda 2.King. 22-15. and Ierusalem in his dayes, but that hee himselse should inherit his grave in 2.cbron.34-

Iostas assembled the Elders, caused the Booke to bee read vnto them, made a 50 covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in Ierusalem and Beniamin to doe the like, promiting thereby to observe the Lawes and commaundements in the Booke contained.

The execution done by Iosias vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the falle Prophets, at Bethel, argueth his Dominion to have extended vnto those Countries,

44

nor thinke, that any victorie of Iosias in warre got possession of these places; but rather that Ezekias, after the flight and death of Senacherib, when Merodach opposed himselfe against Asarhaddon, did vse the advantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the Kingdome of Israel, as hee was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the Babylonian finding himselfe vnable to deale with Pfammiticus in Syria (as wanting power to raise the fiege of Azolus, though the Towne held out nine and twentie yeeres) did give vnto Manasses, together with his libertie, as much in Israel as himselfe could not casily defend. This was a good way to breake the amitie that the Kings of Iuda had fo 10 long held with those of Egypt, by casting a bone betweene them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territorie with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeeme the friendship of the Iewes, which had beene lost by injuries done in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is said, that Manasses did 2.Chron, 33.14. after his deliuerance from imprisoment, put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of Iuda; it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession. and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he tooke much paines, in making lerufalemit selfe more desensible; yet I should rather belowee, that he, having aircady compounded with the Babylonian, did fortific himselfe against the Egyptians, whose side hee had forsaken, than that hee travailed in 20 making such prouitions, onely for his minds sake. The earnestnesse of Iosias in the King of Babel his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which Manasses had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly tearmes, as required not only a faithfull observation, but a thankfull requitall. For no perswasions could fuffice to make Iosias fit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutralitie, when Pharao Neco King of £gypt passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the River of Euphrates.

Countries, that had beene part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. Yet I doe

The last yeere of Iosias his raigne it was, when as Neco the sonne of Psammiticus, came with a powerfull Armie towardes the border of Iudea, determining to paffe 2 chron. 35.20. that way being the necrest toward Eughrates, either to strengthen the passages of 30 that River, about Carchemish or Cercusium, for the defence of Syria (as long after this; Dioclesian is said by Ammian u Marcellenus to haue done) or perhaps to inuade Syria it selfe. For it seemeth that the travaile of Pfammiticus had not beene idlely confirmed about that one Towne of Azotus, but had put the Agyptians in possession of no small part of Syria, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the Adades Kings of Damafeo.

Neither was the industrie of Neco leffe than his Fathers had beene, in pursuing the warre against Babel. In which warre, two things may greatly have availed the Ægyptians, and advanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinarie valour of the mercenarie Greekes, that were farre better Souldiers than £gypt could of it selfe 40 afford; and the danger wherein Affria stood, by the force of the Medes, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it selfe better; and to shew what it could doc. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seemes, that either some preparation of the Chaldaans to reconquer, did enforce, or some disabilitie of theirs to make resistance, did inuite the King of Agpt, into the Countries bordering vpon Euphrates; whither Pharao Neco ascended with a mighty

These two great Monarchs, having their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, loss aduised with himselfe to which of so these he might adhere, having his Territorie set in the mid way betweene both, so as the one could not inuade the other, but that they must of necessitie tread vpon the very face and body of his Countrie; Now though it were so that Neco himselfe desired by his Embassadors, leave to passe along by Indea, protesting that hee

directed himselfe against the Assyrians onely, without all harmefull purpose against Iosias; yet all sufficed not, but the King of Ifrael would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of Egypt could bring to those that had affiance therein; as that of Hofea the last King of Ifrael, who whenhe fell from the dependance of the Affirian, and wholly trufied to Sabacus or Sous King of Egypt, was veterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the Assyrian, so rooted vp and tare in pieces, as it could neuer after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell vpon Iuda in the thirteenth and four etecnth yeeres of Ezekia, whilest to that good King and his people relied vpon Sethon; and more lately, the imprisonment of Manasses, were documents of sufficient proofe, to shew theill assurance, that was in the helpe of the Agyptians, who (neere neighbours though they were) were alwayes vnready; when the necessities of their friends required their alfiflance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why Neco did not seeke, to haue the Iewes renew their ancient league with him, but onely craued that they would be contented to fit still, and behold the pastime betweene him and the Asiyrians. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Armic, as did, soone after this, out-face Nabula sar, vpon his owne borders, left vnto the lewes, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to give it any checke vpon the 20 way. Wherefore I beleeue, that this religious and vertuous Prince Iostas, was not stirred up onely by politike respects, to stop the way of Neco; but thought himselse bound in faith & honour, to doe his best in desence of the Babylonian Crowne: whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlargement of Manafes, or by the gift of fuch part as hee held in the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. As for the Princes and people of Inda, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the Fibylonians, of what importance their friendship was, and to the Agyptians what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made

Some thinke, that this action of Iosias, was contrarie to the aduice of Ieremie 30 the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecie of Ieremie, nor can finde reafon to beleeue. Others hold opinion, that he forgat to aske the counsell of God: and this is very likely; seeing hee might beleeue that an enterprise grounded vpon fidelitie and thankfulnesse due to the King of Babel, could not but be displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wickednesse of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of losias in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionlesse farre from harkning how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life flood betweene them and their punishment, should now bee taken from among them, and that in 49 luch fort, as his death should give enterance to the miseries ensuing. So Iosias leauying all the firength hee could make, necre vnto Megiddo, in the halfe Tribe of Manasses, encountered Necho: and there he received the stroke of death, which lingring about him till hee came to Ierusalem, brought him to the Sepulchers of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of Inda, especially of Ieremie the Prophet: who inferted a forrowfull remembrance thereof Laments ACS

into his booke of Lamentations.

ð. II.

à. II.

Of PHARAO NECO that fought with Iosias: Of IEHOAHAZ and IEHOIAKIM Kings of Inda.

F these warres, and particularly of this victoric, Herodotus hath mention, among the acts of Neco. He tels vs of this King, that hee went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of Nilus into the Redsea. It should have reached aboue a hundred miles in 10 length, and beene wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But

in the middest of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused Neco to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toilesome businesse twelve hundred thousand Agyptians : a losse great enough to make the King for sake his enterprise, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. How soeuer it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore hee built a Fleet, and leavied a great Armie, wherewith hee marched against the King of Babel. In this expedition he vsed the service, as well of his Nauic, as of his landforces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, saue onely this victorie against Iosia, where Herodotus cals the place Magdolus, and the Iewes Sy-20 rians, which is a small errour, seeing that Iudaa was a Pronince of Syria, and Magdolus or Magdala is taken to have beene the same place (though diversly named) in which this battaile was fought. After this, Necus tooke the Citic of Cadytis. which was perhaps Carchemish, by Euphrates, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all Syria, as Iofephus witneffeth.

Iof.Ant.Iud.1. 10.cap.7. Herod.l.4.

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Particularly we finde, that the Phanicians, one of the most powerfull Nations in Syria, were his Subjects, and that by his command they furrounded all Africa, fetting faile from the gulfe of Arabia, and so passing along all the Coast, whereon they both landed, as neede required, and sowed corne for their sustenance, in that long voyage which lasted three yeeres. This was the first nauigation about Africa, 39 wherein that great Cape, now called, Of good hope, was discouered; which after was forgotten, vntill Valco de Gama the Portingall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the Phanicians held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sunne, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of Hercules (as the name was then) called now the straights of Gybraltar, having Africke still on the right hand : but the Portingals, beginning their voyage not farre from the same straights, leave Africke on the Larboard, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the Phanicians, which Herodotus durst not beleeue, how the Sunne in this journie was on their right hand, that is, on the Northside of them, is a matter of necessarie truth; and the observation then 40 made hereof, makes mee the better to beleeue, that such a Voyage was indeede performed.

But leaving these discourses of Neco his magnificence, let vs tell what hee did. in matters more importing his Estate. The people of Iuda, while the Egyptians were busic at Carchemish, had made Ichoahaz their King, in the roome of his father Iosias. The Prophet Ieremie cals this new King Shallum, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short Raigne of Shallum King of the tenne Tribes: for Shallum of Israel raigned but one moneth; Iehoahaz no more than three. Hee was not the eldest some of losias: Wherefore it may seeme that he was set up as the best affected vnto the King of Babel; the rest of his house being more inclined to the 50 Ægyptian, as appeares by the sequell. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as Neco had dispatched his businesse in the North parts of Syria, then did he take order for the affaires of Iudea. This Countrie was now so farre from making any refistance, that the King himself came to Riblah in the Land of Hamath,

where the matter went foill on his fide, that Neco did cast him into bonds and carry him prisoner into Agypt, giving away his Kingdome to Eliakim his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This Citie of Riblath, in after times called Antiochia, was a place vnhappie to the Kings and Princes of Inda, as may bee obserued in diuers examples. Yet here Iehoiakim, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, fince he could no better vse it. But how-cuer Ieloiakim thriued by the bargaine, Pharao sped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any stroke stricken, which three moneths before was too stoute to give him peace. when he desired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, Neco had a greater to taskelying vpon his hands, than would permit him to wast his forces vpon Iudea: but now the reputation of his good successe at Megiddo, and Carchemillo, together with the diffention of the Princes Iosias his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have stormed at the preferment of his yonger brother) gave him power to doe, euen what should please himselfe. Yet hee did forbeare to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps vpon the same reason, which had made him so carnest, in seeking to hold peace with it. For the lewes had suffered much, in the Agyptians quarrell, and being left by the fetheir friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driven to for sake that party, and joyne with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaime 20 them; feeing they were fuch a people, as would not vpon enery occasion shift side. but endure more, than Pharao, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay vpon them: so good a Patron did he meane to be vnto them. Neuerthelesse he laid voon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of siluer, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reape at the present, some fruit of his paines taken, and leaue vnto them some document in the future, of greater punishment then verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So hee departed, carrying along with him into Agypt the vnfortunate King tehoahaz, who died in his Capti-

The raigne of Iehoshaz was included in the end of his Fathers last yeere; o-30 therwife it would hardly be found, that Ichoiakim, his successour, did raigne tenne whole yeeres; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that is current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short raigne, into the first yeere of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to be evnworthy of disputation;

and so I leaue it.

Iehoiakim in impietie was like his brother, in faction he was altogether Egyptian, as having received his Crowne at the hand of Pharao. The wickednesse of these last Kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall wordes, with reference to all the cuill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that 40 the poylon wherewith Ahaz and Manaffes had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnesse of Iosias, but that it still cleaned vnto the chiefe of the people, Tea unto the chiefe of the Priests also; and therefore it was not frange; that 2.chron.cap.36; the Kings had their part therein. The Royall authoritie was much abased by the versita. dangers wherein the Countrie stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they lifted; neither would the Kings for beare to professe, that they could denie them nothing. Yet the beginning of Iehoiakim had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace it, which made him infolent & cruell; as we find by that example of his dealing with Friathe Prophet: though herein also the Princes docappeare to have beene inftigators. This Holy man denounced Gods judgements a-30 gainst the Citie and Temple, in like fort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into Ægypt: but such regard was had vnto Iehoiakim, that Vria was deliuered vnto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death ; contrary to the custome vsed, both in

those dayes, and since among all Ciuill Nations of giuing refuge vnto strangers, that are not held guiltie of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priviledge.

It concerned Pharas to give all contentment possible to Ieheiakim: for the Ally-

rian Lyon, that had not stirred in many yeeres, beganne about these times, to roare followd vpon the bankes of Euphrates, that his voice was heard vnto Nilus, threatning to make himselse Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawne the house of Merodach, from opposing the Egyptian in his conquest of Svria, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at Charchemish, where shortly after this, the glory of Egypt is to fall.

## d. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not give attendance on their businesse in Syria; which caused them to loose that Prouince.



ERODACH the fonne of Baladan, who taking the advantage that Sen-20 nacheribs misaduenture and death, together with the dissension betweene his children presented, made himselfe King of Babylon, was eleuen yeeres troubled with a powerfull Enemie Arhaddon the sonne of Senacherib, raigning ouer the Affyrians in Niniuie; from

whom whilest he could not any other way divert his cares, he was faine to omit all bufinesse in Syria, and (as hath beene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto Ezekia. fome part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. From this moleflation, the death of Afarhaddon did not onely fet him free, but gaue vnto him some part of Assyria, if not (as is commonly but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How 30 greatly this was to the liking of the Affyrians, I wil not here stand to enquire: his long raigne following, and his little entermedling in matters of Syria, make it plaine, that he had worke enough at home either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. Tolephus gives him the honour of having wonne Niniuie it selfe; which we may believe; but furely he did not hold it long. For in the times foone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquished Phraortes the Median. Perhaps it yeelded vpon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings being of the Chaldaan race, preferred Babylon before it.

Some thinke that this was the Affyrian King, whose Captaines tooke Manasses prisoner; but I rather believe those that hold the contrarie; for which I have given 40 my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why Merodach should have looked into those parts, as long as the Iemes were his friends, and the Agyptians, that maligned the Northerne Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was vntill the time of Pfammiticus, about the end of this Kings Raigne, or the beginning of his fonne.

Ben Merodash the sonne and successour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is hee named by good confent of Authours, and that speake little of his doings. The length of his Raigne is gathered by inference to have beene one and twentie yeeres, for somuch remaineth of the time that passed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Raignes (which is a knowne fumme) de- 5° ducting the yeeres of his Father, and of his sonne Nabulassar. This (as I take it) was he that had Manasses Prisoner and released him. He sped ill in Spria: where Plammiticus, by the vertue of his Mercinarie Greekes, did much prevaile. This may haue beene some cause that he released Manasses, and did put into his handes some

part more of the Kingdome of Samaria: which is made probable by circumstances alleaged before.

Nabulassar that raigned in Babylon after his Father Ben Merodach, had greater bulines in his own Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: infomuch as it may beethought to have beene a great negligence or over-light of Pfammitiess and Neco, that they did not occupie some good part of his Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in his time, that Phraortes King of the Medes inuaded Aligna, and belieged Niniue; from whence he was not repelled by any force of Nabulassar, but constrained to remove by the comming of Scythians, who in these ages did o-10 uer-flow those parts of the World, laying hold vpon all, that they could master by strong hand. Of these Scythians, and the Lordship that they held in Asia, it is convenient that I speake in this place; shewing briefly afore-hand, how the Medes, vpon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering Aßyria.

Phraortes, the sonne of Deioces, King of the Medes, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a faire possibilitie of making himselfe.

CHAP.28. S.3.

That Citie (as Herodotus reports it) having beene a Soucraigne Ladie, was not Herod.lib.s. forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her selfe shee was 20 well enough.

This makes it plaine, that how socuer Merodach had gotten possession of this imperiall feat, and made it subject as was the rest of the Countrie; vet it found the meanes to fet it selfe at libertie: as after this againe he did, when it had been regai-

ned by Nabulaffar his Grand-childe.

Sharpe warre, and the very nouelty of fuddaine violence, vieto difmay any State or Countrie, not inured to the like : but custome of danger hardeneth even those that are vnwarlike. Niniue had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately raigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the surie, wherewith either Domesticall tumults betweene the sonnes of Senacherib, or forraigne warre of the Babyloni-30 ans, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leffe wonderfull, that Phraortes did speed foill in his journey against it. He and the most of his Armie perished in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps he vnderualued their forces, and brought a leffe power than was needfull) It is enough, that we may herein beleeue Herodotus.

Cyaxares the sonne of Phraortes, a brauer man of warre then his Father, wanne as much of Asia the leffe, as lay Eastward, from the River of Halys; he sought revenge vpon the Afgrians for the death of his Father, and belieged Niniue it selfe, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather beleeue Ev s EBIVS, That he tooke the Citie, and fulfilled his displeasure upon it, than HERODOTVS, That the Scythian Armie came upon 40 him whilest he lay before it. For where equal authorities are contradictorie (as Eusebius, though farre later then Herodotus, yet having seene other Authors, that are now loft, is to be valued according to his great reading) there doe Ihold it best, to yeeld vnto the best likelihoods.

To thinke that the Scythians came vpon Cyaxares, whilest hee lay before Ninine, were to accuse him of greater improvidence, then ought to bee suspected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to suppose that hee was faine to leave the Towne, when a warre so dangerous tell voon his owne Countrie, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that Scythian expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the Chaldaan and Affgrian affaires en-

50 fuing.

The destruction of this great Citie is both foretold in the Booke of Tobit, and there set downe as happening about these times; of which Booke who soener was the Authour, hee was ancient enough to know the Storie of those ages, and hath committed no fuch errour in reckoning of times, as should cause vs to distrust him

CHAP.28. S.4. +.2.

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in this. As for the Prophelic of Nahum, though it be not limited vnto any certaine tearme, vet it appeares to have taken effect, in the finall destruction of Ninine by Nabuchodone for, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of Agypt, foregoing this calamitie, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authoritie then the reformed Churches yeelde, to the Booke of Tobit, are carefull, as in a matter of necessitie, to affirme, that about these times Niniue was taken; but they attribute (coniecturally) the victorie over it, to Ben Merodach: a needleffe coniecture, if the place of Eufebius be well confidered. Yet I hold it probable, that Nabulas ar the sonne of Ben Merodach, did seize vpon it and place a King or Viceroy therein, about such time as the Countrie of Cris was abandoned by Cyaxares, when the Seythian warre ouerwhelmed Media. For then was the Conquell wrought out readic to his hand; the swelling spirits of the Miniuites were allayed, and their malice to Babylon fo affwaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if Nabula flar, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, took him and them into protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this vnthankfull people and their King, rebelled againe, as shall be shewed in the Raigne of 2/4buchodonofor.

## d IIII.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twentie yeeres.

# The time of this expedition.

O W that I have shewed what impediment was given by the Ass. Prians and the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby were much difabled to performe any action of worth vpon the Agyptians in Syria; it is time that I speake of that great Scythian expedition, which grie-uousiy afflicted not only the Babylonians, but the Medes and Lydians, with the Countries adiacent, in such wise, that part of the trouble redounded cuen to the Agyptians themselves. Of the Soythian people in generall, Herodotus makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but il agreeing, with confent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them, for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times which by 40 inference out of his relations, may feeme very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or else to bee too forgetfull of my selfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twentie yeeres, he faith, that the Seythians Raigned in Asia, before Cyaxares deliuered the Countrie from them. Yet he reports a warre betweene Cyaxares and Halyattes the Lydian, as foregoing the fiege of Niniue; the fiege of Niniue being ere the Seythians came. And further he tels, how the Seythians, hauing vanquished the Medes, did passe into Syria, and were encountred in Palestina by Pfammiticus King of Egypt, who by gifts and entreatie procured them to de- 50 part from him. These narrations of Herodotus may, every one of them, bee true; though not in such order of time, as hee hath marshalled them. For Psammiticus was dead before Cyaxares beganne to Raigne: and Cyaxares had spent halfe of his fortic yeeres, ere Halyattes was King of Lydia; so that he could not, after those Lydian warres, Raigne eight and twentie yeeres together with the Scythians. It is true. that Eufebius doth also call Psammis the sonne of Pharao Neco, by name of Psammiticus; and this King Pfammis may, by some strained coniecture, bee thought to haue beene he that met with the Soythians: for he lived with both Craxares and Halrattes. But Eusebius himselfe referres all that businesse of the Seythian irruption into Palastina, to Pfammiticus the Father of Neco, whom hee leaves dead before the Raigne of Halyattes. Therefore I dare not relie vpon Herodotus, in this matter, otherwise then to beleeve him, that such things were in these ages, though not in fuchorder as he fets them downe.

10 It remaines, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I finde of this expedition scattered in divers places: a worke necessarie, for that the greatnesse of this action was such, as ought not to bee omitted in a generall Historie; yet not easie, the consent of those that have written thereof, being nothing neere to vniformitie.

Ihaue noted before, that in the Raigne of Ardys King of Lydia, the Cimmerians ouer-ranne that Kingdome, and were not expelled, untill Halyattes the Nephew of Ardys got the vpper hand of them. In thele times therefore of Ardys, Sadiattes, and Halyattes, are we to find the eight and twentie yeeres, wherein the Scythians raigned ouer Asia. Now for a much as Psammiticus the Agyptian had some dea-20 lings with the Scythians, euen in the height of their prosperitie, wee must needs allow more then one or two of his last yeeres vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of Halyattes his Raigne in Lydia, being three and twentie yeeres compleat after the death of Psammitieus, leaues the space very scant, either for the great victories of the Scythians, necessarily supposed before they could meet the Agyptian in Syria, or for those many losses, which they must have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increase this difficultie, the victorious Raigne of Nabuchodono for in Babylon, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that he should have adventured the strength of his Kingdome against the Agyptians and Iewes, had hee stood in daily feare of losing his owne; to a more mightie Nati-30 on that lay upon his necke? To speake simply as it appeares to me; the victories ascribed to Cyaxares & Halyattes ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their Armie, but were the defeatures of some troupes, that infested their severall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, Nabulassar having the like successe, when the pleasures of Asia had mollified the courages of these hardie Northerne Laddes. Wherefore wee may probably annexe the eight and twentie yeres of the Scythians rule, to as many almost the last of Nahulassars Raigne. in compasse whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein Asia suffered the violence of these oppressors.

#### † II.

What Nations they were that brake into Asia; with the cause of their Iournie.

Touching the expedition it selfe, Herodotus tels vs, that the Cimmerians being dri-uen out of their Countrie by the Scythians, inuaded and wasted some part of Afia; and that the Scythians not contented with having wonne the land of the Cim-30 merians, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remooued quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling vpon Media and Egypt, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into Lydia. Hereby we may gather that the Cimmerians were an odious and base people; the Stythians, as mischieuous and foolish; or else Herodotus, and some other of his Countrimen, great slanderers of those, by

whom their Nation had beene beaten, and Ionia, more then once, gricuously ranfackt. The great valour of the Cimmerians or Cimbrians is so well known, and their manic Conquests so well testified in Histories of divers Nations, that the malice of the Greekes is infufficient to staine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posteritic of Gomer, who peopled the greatest part of our Westerne World; and whose reflow did ouerwhelme no small portion of Greece and Asia, as well before and after, as in the age whereof wee doe now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselfe of their originall and actions, may perule Goropius Becanus his Amazonica; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned Ortelius is said to have spoken, of all Goropius his works, that it is easie to laugh at them, 10 but hard to confute them: There wee find it proued, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Scythians, and Sarmatians, were all of one Linage and Nation; how soeuer distinguished in name, by reason of their divers Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. Homer indeede hath mention of the Cimmerians, whose Countrie whether he place in the West, as neer vnto the Ocean and boundes of the Earth, Or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and couered with eternall darkneffe; certaine it is that he would have them neere neighbours to Hell: for he had the same quarrell to them, which Herodotus had, and therefore belike would have made them feeme a kinde of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as Herodotus writing his life affirmes) to infert into 20 his workes the names of such as lived in his owne time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserved. And for this reason it is proued by Eustathius, that the Cimmerians were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Countrie. Perhaps that invasion of Phrygia by the Amazons, whereof Homer puts a remembrance into Priamus his discourse with Helen, was the very same, which Eusebius noteth to have happened somewhat before the age of Homer, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amazons, together inuaded Asia. This is certaine, that both the Amazons and the Cummerij (who in after-times

Died. lib.4.c.2.

were called Cimbri) did often breake into Greece and Asia 3 which though it bee not in expresse tearmes written, that they did with ioynt forces, yet seeing they inua- 20 ded the selfe same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One iourney of the Amazons into Greece, mentioned also by Eusebius, was by the straights of the Cimmerians, as we finde in Diodore, who further telleth vs, that the Scythians therein gaue them affistance. The same Authour, before his entrie into Diod.lib.2.c. 11. those discourses of the Amazons, which himselfe acknowledgeth to bee fabulous, doth report them to have beene Wives of the Septhians, and no leffe warlicke than their Husbands; alleadging the example of that Queene, who is faid to have flaine the great Persian Cyrus. That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carrie their wines along with them to the warres; and how desperate the courage was of those women; the terrible descent of them into Italie, when Marius the Roman ouerthrew 40 them, gives proofe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the Amazons; other place will give mee better leifure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by divers Historians to have belonged vnto the Cimmerians, to the Soythians, and to the Sarmatians, wee may the better approous Goropius his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neere allies.

Now concerning the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians, it appeares to have beene none other than the sending a Colonie of them forth into Asia, with an Armie of Scythians to helpe them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the plantation.

The Surmatians also were companions in this journic. For the Citie of Nouo- 50 grad in Rusia (which Countrie is the same that was called Sarmatia) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruaile though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voiage was that, which the same people made

five hundred yeeres and more after this, when they were encountred by the Romans. For they issued from the parts about the Lake Maoris; they were then likewife affisted (faith Plutarch in the most likely report of them) by the Scythians their Plutarch in the neighbours; they had in their Armic about three hundred thousand fighting men, life of Marias. besides a huge multitude of women & children; they wandered ouer many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have fetled them selves in Italie, they divided their companie, for the more easie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battailes by the Roman Consuls. Meere necessitie enforced these poore Nations, to trouble the World, in following such hard aduentures. 10 For their Countrie, being more fruitfullof men than of fultinance, and shut vo on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their ouerfwelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more civill, people had. Their sturdie bodies, patient of hunger, cold and all hardnesse, gaue them great advantage over such as were accustomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluites. Wherefore commonly they prevailed very farre; their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner be ridde of them; others giving them, belides passage, victuals and guides to con-20 duct them to more wealthie places; others hiring them to depart with great pre-

CHAP.28. S.4. 1.3.

more effeminate people.

of the Historie of the World.

## t. III.

fents; fo as the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the

# Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

30 THE first Companie of these, consisting for the most part of Cimmerians, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leaving on the other fide, and behinde them, the great Mountaines of Caucasus. These hauing passed through the Land of Cholchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the Countrie of Pontus, and being arrived in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promontorie Herod. Ilb. Ac whereon Sinope, a famous Hauen Towne of the Greekes, was after built. Here it feemes that they bestowed the weakest and most unseruiceable of their traine, together with the heaviest part of their carriages, under some good gard: as drawing necre to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to trie the vtmost hazard. For in like fort afterwards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake even now) dispose of 40 their impediments, leaving them in a place of firength, where Aniwerpe now flands, when they drew necre into Gaule, vpon which they determined to aduenture themselues in the purchase. From Synope, the way vnto Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was faire and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of Mountaines or any deepe Rivers to stay their march: for Iris and Halys they had already passed. What battailes were fought betweene these inuaders and the Lydians, and with

what variable successe the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written nor am able to coniecture. This I find, that in the time of Ardys, the Cimmerians got pofsession of Sardes the Capitall Citic of Lydia; onely the Castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas Herodotus tels of the acts performed by Gyges and Ardys Kings of Lydia, before this invalion, and by Halyattes and Crassus in the times following; all that Ardis did against the Cimmerians, and all, saue burning the Milesians Corne fields, that was done in twelue yeres by Sadiattes his Son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this businesse, that he could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did any thing

Certainly, the miseries of warre are neuer so bitter and manie, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, for faking their owne feates, labour to roote out the effablished possessions of another Land, making roome for themselves, their wines and children. They that fight for the masterie, are pacified with tribute, or with some over services and acknowledgements, which had they beene yeelded at the first, all had been equiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, the affailants bring fo little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and their goods, even to the cradles of the sucking to infants. The mercilesse tearmes of this controuersie arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or look their lines without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe have felt examples thereof; and the mightie Empire of Rome was overthrowne by such invasions. But our Isle of Britaine can best witnesse the diversitie of Conquests; having by the happic victoric of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Civill arts, in exchange of libertie, that was but flenderly instru-Ged therein before; whereas the iffue of the Saxon and Danish warres, was, as were the causes, quite contrarie. For these did not seeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire possession of the Countrie, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible 20 crucltie, cradicating all of the British Race, and defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are alfo of the Cimmerian bloud) found such end of their enterprise, as it may seeme that the Cimmerians in Lydia, and Seythians in the higher Asia, did arrive vnto. So that by considering the processe of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battailes the Danes wonne; yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Manie the Saxons wonne vpon the Danes, yet not fo great, as could drive them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance cuen of vtter enmitie, had bred fuch acquaintance betweene them, as bowing the natures of 30 both these people, made the one more plyant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons, in England, where great flaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Countrie wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it selfe of many thousands, that were sent to seeke their graves abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia; whereunto though some victorie of Halyattes may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearifome length of time feemes to have done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde hereunto my further coniecture; which is, that the matter was so 40 compounded between the Cimmerians and Halyattes, that the River of Halys should divide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne side of the River was the Countric of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimmerians and other Scythian people; whole wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have beene.

And hereunto the quarrell enfuing, betweene Halyattes and Cyaxares the Mede, hath very good reference. For Halyattes (as is faid) fought in defence of certaine Seythians, vpon whom the Median Sought reuenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall flaughters, should have joyned in a league of mutual defence for their common safetie: though o- 50 therwise it had beene dangerous to Halyattes, if he had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, what socuer the pretences might be, of taking revenge vpon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the warre between these two Kings, which Herodotiss relates, I find it of little

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.28. S.4. +.4.

waight, and leffe probabilitie. He tels of Scythians, that being chased out of their Countrie by faction, came vinto Cyaxares; who committed vinto them certaine Boves, to be instructed in the Scythian tongue, and feate of Archeric. Now it so Herod, lib. 1. fell out (faith he) that these Seythians vsing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did neverthelesse other whiles misse of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholericke, bitferly regiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was under their charge, whom dreffing like Venison, they presented vnto him; which done, they fled vnto Halyattes. This Herodotus deliuers, as the ground of a warre to that lasted fixe vecres betweene the Medes and Lydians; the one King demanding these Fugitiues to be deliuered into his hand, the other resuling to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians, to betake themselves to either of these Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the treacherie that he shewed in the massacring of their Countrie men, that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that wee should speake.

# t. IIII.

# The warre of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

Sthe Cimmerians held their course Westerly, along the shores of the Euxine Sea: fo the Scythians and Sarmatians tooke the other way, and having the Cafpian Sea on their left hand, passed betweene it and Caucas through Albania, Colthene, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Seruan and Georgia and fo they entered into Media. The Medes encountered them in Armes, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was 20 in the time of Phraortes, whilest Pfammiticus raigned in Egypt. If it were in the fixt veere of Nabulassars Raigne over Babylon (supposing him to have raigned five and thirtie; otherwise we must allow to Ben Merodach what we take from him) then doe the eight and twentie yeeres of their Dominion end, one yeere before the great Nabuchodonofor was King; fogiuing him good leave to provide fecurely, for the invalion of Syria, which expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as Io/ephus out of Berofus relates the Historic.

Now the Medes, desirous to saue themselves as well as they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no lust to a second triall of the sword, refufed not to undergoe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, 40 that would ferue to remooue these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Seythians finding still the Countries pleasanter & better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to bee perswaded that a little more trauaile, would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied fo much upon their owne valour, that they feared no relistance; and being the brauest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That Phraortes perswaded them into Egypt, I doe not thinke: Babylon was neere enough; whither if hee could fend these Locusts to graze, then should not his vnfriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift Nabulassar made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I doe not reade. But 50 it is well knowne, that his Dominions lay in the middeft betweene Media and Agypt; as also, that they made all those parts of Asia Tributarie; wherefore we may very well beleene, that they watered their horses in his Riners, and that hee also was content to give them prouender.

Pfammitieus hearing of their progresse (like the jealous Husband of a faire Wife)

tooke care that they might not looke vpon Agypt; lest the sight thereof should

more easily detaine them there, than any force or perswasion, that hee could vse,

would fend them going. Therefore he met them in Syria, presuming more on the

great gifts which he meant to bestow vpon them, than on his Armie that should

keepe them backe. Agypt was rich; and halfe the riches thereof had not beene ill

spent in saving all. Yet Pfammitieus tooke the most likely course, whereby to make

his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had beene so obstinate as to

refuse all indifferent composition. For hee lay close vponthe edge of the Wilder-

nesse in Gaza (as I take it) the Southermost border of Palassina: whence hee never

scalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of Svria

could beat vpon them. When they were come as farre as Ascalon, the next Citie

to Gaza, then did he affay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which

were likely to work fo much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased

with the heate of a Climate so farre different from their owne. Psammitieus had at

his backe a vast wildernesse, ouer the scorching sands whereof, the Scythians more

patient of cold and wet, than of the contrarie distempers, could ill haue indured to

pursue him, through vnknowne wayes, had they sought with him and prevailed:

especially the Kingdome of Egypt being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and

to visite their acquaintance in the high Countries. The Agyptian King (besids that

he preserved his owne Estate from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Ar-

mie to depart from him) found all his Cost well repayed in the processe of his wars

in Syria, where the Nations beyond Euphrates had no power to molest him, being

more then euer troubled themselues, with the returne of their oppressors. For the

Scythians, resoluing now to secke no further, beganne to demaund more than the

Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grie-

nous exactions, they prefumed to line at discretion vpon the Countrie, taking what

king often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long vsed our the

higher Ma, that is, ouer the Countrielying betweene the Calpian and Red Seas;

and betweene India and Asia the lesse. Happie it was for the poore people, that in

so large a space of ground, there was roome enough for these new comers; other-

wise the calamitie that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those private men, to whose

wealth any Seythian did beare a fancie, would have lighted in generall vpon all at

one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellowes. Yet it seemes

that the heaviest burthen lay vpon Media; for it was a fruitfull Countrie not farre

from their owne home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the constituti-

on of their bodies; there also it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their 40

they listed from the Owners; and many times (as it were to saue the labour of ta- 30

them with new trouble at the end of their wearie journie. Wherefore they were 20 content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back

advanced to meet with the Seythians; but gave them leave to feele as much of the 10

Townes, Lands, Honfes, Wives, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed; and get disdayning the Villanie of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not farre 49 from Nouograd met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon aduiting what was best to be done, they agreed also to set upon them with no other shew of weapon

but with their horfe whips (which as their manner is, euery manrideth with all) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together with their whips in their hand; they gaue the onfet. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and strooke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like Sheepe before the Drivers. In memorie of this victorie, the Noungradians ever fince bane stamped their Coine (which they call a Dingoe Nousgradskoy, carrant through all Russia) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seeme, that all the

50 women of that Countrie, haue fared the worse euer since, in regard of this vniuerfall fault: for such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaues, curiously wrought by her selfe, is the first present that the Moscouian Wife, euen in time of wooing, sends to him that shalbe her husband, in token of subjection; being well affured, to seele it often on her owne loines. But this was a Document vnto the Scythians, or rather

This is the more strange, for that the Armie returning home out of Media, was very firong, and encountred with opposition (as Herodotius reports it) no leffe then

it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the deuice of Cyaxares to free his Herod. ib.4. Country, tooke good effect, with leffe bloud-shed than hath beene supposed. For if hee surprised all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compolition. Many of them doubtleffe in eight and twentie yeeres had so well settled

themselues, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Countrie; many (of whom I shall speake anon) having done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to to returne home, with what they had gotten; fuch as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe joyne with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or seeke their for-

tunes in other provinces, among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are faid to have beene with Nabuchadnezzar, it may be vnderstood, that a great part of the Scythians, vpon hope of gaine, or defire to keepe what they

had already gained, were content to become subject vnto 2\( abula | far: mens loue of their wealth being most effectuall, in taming the more vnquiet loue of inordinate

libertie. This is certaine, that Nabuchadnez zar, as ever after, fo in his first beginning 107,25.94 ofwarre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had beene accultomed to deale with the Babylonians after another fathion : and this new successe of that

20 King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to such addition as this of new

Of the Scythian Armiereturning out of Media, divers Authours report a Storie. which confirmes mee in the opinion, that this Companie went forth to affift their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new scate, and establishing their plantation. Forthese had lest their wives behinde them ; a good argument to prove that they meant to come againe. The Seythian women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed sellowes to their slaues. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers in Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were only the children of slaues, 30 which compounded an Armie (as Herodotus would haue it, who tels vs, that the Seythians were wont to pull out all their Bond-mens cies) it must needs be that they were very Boyes, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather belocue that tale as it is told by the Russes themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Anceftors returning homewards, which I will fet downe, as I finde it, in M. Doctor Fletcher his exact discourse of the Russe Common-wealth. They under stood by the way, that Russ Common be their Cholopey, or Bond-slaues whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their cap.a.

Herod.lib.1.

insolent Rule was taken from them. Craxares King of the Medes, who in this extremitie was no better then a Rentgatherer for the Scythians, perceiuing that his Land lay vnmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, refolued to proue what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus deliuered in briefe; That he, and his Medes, feasted the better part of the Seythians; made them drunke; and slew them; recourring heereby the possession of all that they had

Such another flaughter was committed vpon the Danes in England; but it was re- 50 uenged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelties than euer they had practifed before. That the Scythians, which escaped this bloudy feast, made any stirre in Media, I doe not find; neither doe I read that either in reuenge hereof, or vpon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by inualion from Seythia in time following.

Sarmatians (for Nouograd stands in the Countrie that was called Sarmatia) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their Wives; which after this, I

find not that they did.

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Thus much I thought good to fet downe of the Scythian expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appeares to have beene a great cause, of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, and about Indea, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

Of Princes living in divers Countries, in these ages.

ò. V.



Auing thus farre digressed from the matters of Iuda, to avoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings and men of marke, as were betweene the death of Manasses, and the ruine of Ierusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I have spoken as much, as I thought needfull. In Rome, Tul-

lus Hostilius held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth yeere of Iosias; at 20 which time Ancus Martius fucceeding, raigned foure and twentic yeeres. After him L. Tarquinius Priscus, a new-come stranger, but very rich, prevailed so farre by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the Kingdome to himselfe, disappointing the sonnes of Ancus, ouer whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeere of Zedekia, and Raigned eight and thirtie yeeres. In this time it was, namely, in the second yeere of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedamonians, bethinking them how to bee avenged of the Arcadians, who gave succour to the Messenians against them in the former warre, entred the Territorie, tooke the Citie of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. Cyplelus expelling the race of the Bacida, made himselfe Lord of Corinth about 20 these times, and governed it in peace thirtie yeeres; leaving for successour his sonne Periander, one of the seuen Sages, but acruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, flew his owne wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, fripped all the Corinthian women starke naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive, that the wiledome of the Greekes was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could bee admired as excelling all the Coun-

In these times also were Zaleucus, and Draco, samous Lawgiuers, the one among the Locrians in Italie, the other in the Citie of Athens. The Lawes of Draco were fo rigorous, that he was faid to have written them with bloud: for hee rewarded eue- 40 rie small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soone abrogated, and power given to Solon, by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of Zaleucus were very milde. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walke abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, unlesse it were when shee was drunke; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, vnlesse it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse herselfe vp in immodest brauerie, vnlesse it were to inueigle alouer. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire: for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a fingular example of justice, that when his owne fonne had committed adulterie, and was therefore to loofe both his eyes, he did not cause him 70 to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to faue the yong man (who also lost one) from vtter blindnesse.

I shall not henceforth need, so farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done, in pursuing of actions collaterall to the Historie, for inserting them in their order of

time. The Chaldeans will soone fall under the Persians; the Persians, crelong, encounter with the Greekes; the Greekes, with the Romans, the Romans, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate; it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents. that befellthem in their Minoritie. But in the long space of more than thirteene hundred yeeres, which passed betweene the calling of Abraham, and the destruction on of Ierusalem, we finde little matter, wherein the Historic of Israel had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neerest borderers. Yet reade we of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages were erected, and throwne downe; as liketo wife, many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neere distance, all which must have beene quite omitted, or else reserved vnto a very vnscasonable rehearfall, had they not beene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniencie, may pardon the necessitie.

è. V I.

The oppression of Iudea, and destruction of Ierusalem by the Chaldeans.



20

CHAP.28. S.6.

OW to returne to the Iewish Storie, from whence wee haue so farre digressed. In the third yeere of Iehoiakim, Nabuchodonosor the second, his Father yet liuing, entred Iudea with a great Armie, who belieging and forcing Ierusalem, made Iehoiakim his Vassall in despight of Neco, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges

Daniel, being as yet a childe, with Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. Also hee tooke a part of the Church treasures; but staiced not to search them throughly; for Necho hasted to the succour of Ieboiakim, hoping to finde Nabuchodonos or in Indaa: wherein this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazard himselfe and his Armie, it being Countrie of an euill affection towards him, as also farre off from any succour or sure place of retrait. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of Scythian horsemen in his Armie; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Countrie, into places that were more euen and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father, happening at the same time, gaue him iust occasion to returne home, and take possession of his owne Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the fecond care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the Agyptian was not ready to follow 40 him fo farreand to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeere came in , which was the fourth of Iehoiakim, the first of Nabuchodonofor, and the last of Neco. In this yeere the Babylonian lying voon the Banke of Euphrates (his owne Territoric bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrivall of Necho. There, after a resolued contention for victorie, Necho was slaine, and his Armie remaining forced to saue it selfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victorie Nabuchodonofor so well pursued, as he recoucred all Syria, and what soener the Egyptians held out of their proper Territorie towards the North. The Agyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, Iehoiakim held himselfe quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the Azyptian, yet having made his peace with the Chaldean the veere 50 before; who contented with fuch profit as hee could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute vpon Iuda. But this coole reservednesse of Iehoiakim, was, on both fides, taken in ill part. The Eg)ptian King Pfammis, who succeeded vnto Necho, beganne to thinke vpon restoring Iehoahaz, taken Prisoner by his Father, and setting him vp, as a Domestical Enemie, against his vngratefull brother.

Ier.45.45.47.

Against all such accidents, the Iudean had prepared the vsuall remedy, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne sonne Iechonia King with him long before, in the second yeere of his owne Raigne, when the Boy was but Eight reeres olde. As for this rumour of Ieheahaz his returne; the Prophet Ieremie foretold that it should proue idle, saying : he shall not returne thither, but hee shall die in the place whi-10.12.11.6 12 ther they have led him captive, and shall see this Land no more. The Agptians indeed. having spent all their Mercinarie forces, and received that heavie blow at Carchemilb, had not remaining such proportion of sharpe steele, as of saire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of Neco was not in Plammis. Apries who raigned after Psammis, did once aduenture to shew his face in Syria; but 10 after a bigge looke, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with braue words, telling such frivolous tales, as men, that meane to doe nothing, vie, of their glorious acts forepaffed, against losias and leheahaz. In this case it was easie for lehoiakim to give them fatisfaction, by letting them understand the sinceritie of hisaffection towardes them, which appeared in time following. But Nabuchodonofor went to worke more roundly. He sent a peremptorie message to lehoiakim, willing him not to stand vpon any nice points, but acknowledge himselfea Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hercunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore Iudaan lay aside all thought of 10(cob. Antiq lib. Pharaoh, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued 20 in the obedience of Nabuchodonofor three yeeres. At this time Ieremie the Prophet cried out against the lewes, putting them in mind that he had now three and twentie vecres exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their eares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captivitie at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seventic veeres. The same calamitic hee threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the Agyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumaans, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drinke out of the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of His furie, whom they had for faken, and after the seuenty yeares expired, that the Babylonians themselves should taste of the fa me cup, and be vtterly subuerted by the Medes, & the Indeans permitted to return 20 againe into their owne fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet Ieremie scemes to have beene in the fourth yeere of this Iehoiakim, at which time B4ruch the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom hee sent to reade them vnto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings furie, they had first set Ieremie at libertie, and aduised him and Baruch to hide themselues.

Iehoiakim, after he heard a part of it and perceived the ill newes therein delivered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Booke in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which Ieremie caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead body of Iehoiakim, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the 40 frost, and that there should be none of his seede to sit on the Throne of David.

Time thus running on, while Iehoiakim rested secure of all danger, as Tributarie to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Egyptian; the mightie Citic of Tyre opposed it selfe against the Chaldean forces; and vpon just confidence of her owne strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now for as much as the terme of seventy yeeres was prescribed vnto the desolation, as well of Tyre, as of Ierufalem, and other Townes and Countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this Citie vnto the nineteenth yeere of Nabuchodono-(or, haue sure authoritie for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it followes of neceffitie, that the fiege thereof begannein the feuenth of his Raigne; as having lasted 50

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note, concerning the feuerall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon bath rifen much disputation. The third yeere of Iehoiakim, was the last of Nabulasar, who being CHAP. 28. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

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delinered from other cares, tooke notice of fuch as had revolted from him vnto Pharao Neco, and sent this Noble Prince, his sonne, with an Armic into Syria, to reclaime them. In this expedition was Daniel carried away, who therefore makes Danie. 1. v. 1. mention of the same yeere. The yeere next following, being the fourth of Ichoia- Ierum, 25.1. kim, was the first of Nebuchadnezzar; which Ieremie affirmeth in expresse wordes; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeere he conquered Agnt; and then beganne to raigne as a great Monarch. finding none that durst offend him. The second from this yeere it was, wherein he faw that vision, of the Image consisting of fundrie Metals; which did prefigurate to the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the comming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of Tyre, which beganne in the seuenth of his Raigne.

The Citie of Tyre coursed all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the maine, by a deep & broad channell of the Sca. The Chaldwans had no Fleet, and were no Sca-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to vie them, excelled all other Nations; and euery wind, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the Citie. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt

the place; whereof neuertheleffe the judgements of God (denounced against it by E/1723. 20 Elay, Ieremie, Ezechiel,) had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution Exchase. of Nabuchodonofor, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, vndertooke a vast piece of worke; euen to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The Citie of olde Tyrus, that stood opposite to the new, vpon the firme Land, and the mountaine of Libanus neere adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and aboundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteene yeeres were spent, in this laborious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for Alexander working vpon that foundation which was remayning of Nabuchodonofors Peere; and being withall affisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seuen moneths ere he could make way in-30 to the Citic. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carrie away that wherewith Alexander laboured to couer a shelue; with much more violence could it ouerturne, and as it were consume, the worke of Nabuchodonosor, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe; striuing as it were, to fill the emptie belly

it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to vie the hand of man; to even the hand of man striving, as may seeme, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldeans, Euerie head was made bald, and Excess. euerie shoulder was made bare. Yet Nabuchodonosor would not give ouer till hee was 19eth. Anig.

of this Cormorant; whereas the Matedonian did only stop the throat of it. Euerie

man knowes, God could have furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats,

against this place (though it had not pleased him to vse, eyther miracle, or such of

his more immediate weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like ) by making at least

the Seas calme, and adding the fauourable concurrence of all second helpes. But so

master of the Towne. When he was entred vpon this desperate seruice; whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutinie in his Armie, or (which is most likely; and so Iosephus Iud.I.10.17. reports it) some glorious rumours of the Agyptians, gaue courage to his cuill willers, Tehoiakim renounced his subjection, and beganne to hope for the contrarie of that which quickly fell out. For Nabuchodonofor gaue him no leifure to doe much hurt : but with part of his Armie marched directly into Indea; where the amazed 50 King made so little resistance (the Agyptians having left him, as it were in a dreame) that he entred Ierusalem, and laied hands on Iehoiakim: whom hee first bound and determined to send to Babylon, but changing counsell, hee caused him to be slaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to bee deuoured by beasts and rauenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place, Jehoiakim or

Jechonias his sonne; whom after three moneths and ten dayes. Wabuchodonosor removed, and fent Prisoner to Babylon, with Ezekiel, Mardochaus, and Iosedech. the high Priest. The mother of lechonias, together with his servants, Eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carryed away Captines. This Iechonias, following the counsell of Ieremie the Prophet, made no refiftance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein hee both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe; though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to such as considered the cuill that befell him, rather then the greater euill that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seemes that he was partaker, at least, of his Fathers faults, if not an in- 10 frigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we reade in generall wordes, that he did evill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his stead Nabuchodonofor established Mathania his Vncle in the Kingdome of Inda, and called him Zedechias, which is as much to fay, as the Instice of God. For like as Neco, King of Egypt, had formerly displaced Iehozhaz, after his Father Iosias was flaine, and set vp Iehoiakim, the some of another Mother; so Nabuchodono for flue Iehoiakim, who depended on the Agyptians, and carrying his sonne lechonias Prisoner to Babel, gaue the Kingdome to this Zedechias, that was whole Brother to that Iehoshaz, whom Neco tooke with him into Egypt. From Zedechias hee required an oath for his faithfull obe-20 dience, which Zedechias gave him, and called the lining God to witnesse in the same, that he would remaine assured to the Kings of Chaldea.

In the first yeere of Zedechias, Ieremie saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one fignifying those Indeans that were carried away captine,

the other those that stayed, and were destroyed.

In the fourth of Zedechias, Ieremie wrote in a Booke all the euill that should fall vpon Babylon, which Book or scrole he gaue to Sheraia, when he went with the King Zedechias to Babylon, to visit Nabuchodonofor; willing him first to reade it to the Captiue lewes, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these wordes: Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rife from the enill that I will bring upon 30 her. This iournie of Zedechias to Babel is probably thought to have beene in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further thinke, that hee had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and senthim away discontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seemes) to those viquiet courses, from which Ieremie dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his owne neck, others hee fent vnto the flue Kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, by those Messengers which came to visite Zedechias: making them know, that if they and the Kings of Juda abode in the obedience of Babylon, they should then possesse and enjoy their owne Countries; if not, they 49 should affuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

Hee also fore-told them, that those Vessells, which as yet remayned in Ierusalem, should also trauaile after the rest, and at length they should bee restored a-

gaine.

Zer.37

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The same yeere Ananias, the false Prophet, tooke off the woodden Chaine which Icremie ware, in figne of the Captinitie of the Iewes, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeeres, God would breake the strength of Babel, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; restore Iechonias, and all the Iewes, with the Vessells and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But Ieremie in stead of his woodden Yoke ware a Coller of yron; and in signe that Ananias had 50 giuena deceitfull and falle hope to the people, hee fore-told the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second moneth. After this, when Zedechias had wavered long enough betweene Faith and Passion, in the eight yeere of his Raigne he practifed more feriously against Nabuchodone for, with his Neighbours

the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and others that were promifed great aides of the Egyptians: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the Babylonian voke. Hereof when Nabuchodonosor had knowledge, hee marched with his Armie in the dead Winter, toward Ierusalem, and besieged it. Ieremie perswaded Zedechias to render the Citie and himselfe : but being confident of the helpe from Agypt, and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was unpossible that the Kingdome of Iuda should bee extirpate, untill the comming of Silo (according to the Prophecie of Incob) hee despiled the wordes of Gen 49.10. Ieremie, and imprisoned him. For Ieremie had told the King, that the Citie should be 10.32. 0 36. to taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but bee taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of Nabucho dono for; that he should not perish by the sword,

but being carried to Babel, die his naturall death.

lerisalem being, the following yeere, surrounded by Nabuchodonosors Armie; the King of Agypt, Pharao Hophra, according to Ieremie (Herodotus calleth him Apries) Jer. 44entred the border of Inda, with his Armie, to succour Zedechias, of whose revolt he Hered lib.2. had beene the principall Author. But leremie gaue the Iewes faithfull counsell, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of Agypt: for hee assured them, that they should return again, and in no fort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldans removed from lerusalem to encounter the Agyp-20 trans, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking Gaza in their way homeward returned into Egypt, as if they had already done enough; leaving

the poore people of Icrusalem to their destined miseries. In the meane while the Iewes, who, in their first extremitie, had manumised their

Hebrew Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the yere of Iubile) and made them free, Levit. 25.39. thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of 40.00. the Chaldean Armie, repent them of their Charitie : and thinking all had beene at an end, held them perforce to their former flauerie. But the Chaldees being returned 101.24. to the siege, the Prophet Ieremie, when the State of Ierusalem beganne now to grow to extremitie, counselled Zedechias to render himselfe vnto them; assuring 1er.39. 30 him of his owne life, and the safetie of the Citie, if he would so doe. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his

infidelitie and periurie, had prouided for him.

Three and twentie Moneths (as some doe reckonit) or according to Tosephus 1er.39. eighteene; the Babylonian Armielay before Ierusalem, and held it exceeding straightly besieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as P. Martyr hath it) ex- 2.Kingias.1. truxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum : They surrounded the Citie with woodden Tamers, so as the besieged could neither fally out, nor receive into the Citie any supply of men or victualls. 10/ephus reports, that they ouer-topped the Walls, 10/eph. Ant. Iud. with high Towers railed vpon mounts; from which they did so beat vpon the librocapars. 40 Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to for lake their stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like vnto thefe, Yet the great King of Babel, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found meanes to over-throw all the Citizens endeuours; and to beat downe as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Walls of Ierusalem interposed; and theirs within, layed open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both famine and pestilence (which commonly accompanie men fireightly belieged) grew on fast vpon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the lewes failed, the Chaldeans made a breach, and forcing an entry, 50 their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. Zedechias beholding this vncomfortable fight, and finding no remedie of the danger

prefent, loft both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himselfe together with his Wines, Children, Princes, and principall Seruants, out of the Citie, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed & guidelesse people, to the merciles swords

Iofeph. Antiq.

i 10. cap. 11.

of their enemies. Thus he, who, when Ieremie the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the Counsell of God, and the force of Nabuchalmosor; vsed now that remedie, which Wolphius truly termeth: trifle, turpe, & infation: Wolful, shamefull, and unfortunate.

By this secret subterrane vault, Zedechias making his stealth, recovered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Desarts of Iericho: but by reason of the traine, that followed him and his, (every one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them) hee was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the companie was that attended on him, yet, as to so him reports it, they on whose sidelitie hee most reposed himselfe, no sooner beheld the Chaldrans approach, but they all abandoned his desence, and shifted themselves into the Desarts as they could. For whom God had for sken, no man sollowed, but the Ministers of his vengeance; by whom Zedechias being made Prisoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conveighed to Rebla or Reblath a Citie (as some thinke) of Nephtalins, where Nabuchadonosor then lay, as a place indifferent between terns alemand Tyre, with both which at once he had to doe.

Now after Nabuchodono for had laied before Zedekias the many graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable falschood and perinrie, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends, to be slaine before his face. This being done, to the end that solamentable a spectacle 20 should be the last, that ever hee should behold in the World, hee caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in assauls manner to Babel, where hee consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvailous Prophecie of Excebiel was performed; Adducam eum in Babylonam & ipsam non vidabit. I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not seeit.

Thus in the Eleuenth and last yeere of Zedekias, which was the eighteenth of Nabuchodonofor, the Chaldran entred the Civic by force, where sparing no sexe nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the yeere next following, Nabuzaradan, Generall of the Armie, burnt the Kings Palace, and the reft of Ierufalem: and after this fire had lasted from the seuenth to 30 the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood source hundred thirtie and one yeeres.

After this vpon a second search, Nabuzaradan (not yet satiated with bloud) commanded seuentie and two others to bee slaughtered, which had hidden themselues from the first furie, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of Zedeshias his men of Warre, fine of his House-hold servants, and others to that number; carrying away to Babylon the ablest of the people throughout all Iudaa; and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the partie of Nabuchodonofor, to till the ground : ouer whom hee left Gouernour, Godolia the Nephew of that Saphan, whom Iosias had formerly employed in the reformation of 49 Religion, who is, for his iustice and equitie, by Iosephus highly commended. This man, a lew by Nation, left Zedechias, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the warre: and by Ieremies desire to line with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto Zedechias; which was, to submit himselfealtogether to the Babylonian, who being ordayned by God to exercise his instice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet Ieremie being lest to his owne choice, either to liue in Chaldaa, or elsewhere, he made election of Godoliah, to whom he was recommended; who not onely embraced Ieremie, but gaue comfort to all the other tewes, that were left under his charge, promifing them fauour and libertie, follong as they remained obedient Subjects to Nabuchodonofor, by whom hee was established 40 Provinciall Governour of his owne Nation.

But ere that yeere was expired, a Prince of the late Kings houle (who during the fiege of terufalem, had kept himselfe our of the storme, with Baalis, King of the Ammonites) being followed by ten other chosen men, while Goddiah feasted them in

CMaspha or Mitspa, the Citie of his residence, trayterously slue him, together with divers Chaldeans and Iewes that accompanied him. This done, hee made an escape, and in his way encountring with eightie persons, repairing towards Godoliah with presents, hee flue the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover vnto him some Treasures, hidden in the fields during the warre. Hee also tooke with him a Daughter of Zedechies, committed to the care of Godoliah by Nabuchodonofor. This practice and intent of Ismael had been formerly discovered vnto Godolia by Iohanan, one of the Leaders of the sew remaying Iewes; but Godoliah was incredulous.

indea being now left without a Gouernour (for Ismael durst not take it vpon him, but retired himselfe, or rather fled as sastas he could to the Ammonites) the residue of the Iewes, searing the reuenge of the Chaldeans, resolved to slie away into Egyps, and besought Ieremie to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answere, that if they remained in Indea, God would provide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in Egyps, that they should then vndoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the Iewes held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraying Ieremie and Baruch to accompanie them, they travailed into Egyps, and inhabited by the permission.

fion of Pharao, neere vnto Taphnes: where, when leremie often reprehended them for their Idolatrie, foretelling both the destruction of themfelues, and the Leyptians also, he was by these his owne hard-hearted and vngratefull Countrimen, stoned to death; and by the Leyptians, who greatly reuerenced him, buried neere the Sepulchre of their owne Kings.

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# FISRT PART THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the destruction of Ierusalem, to the time of PHILIP of Macedon.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

# CHAP. I.

Of the time passing betweene the destruction of ferusalem, and the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

# è. I.

Of the connexion of Sacred and prophane Historie.



HE course of Time; which in prophane Histories might rather bee discerned through the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in Greece by the Olympiads, and in the Easterne Countries by the accompt from Nabonassar, left surer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, then were the warre of Troy, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of lerusalem to discoure the connexion of antiquitie fore-spent, with the storie of succeeding ages; Manifest it is,

that the originall and progresse of things could ill bee sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne vp, are not to be found among those, that have now no state nor

policie remaining of their owne. Hauing therefore purfued the storie of the world vnto that age, from whence the memorie of fucceeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse deriued vnto vs, I hold it now conucnient briefly to shew, by what meanes and circumstances the Historic of the Hebrewes, which of all other is the most ancient, may bee conjoyined with the following times, wherein that Image of fundric metalls, discouered by God vnto Nebuchadnezzar, did raigne ouer the earth, when Ifrael was either none, or an vnregar-

ded Nation. Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to infift vpon those authotities, which giue, as it were by heare-say, a certaine yeere of some old Affyrian King vnto some action or to euent, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of Ninus his line in Sardanapalus, if not before, all fuch computations were blotted out; the fuccession of Belochus and his issue that occupied that kingdome afterwards, depending upon the uncertaine relations of such, as were neither constant in affigning the yeeres of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relie vpon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmonic, which some have found in the yeeres of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preserue their names, which otherwise might have beene forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, how socuer it be true that we find the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could wee onely 20 learne in what age each of them lined, but not in what yeere his raigne beganne or ended, were it not that the raigne of Nebuchadnezzar is more precisely applyed to the times of Iehoiakim and Zedekia. Hence have we the first light whereby to difeuer the meanes of connecting the facred and prophane Histories. For vnder Nebuchadnezzar was the beginning of the captivitie of Inda, which ended when 70. yeeres were expired; and these 70. yeeres tooke end at the first of Cyrus, whose time being well knowne, affoords vs meanes of looking backe into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first yeere of Cyrus his raigne in Persia, by generall consent, is joyned with the first yeere of the 55. Olympiad, where, that he raigned three and twenty yeeres before his Monarchie, and feuen yeeres af- 30 terwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversie. Giving therefore source hundred and eight yeeres vnto the distance betweene the fal of Troy, and the instauration of the Olympiads by Iphitus; we may eafily arrive vnto those antiquities of Greece, which were not meerely fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in sundrie parts of the world, S. Augustine and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from authors of wel-approued faith and industrie.

From Cyrus forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto Alexander, and from him to the battaile of Actium, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to fer down. But feeing that the beginning and end of the Bahylonian captivitie are the 40 markes whereby wee are chiefely directed, in passing from the first vnto the latest yeeres of the world, through any floric, with least interruption, it is very expedient that wee take some paines to informe our selves truely of the 70, yeeres, during which it continued, cuen from Nebuchadnezzar vnto Cyrus.

ð. II.

A briefe rehear fall of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captivitie; with an answere to the cauills of PORPHYRIE, inueighing against S.MATTHEW, and DANIEL, upon whom the later of the fe opinions is founded.

CAHP. I. S.2.

Any Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers finde. that the captinitie then beganne, when the normal was carried primer into Babylon, cleuen yeere before the finall destruction of terufalem Excellent. This they proue out of diners places in Exekiel, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine diffinition of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine diffinition of the fourteenth chapter. that the captiuitie then beganne, when lechonias was carried prisoner

ction betweene the beginning of the Captivitie, and vtter destruction of Ierusalem by Nabuzaradan in these wordes: In the fine and twentieth yeere of our being in captinitie. in the beginning of the yeere, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the foureteenth yeere after that the Citie was (mitten. In which words hee beginneth the captiuitie in plaine termes, eleuen yeeres before the Citie was destroyed. Beroaldus is of opinion that it beganne in the first of 2 abuchodonosor, and the fourth of loakim, which hee ende-20 uours to proue out of the second of Chronicles, but more especially out S. Matthew. and Daniel, whose words afford matter of long disputation, but serue not to make good so much as Beroaldus would enforce. That place of S. Matthew, and the whole booke of Daniel, have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christia religion to that wretched man Porphyrie, who, not understanding how the fonnes of King losias were called by divers names, as Epiphanius hath thewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken heeknew not what in reckoning the fonnes, or, according to some translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the captiuitie. Vpon Daniel also the same Porphyrie doth spend the twelfth of his malicious books written against the Christians. 30 affirming that these prophecies & visions remembred by Daniel, were written long after his death, and at, or neere the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. This fond supposition of his, Eusebius, Apollonius, and others, have sufficiently answered. For the scuentie Interpreters, who converted the old Testament about an hundred veere before Epiphanes, did also turne this booke of Daniel out of Hebrewinto Greeke, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound Porphyrie, than that of Alexander Macedon, it were sufficient, who lived divers yeeres Mac. 1.12. before Antiochus Epiphanes. For Iaddus the high Priest shewed that great Conqueror, when he came towards lerusalem to have destroyed it, this booke of Da- loseph.ant. 12, niel, wherein he beheld his owne glorie foretold, as the same was plainely expoun-40 ded vnto him; which not only staied his hand from the harme of that Citie and people, but his affurance and refolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered Darius, and the Easterne Empire in a shorter time than Nabuchodonosor had done one Citie, to wit, Trre in

It is true indeed that the Iewes themselucs give lesse authoritie to Daniel, than to Moles, and the Prophets, accompting his booke among those which they call Cetaphim, or Hagingrapha, or holy Writings, which they say Esdras and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from Babylon. But first, that the book of Daniel (I meane so much as is found in the Hebrew) is Canonicall: secondly, that it so was written by Daniel himselfe, and not by Esdras and the Seniors; we may affure our selves by testimonic of Councels, and Fathers. For in the Councell of Laodicas held about the yeere of our Lord 368. after the death of Jouinian the Emperour. and after the Nicene Councell three and fortic yeeres, this booke of Daniel was re-Aaaaz

and a continuall desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the

ceiued, verified and confirmed among the other Canonicall Scriptures, as in the Epitomie of the same Councell it may be seen, and so doth Meliton the most ancient Bishop of Sardis number it, witnesse Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical historic, the fourth booke, and fine and twentieth chapter, so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonical bookes vpon Origen, so doth Hilarius in his Preface vpon the Pfalmes, and Epiphanius in his booke of Waights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde S. Hierome, Gregorie Nazianzene, and others. For the Hagiographa bookes or holy Writings, the lewes and Rabbines reckon to be these, Daniel, Pfalmes, Prouerbs, lob. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Hester, Esra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. And that it was Daniel, and not Esdras, that wrote this booke, Gods commande- to ment vnto him by his Angell, to seale vp the same to the time appointed, is an vnanswerable testimonic. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other proofe, our Sauiour Christ who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in Mathew & Marke alleageth Daniel the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninetcenth chapter. Further, in the fift of John, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in Daniel the twelfth, verse the second. S. Paul describeth Antichrist out of Daniel, and the Reuelation is wholly an interpretation of Daniels visions.

Math. 24.15. Mark. 13.14.

Dan.12.

d. III.

That the 70. yeeres of captinitie are to be numbred from the destruction of Ierufalem; not from the migration of IECHONIA.

Auing thus farre digreffed, in maintaining that authority, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now conuenient, that wee returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeeres. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weakenesse of that which Eusebim 30

and some few namelesse Authors, have sometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by Beroaldus; but will foorth-with enter into confideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers have so carnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Foure Kings of Inda were carried away captines to Babylon: First, Manasses; then lehoiakim, and with him among others, Daniel the Prophet: thirdly, Iechonias, and with him Ezekiel : lastly, Zedekias; at which time the Citie and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these captivities the beginning of the 70. yeeres is referred by none that I have read; to the second by few and with weake proofe; to the third by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of Ezekiel al- 40 readie cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of Ieremie, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with lechonias, vieth these words: Thus faith the Lord, After 70. yeeres be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of a prophecie out of circumstances, when the prophecie is such as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. Ieremie had alreadie, in the fourth yeere of Iehoiakim, denounced the judgement of God against the Land, for the sinnes and impositencie of that obstinate people, in these wordes: Behold, I will fend and take to me all the families of 50 the North, faith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babel, my fernant, and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an histing,

voice of gladneffe, the voice of the Bridgroome, and the voice of the Bride, the noise of the mill stones and the light of the candle, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of Bibel 70. yeares. And when 70. yeares are expired, I will visit the King of Babel. Here wee see prescribed vnto the captivitie the terme of 70. yeeres, which were to commence, neither when the prophecie was vitered; nor when lehoiakim, who then raigned, was taken by Nebuchadnezzar. nor yet in the time of Iechonia; but with the vtter desolation of the Citie, whereof leremie did againe give notice to those that were alreadie in Babylon, at such time to as he sent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearsed. And so did the people vnderstand this prophecie, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeares at the time of the defolation, as manifeftly appeares in the end of the Historie of Iuda, where it is said thus: They burnt the house of God, and 17.018. brake downe the wall of Ierusalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vesselles thereof to destroy all: And they that were lest by the sword, carried he away to 2. Chron. 36.19. Babel and they were servants to him and to his sonnes, untill the Kingdome of the Persians hadrule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of IEREMIA. untill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the daies that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. veeres. But in the first veere of C x R v s King of Persia ( when the word of the Lord, 20 Boken by the mouth of IER H MIA, was finished the Lord stirred up the spirit of CYRVS. We seldome find one piece of Scripture so precisely and plainely expounded by another as in this prophecie, to have afterwards beene the subject of altercation. For one can hardly deuife, how either the defolation could have been expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the prophecie have been more exactly fet downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it bee requilite that we bring more proofe in so euident a case, the ninth Chapter of Daniel yeelds testimonie sufficient, vnto this exposition of Ieremia his prophecie, that Ierusalem was to lie waste 70. yeeres. For in the first yeere of Darius the Mede. which was the last of the 70. Daniel obtained of God the deliuerance that had been 30 promised by praier, which he made vpon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth vs in these wordes: In the first yeere of his raigne, 1 DANIBL vnder stood by bookes the number of the yeeres, whereof the Lord had spoken unto I ER B. MIAH the Prophet, that he would accomplish 70. yeeres in the desolation of Ierusalem. So that how soeuer the time of Daniel his owne captivitie bee reckoned from the

taking of Iehoiakim, and that the people carried away with Iechonia, did accompt, as well they might, the yeeres of their owne captiuitie; yet with the generall deso-

which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of 70. yeeres. This I will not further seeke to proue, by the authoritie of Iosephia and others affirming the same; for as much as that which alreadie hath beene produced, is enough to fatisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrarie.

lation of the Countrie, wherein were few or none of the Ifraelites left remaining to

inhabite, beganne in the nineteenth yeere of Nabuchodone for the great captiuitie,

Aaaa 3

d. 1111.

Sundrie opinions of the Kings which raigned in Babylon during the 70. yeeres.



Hat Kings raigned in Babylon, during these 70. yeeres of the captiuity. and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherin they lived, nor the length of their raignes, any way helpefull to the concordance of times, fore-going or succee- to

Nerophon. Cyro- ding. The conquests recounted by Xenophon of Syria, Arabia, (or rather some part ofit) Hyrcania, Bactria, and perhaps of some other Countries, may sceme fruits of the victories obtained by Nebuchadnezzar the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to case, and to the sumptuous building of his great Babel, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honor of his Maiestie, where it may seeme that he and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behauiour of the Afgrian Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the Medes, doth argue no lesse. For whereas vnder Nebuchadnezzar, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardie piece of worke, of winning the strong Citie of 20 Tyre, by joyning it vnto the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channel of the Sea, dividing it from the maine with a mole, or peete of carth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of Alexanders works in the times following, they became timorous, that they durft not approach neerer to the enemy than their bowes would carrie, but were readie to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

Now as their actions from the end of Nebuchadnez wars warres, till the ruine of pag, 46.1, & l.3 their Empire, were not worthie to be recorded; fo was the distinction of their times, and raigne of their seuerall Kings, vnworthy of the great labour that hath 30 in vaine been taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captinitie of Juda, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeeres, we may as reasonably forbeare to fearch into the particular continuance of two or three flouthfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the Patriachs, and their children, lining in the Agyptian leruitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall affured summe.

Yet for as much as many have travelled in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. yeeres, not only by the raignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the Asyrians themselves: I wil not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke, may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting downe the yeeres of their severall raignes. The first (as I take it) the furest, is theirs, who meerely follow the authoritic of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name onely three Kings, Nebuchadnezzar, Euilmerodach, and Balthasar. Neither have they only the silence of Daniel, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophecie of Ieremie precifely, and in a manner purpofely teaching the very fame. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all, according to his owne will, and making it knowne that he had some Counserem.27.v.7. tries here named, into the hands of the King of Babel, faith thus: And all Nations 50 shall serue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, untill the very time of his Landcome also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him. These wordes expressing the continuance of the Chaldean Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeede I finde no other necessitie of

qualification to be vied herein, than fuch as may grow out of mens delire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this desire were not vniust, if the consent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were single

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofes of their different reports are so slender and vnsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not bin thus deliucred in Scriptures, but onely set downe by some Author of equall credite with the rest, might verie well haue found and deferued as good beliefe, as any of those things which they Inferbus antique

10 have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following Iosephus, derive lib. 10.029.123. that Empire, as by descent from father to sonne, through fine generations; beginning with Nabuchodonofor the great, and giving to him 43. yeres, to Euilmerodach 18, to Niglifar the sonne of Euilmerodach 40, to Labofardach the sonne of Niglifar 9. moneths, and laftly to Balthafar (whom lofephus intimates to be of the race of Nabuchedono for , without naming his father) 17. yeeres. And this opinion (faue that he forbeares to reckon the yeeres, and plainely calls Balthafar the sonne of Labo-(ardach) Saint Hierome doth follow, alledging Berofus, and Infephusas a sectator of Berofus for his Authors; though Berofus, as he is cited by lofephus, report the matter farre otherwife. For he tells vs that Euilmerodach the fonne of Nabuchodonofor did tofcontr. Ap-

20 raigne but 2. yeeres, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband pian. iib. 1. Nizigissor, who occupied the kingdome after him 4. yeeres, and left it to his owne sonne Labosardach, who being an in-conditioned boy, was at the end of 9. moneths flaine by fuch as were about him, and the kingdome given to one Nabonidus, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it vnto Cyrus after 17. yeeres. This relation ill agrees with that of Iolephas, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of yeeres, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured vnto them some authoritie, so that the names which they have inserted, are taken as it were vpon trust. There is a third opinion, which makes the three last kings brethren, and sonnes of Euilme-

30 rodach; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture : though I had rather beleeue Kenophon, who faith that the last king of Babylon was immediate successour Xenopho, cyroped. to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall Historie, who is founder of this opinion, placeth betweene him that tooke Ierusalem, and Euilmerodath, another Nabuthodonofor : plaine it is that he hath, out of any Historic facred or profanc, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. Eusebine, Sollpitius, Seuerus, and Theodoret, vpon better ground, haue supposed, that Euilmerodach and Balthafar were brethren and sonnes of the great Nabuchodonosor. This is built on the fift chapter of Daniel, wherein Balthafar (for of Euilmerodach there is none that ever doubted) is often called Nabuthodonofor his sonne. And so common grew 40 this explication, that Saint Hieronie called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of leremie before cited, produes that Balthafar was not the sonne indeede, but the grand-

child of that great conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those Easterne languages, he was called the sonne. Annius his Metashenes hits very rightly the 70. yeres of captiuity, giving to Nabuchodonofor 45 . yeeres, to Euilmerodach 30 . yeeres, and to the three fonnes of Euilmerodach, nephews of Nabuchodonofor 14. yeeres; that is, to Reg-Affar the eldeft fonne three yeeres, to Lab-Affar Dach the second some fixe yeeres, and to Baithafar the

third sonne fiue. To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of 30 yeeres, and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of Annius his edition. Yet could I not fatisfie my selfe heerein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the moderne Writers as deserue to be regarded, have consented with this Metasthenes; and for that in making Balthasar

fucceede vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against Xenephon, whose Historic of the elder Cyrus in his Assyrian warre I can not flightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of Babylon, while the king was at his drunken feast.

Dan.c.5.2.11,

12,0 13.

DAR.2.49.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscuritie, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted vnto Balthafar, by Dan, tha S. verfe Annius his Metasthenes, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70. yeeres hee pleased among the rest. For in the third yeere of Balthafar, Daniel saw a vision, after which he was licke certainedayes, but when hee rose vp, he did the kings businesse: from 10 which businesse, that hee did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and line retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appeares plainely, both by the many words which the old Queene vied to fet out his sufficiencie, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were Daniel. Now to thinke that a man of such account and place as Daniel had held, could in two yeeres have beene worne out of remembrance, were in my judgement a very strange conceipt, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole storic (thus related) a part of Annius his impostures.

Out of these reports of Tosephus, Berofus, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conicctures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuitie being 70. 20 vecres, and these yeeres extending vnto the first of Cyrus, in which course of time Nebuchadnezzar, his fonne and grand-child, must have raigned; it bath seemed needfull to supply the yeeres of these three descents, by inserting some, whose raignes might fill vo the whole continuance of the captivitie, with which the time allotted by Berofus and others, to Euilmerodach and Balthafar, ioyned vnto the yeeres following the nineteene of Nebuchadnezzar, (wherein Ierusalem was laid desolate) are

Therefore Mercator and others following him, fashion the yeeres of Euilmersdach in this fort. They say, that the 18. yeeres given to him by Iofephus in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28. yeeres, and the two yeeres 20 that Berofus hath allowed to Euilmerodach should be written 23, in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latter there should have bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2:) this granted (to wit) that Euilmerodach raigned 28. yeeres, whereof fine together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the same number of 23. added to the 25. which Nabuchodonofor lived after the destruction of Ierusalem, make 49, then 4 yeeres of Nightar according to Berefus, 9. moneths of Labassardach his sonne, and 17. yeeres of Labonidus or Balthasar make vp the number of 70. yeeres to the first of Cyrus. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be vtterly mistaken, in all copies extant; vpon how weake a foundation doe they build, who have nothing to helpe them, saue onely the bare 40 names of two vnknowne Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had beene entirely extant, were not worthy, to have that place of Ieremie called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie?

). V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, per (ons, and raignes of the Babylonian Kings.



Ther suppositions, little different in substance from this of Mercator, 50 I purposely forbeare to rehearle, as falling vnder the same answere. That of Ioseph Scaliger I may not forget, as descruing to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to Nebuchadnezzar 44. yeres, to Euilmerodach 2, to Belfazer, 5: and to Nabonidus 17. So that from

the 19. of Nabuchadnezzar, in which Ierusalem was deltroyed, vnto the time of Cyrus he accompteth onely 59. yeeres ; beginning (as many doe) the captivitie 11. yeeres fooner, from the transportation of Iechonia. But hereof enough hath beene said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running betweene the 19.0f Nabuchadnezzar, and the fall of the Caldean Empire: wherein

of the Historie of the World.

if he have erred, then is all further inquilition friuolous. Concerning the length of Nabuchadnezzars raigne, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he gives to Euilmerodach, is very short, and more precisely agreeing with Berofus than with the Scriptures. For wee to find in Ieremie, that this Euilmerodach in the first of his raigne, shewing all fauour to Ichonia, did among other things take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eate bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion given him of the King of Babel, every day a certaine, all the dayes of his life Icrem. 32. verfe vntill he died. The very found of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than 33.0 34. the authoritie of Berofus, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than two yeeres, wherin lechonia, vnder this gentle Prince, enioyed the comfort fent by God, whose commaundement he had obeyed in yeelding himselfe to Nabuchadnezzar. Indeed how long Iechonia did line it can not be proved; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining daies hee did cate bread before this King. Now that hee li-

20 ued not fo shorta while after this as 2. yeeres, it is more than likely, for he was but 55-yeeres old when he was fet at liberty, hauing bin 37. yeeres in the prison, whereinto hewas cast at the age of 18. yeeres; after which time it seemes plaine that hee begat Salathiel, as well by the age of Zorobabel, who is said to have beene but a yong man, and one of Darius his Pages threescore yeeres after this, as by other circum-

stances of his imprisonment it selfe.

CHAP.1.\$.5.

Of Belfazer, to whom Scaliger gives the next five yeeres, naming him also Laborosoardoch, I should wonder why he calls him Nabuchadnezzars daughters sonne. were it not that herein I find him very carefull to helpe out Berofus, by shifting in his Niriglissoror, as husband to Nabuchadnezzars daughter, and Protector of his 30 fon foure of these yeeres; by which meanes there remaines about one yeere to Belfazer alone, agrecing necrely with the o. moneths affigned by Berofus to the sonne of Niglifar. But Ieremie hath told vs that it was to Nabuchadnezzar, and to his fon. and to his sonnes sonne (not to his daughters sonne) that the Empire was promifed: which difficultie if Scaliger could not helpe, it was well done of him, to paffe it

Nabonidas the last of these (whome others, desirous to reconcile Berosus to the Scriptures) haue judged to be all one with Balthafar, is by Scaliger thought to bee Darius of the Medes. But herein Scaliger is no firme Berosan : for Berosus makes him of the same stocke or race a Babylonian. I speake not this to disgrace the trauaile of 49 that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as assected with the loue of truth) but to shew that he himselse having in some points disliked those Writers, whome in generall he approueth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no errour. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in Scaliger, that hee whome Berofus calls Nabonidus, was the same whom Daniel had called Darius of the Medes : First, the phrase of Scripture, which fignifies vnto vs, that Darius tooke the kingdome, not faying that hee wanne it by force of armes; Secondly, a fragment of Megasthenes found in Eusebius, wherein this Nabonidus is called the Median. Touching the word of the Originall, 50 or of the Greeke translation, which expressing no force of armes, doth only signific, that Darius tooke or received the kingdome; I see no reason why we should ther-

upon inferre, that the next king entred by Election: seeing Daniel relateth not the meanes and circumstances of Balthafars death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecie. Neither could it indeede have properly beene faid (if Da-

niel had cared to vie the most expressive termes) that Darius of the Medes breaking into the citic, did win the kingdome, seeing this was performed by Cyrus in the absence of Darius, though by his forces, and to his vie. Now concerning the fragment of Megalibenes, true it is, that in Eusebius his workes printed at Basile, in the yeare 1559. I finde onely thus much of Megastbenes, cited out of Alpheeus; That Nabuchodonofor was more valiant than Hercules; that hee subdued all Lybia, and the rest of Alia as farre as to the Armenians; and that as the Chaldeans report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a divine furie, he cried with a loude voice: O Babylonians, I foretell yee of a great calamitie that shall come upon you, which neyther Bel, nor any of the God: Shall avert: There will come a Persian, halfe an Asse, that shallbring 10 flauery whon yee: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I beleeve little or nothing, faving that Nabuchodonofor knew before-hand, that his Empire should be translated, as Daniel had foretold from the golden head, to the siluer brest. But that he wan all Africa or Lybia, I hold it neither true nor pro-

If Scaligers copy of Eulebius were the more perfect, out of which Megasthenes tells vs that Nabuchodonofor wanne both Afrike and Spaine, I beleeue the fragment fo much the leffe: and am as little moved with the authoritie of it, where it calls a Median the pride and confidence of the Affyrians, as where it tells of Nebuchadnezzar his owne vanishing away. Indeed that same title of halfe an Asse, by which 20 he calleth Cyrus, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of Apollo his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a Mule, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers fide, than on the fathers; as Mules are begotten by Ases vpon Mares. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnitie and coherence which it hath within it selfe. I casily allow it. But this proues nothing, for meere fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man beleeue that one so indicious, industrious and deepely learned as Io (eph Scaliger, would over-shoote himselfe in setting downe re-

pugnancies. It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from 30 which there is no appeale. And herein it seemes that Scaliger, well knowing his owne sufficiencie, hath beene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecie of Daniel were true, that the kingdome of Balthafar was divided, and given to the Medes and Persians, either wee must thinke that Darius of the Medes was not Nabonidus, or else wee must bethinke our selues what Persian it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that Balthafar loft his life and kingdome, than that his kingdome was divided and given to the Medes and Persians. Neither did the Medes and Persians fall out and fight for it, as by supposing Nabonidus to have beene Darius, they should be thought to have done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that 40 Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the fubiest provinces, infomuch that the Greeke Historians did commonly call those warres which Darius, and after him Xerxes, made your Greece, The warres of the Medes. Yea to cleare this point, cuen Daniel himselfe resembles that King, with whom Alexander fought, vnto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the King of the Medes and Persians. Wherefore the whole Nation of Chronologers were not to have been condemned by Iofeph Scaliger. for maintaining upon such good grounds, that Darius of the Medes, was partner with Cyrus in his victories, and not a Chaldean King by him subdued. Neither was Infephus to be the leffe regarded, for affirming that Balthafar was destroyed by Darius of the Medes, and his nephew Cyrus, though herein hee varied from Berofus, and 50 others, whose authoritie elsewhere he gladly citeth. For tosephus had no reason to beleeue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, halfe so well as Daniels, whom I beleeue that hee understood as farre as was needefull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to alleage all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect of the same

things that were contained in the writings of the lewes, to whole histories thereby he procured reputation in the Roman world, where they were strangers, and might feeme fabulous. Euen so doe Eusebius, and other Christian Writers, willingly embrace the tellimonies of heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in generall by the selfe same Ethnicke philosophers, but leaue them where they are against the truth; as Isfephus in this case hath left Berofus. And thus much I thought it meete to fay of Scaligers opinion in this point; holding neuerthelesse in dueregard his learning and judgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had beene very great.

d. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of NABVCHO. DONOSOR bis successors.



CHAP.I.S.6.

T nowremaines that I freely acknowledge mine owne weaknes, who cannot find how the 70. yeeres of captinitie are to be divided among them which raigned in Babylon, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truely say with Pererius, that

wee ought liberally to pardon those whose feete have failed them in the slipperie wayes of Chronologie, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulnesse, or heedelesse reckoning. Yet will I aduenture to deliuer my opinion, wherein the judgement of Lyra and others (holding those onely to have raigned over Chaldeans, whose Names are found in the Scriptures) appeares more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniccures before rehearfed. Not that I will take vpon me to defend Lyra his Coniectures, when hee supposeth by Niglifar and Labofardach to be meant the same persons which are called in Scrip-30 tures Euilmerodach and Balthafar (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but onely to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seuenty yeeres. First therefore let vs consider the raigne of Nebuchadnezzar. in whose eighteenth yere Ierusalem was taken and sackt, but in his nineteenth layd vtterly desolate.

Most of Writers have given to him 43. yeeres of raigne, following therein Berofus. There are who have added one yeere more; and some have made it vp 45. To dispute about the certainety were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certaine truth.

Manifestitis, that the 19. yeere of Nebuchsdnezzar, is joyned with the 11. of 2.Kin 24.8. 40 Zedekia; as also that his eight yeere, was the first yeere of Iechonia his captinitie; the & Ierem 51.12. raigne of Zedekia occupied all the meane space being of 11. yeeres. This is generally 2. King. 24-12. agreed vpon, so that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his suc- 2. Kingas, 27: ceffor Enilmerodach, it was in the seuen and thirtieth yeere of Jechonia his captiuitie; & Icrem. 52.31. fo that Nebuchadnezzar after his eight yeerc (which was the first of lechonia his bondage)raigned 35. whole yeeres, and peraduenture a good part of the fixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as Jechonia was inlarged with so great fauour, not vntill the end of the yeere. Substracting therefore out of these foure and forty, which Nebuchsdmezzars raigne did wel-neere occupie, those eighteene yeeres of his which passed away before the captiuitie of Iuda, and ruine of the citie, we have remaining fixe and To twenty yeeres of the seuentic, that were almost wholy spent, when his sonne be-

It is now to be confidered how the remainder of the feuentic yeeres were divided betweene the kings ruling in Babylon untill the first of Cyrus. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needefull: the whole summe being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who

Dan.8.20.

10

CHAP.I. \$.7.

were flouthfull Princes. Neither can any man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70, yeeres, for that the distribution of some part of them is only coniecturall; seeing that none who gives any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both valikely and desperate coniectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others have done; knowing well before hand, that who so euer shall discouer my errour, must doe mee the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materiall) of making mee to understand

Of the foure and forty yeeres remayning in accompt at Nebuchadnezzars death. we are to take away the last, which was the first of Darius the Mede, and then hauing authority good enough to warrant vs from blame of presumption, in giuing vs seuenteene yeeres to Balthasar, we finde left in our hands to bestow vpon Enilmerodach fixe and twenty yeeres. Of the yere belonging to Darius the Mede, I have already spoken what I thought sufficient, in deliuering my opinion of the beginning & continuance of this captivity. That Balthafar olid raigne seventeene veeres. we have the authority of Iofephus, before cited in expresse words. We have also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting Berofus his Nabonidus, who raigned fo long; and Balthafar to have beene one. But nothing moueth me fo much to beleeue this Tradition, as first those cuident places in Daniel, shewing that in the third yeere of Balthafar he followed the Kings businesse, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his raigne, (a proofe sufficient of no few yeeres, passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where found that Daniels emploiments tooke end either that yeere or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of Cyrus his warres against the Asyrians, which beginning with the death of this mans father, and being alwaies prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time, though wee make large allowance to his deedes in the lower Asia, which fell out in the mid-way: I have already shewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the raigne of Euilmerodach was not short: and that men of great judgement have found it most probable, that he was King three and twentie veeres. More, I thinke, they would have allowed him, had not the desire of satisf-20 fying Berofus caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of Berofus, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and in all things else vnquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend vnto him in fome one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemie. How much leffe ought I to obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seuen or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to Nebuchadnezzar, to his sonne, and to his fonnes fonne: How long each of them held it, wee finde not expressed; 40 yet would we gladly know it of Berofus, or of any other that would teach vs; prouided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroy not thereby the general! truth. More words are needleffe. It is enough to fay with others, that Berofus or Infephus who cited him, bath bin wronged by the carelefnesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two for fixe & twentie, as for three and twentie, or perhaps more easie. For the omiffion of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. fignifying 6. hath a neerer resemblance of & that stands for 2. than hath 2 which is vsed for 3. So that the numerall notes \$5. expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mis- 50 chance not vnusuall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in By standing for 23. I doe not well perceive. As for the arithmeticall figures now in vie, they

Dan.c.8.v.I. v.11,12. & 13.

12

Ierem.27.7.

were long after the time of Iosephus brought in by the Arabians, and therefore doe not appertaine to this businesse; vnlesse we should ghesse that his works were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a fort wholly given over to the doctrine of Aristotle. If this will serve to make Berofus our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authoritie, by forsaking teremie and Daniel, when they feeme his opposites.

## d. VII.

Of the victories which NABVCHODONOSOR obtained betweene the destruction of Ierusalem and conquest of

Ith what actions this time of 70. yeeres was entertained by the Babylonian Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peraduenture haue bin some cause that the time it selfe was, and is yet fought to bee abridged, as not having left fufficient matter to witnesse the length of it. But by such an argument wee might as well

20 deny to many people even their being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) betweene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothfull. age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no maruell, if the posteritie of Nabuchodonosor, finding all things readie to their hand, which their hearts could have defired, betooke themselves to their case and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sonnes of greedie fathers, their owne wisedome greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the refflesse trauell of purchasing: Though indeede the raigne of Nabnchodonofor was so divided, that his youthfull and stronger yeeres having beene exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in e-

30 stablishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours past. The nineteenth yeere of his raigne it was, when destroying vtterly the great and mightie Citic of Ierusalem, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoyle, and terrified all that would offer to relist him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, he, vntill his three and twentieth yeere, laboured in the conquest of those adioyning Regions, which God had exposed vnto his sword, & commanded to weare his yoke; namely, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sidenians, and Ægyptians, though some of these were already become his followers, and serued vnder him, when Ierusalem was beaten down and burnt. But the Tyrians, whose Citic was founded on an Iland, fafe enough from any danger of a Land armie, and 40 whose fleet was so strong, that they needed not to feare any enemy at sea, were neither danted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mightie Prince, imploying all his power to their subuersion.

That the Citie of Tyre was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of Ieru/alem (which had held the same course that Tyrus did, and endured all that might be in the same quarrell against the common enemy) it appeares by the words which Ezechiel condemneth as the common voice of Tyrus; A H A, the gate Exech. 26.2, of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing shee is desolate, I shall be replenished. Yet at the length, even in the nineteenth yeere of Nabuchodonofor, that great worke of his, whereof we have alreadic spoken, began to appeare about the waters, and

50 threaten them with incuitable mischiefe.

But those prophecies of Ieremie and of Esay, which appoint vnto this desolation Ier. 25. of Tyre the same terme of 70. yeeres, that was prescribed vnto the raigne of the Ejai.23.151 Chaldeans, doe plainely shew, that shee followed Ierusalem, the same nineteenth yeere of Nabuchodonofor, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities,

which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are

in a manner veterly loft. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiuing the

Towns vnable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the Isle of Cyprus.

Nevertheleffe it seemes that this enasion served only the principal men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer fort vinto the enemies furie. For not only fuch people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the Assyrian made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus NABVCHODONOSOR caufed his Armie to ferue a great feruice against TYRYS, wherein enery head was made bald, and enery (houlder was made bare, yet had he 10

no wages, nor his Armic; but was faine to rest contented with the Honor of having destroied that Citie, which in all mens judgements had beene held inuincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, having made the name of the Chalda ins dreadfull in the cares of all the Nations thereabout, Nabuchodono. for vsed the advantage of that reputation which hee had obtained by victories alreadie gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with leffe paine. The Kingdome of Agypt was the marke at which he aimed; a Country fo abounding in allriches and pleasures, that it might wel have tempted any Prince, finding himfelfe strong enough, to seeke occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemic to the Crowne of Babylon, that had it beene poorer, yet either it must have beene sub- 20 dued, or the conquest of Syria could ill haue beene established. Neuerthelesseit was needfull, that before hee entred into this businesse, the Countries adjacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his denotion, or at least bee vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damaseus, Kedar, Hazor, and other adioyning Regions, whom God for their fins had condemned to fall vuder the Babylonian Iwords, were such, as regarding onely their owne gaine, had some of them, like Rauens, followed the Chaldean Armie, to feede voon the carcasses that fell by the crueltie thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Coun- 30 tries which were by his victories belonging to Natuchodonofor; al of them thinking, that when the Affyrean had fatisfied his furie, he should be faine to for sake those defolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand upon it. Particu-Exect. 25.12.6 larly the Edomites and Philistims had shewed much malice to the Tewes when their Citic was taken. What good feruice they had done to the Chaldwans, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purpoles, wherein they were disappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to reioyce at the fall of Ierusalem, but presently they entered upon the Country of Gad, and took possession, as if not the Assyrians, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceine what other ground that practice had of Baalis King of the Ammonites, when he fent 40 Ifmael, a Prince of the bloud of Iuda, to murther Gedalia, whom the King of Babel had left Gouernour over those that remained in I/rael, and to carry captive into the Ammonites Countrie the people that abode in Mizpah, than a delire of embroiling Nabuchodonofor with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his Icrem.40.14. owne Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policie the Moabites did exercise; whose

> All these Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon desarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost 50 cunning of their theeuish wits. But Nebuchadnezzar did cut asunder all their denices by sharpe and suddaine war, ouer-whelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of Efar, leremie, and Ezekiel, who fore-told, with little difference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the mi-

pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their diffimulation condemned,

ferie that should come vpon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seemes that Mosb was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophecie of E/ay, threatning Moab with destruction after three yeeres, as having reference to the third yeere following the ruine of Terufalem; the next yeere after it being spent in the Aegyptian expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaves, few excepted, who being preserved by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against Nabuchodonosor, but lived as miserable out-lawes, or at least, oppressed wretches, vntill the to end of the seventie yeeres, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Inda.

# ð. VIII.

That Agypt was conquered, and the King therein raigning flaine by NABVCHODO-NOSOR, contrarie to the opinion of most Authors: who following HERO-DOTVS and DIODORVS, relate it otherwise.

> Hen by a long course of victoric Nabnchodonosor had brought into Subjection all the Nations of Syria, & the bordering Arabians, in such wise, that no enemie to himselfe, nor friend of the Aegyptian, was left at his back, that might give impediment vnto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did hee forth-with take in hand

the conquest of Aegypt himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly beene depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious iffue thereof, the three great Prophets, Efay, Ieremie, and Ezechiel, have written fo plainely, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleadged out of these. Neuerthelesse, we finde many and good Au-30 thors, who following Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, are well contented to firaine these prophecies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sense, as gives to Nabuchodono for little more than the honour of having done some spoile in Aegypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of Apries or Hophra to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So prepofterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and fecond helps conducing to their purpose, that often times they preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vp-hold a sentence, giving testimonie to one clause, doe carelesly ouerthrow the historicit selfe, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The reports of Herodotus and Diodorus, concerning the Kings of 40 Aegypt, which raigned about the se times, are already rehearsed in the former book:

but that which they have spoken of Apries, was purposely reserved vnto this place. Herodotus affirmes, that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; Herod, La & La (vnlesse we should understand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is said to have made vpon Tyrus and Sidon) that hee raigned five and twentie yeeres, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne subjects; who did set vp Amasis, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the Aegyptians he imputeth to a great losse which they received in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole Armie was destroied. This calamitie the people of Aegypt thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous 50 expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater

fecuritie raigne over fuch as staied at home. So they who escaped, and the friends offuch as were flaine, tebelled against Apries, who sent Amasis to appeale the tumult; but Amass became Captaine of the rebells, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land confented vnto this new Election; whereby Apries

Ezecb. 25.3.

14

Exech.29.18.

was driven to trust vnto his forraine Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carrans, of

lowing shall present them.

Diodor Sic.lib.

16

whom hee kept in readinesse thirtie thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were vanquished by the great numbers of the Agyptian forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of warre. Apries himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by Amasis for a while, vntill the Agyptians, exclaiming upon him, as an extreme enemie to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and strangled him, yet gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of Herodotus, with whome Diodorus Siculus necrely agrees, telling vs that Apries did vanquish the Cyprians and Phanicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demo- 10 lished Sidon, wan the other townes of Phanicia, and the Isle of Cyprus, and finally, perished as is before rehearsed, when he had raigned two and twentie yeeres. This authoritie were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of Apries his historie, if greater authoritie did not contradict it. But the destruction of Agypt by the Babylonian, fore-told by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compeliour beliefe, than have the traditions of . Egyptian Priests (which the Greeke Historians followed) and greater probabilities to Esa. 20. ver. 4.5. perswade those that looke onely into humane reasons. For Esay prophecied long before of the shameful captivitie of the Agyptians, whom the king of Assbur should carry away naked, young and old, in such wise, that the Iemes, who fled vnto them 20 for deliverance from the Affyrian, should be ashamed of their owne vaine confi-

lerem.43.10.

Inn.in Ierem.

dence in men so vnable to defend themselves. But Ezekiel and Ieremie, as their prophecies were neerer to the time of execution. fo they handled this Argument more precifely. For Ezekiel telleth plainely, that Egypt should be given to Nebuchadnezzar, as wages for the service which hee had Exech. 29. verfe done at Tyre: Also hee recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in Agypt, saying, That these by name should bee destroyed, and goe into captiuitie; yea, that PHARAOH and all his armie should be staine by the sword. Wherefore it must needes be a violent expolition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an infurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alte- 20 ration in £gypt, than change of the Kings person, wherein Amasis did succeed vnto Apries, by force indeede, but by the vniforme consent of all the people. Certainely, if that notable place of leremie, wherein hee foretelleth how the lewes in Ægypt (hould see Pharaoh Hophra delivered into the hand of his enemies, as Zedekia had beene, were to be referred vnto the time of that rebellion, whereof Herodotus hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath ouer-ruled it, then was it vainely done of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing hee did it by the appointment of God himselfe) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, those very stones, vpon which the throne of Nabuchodone for should be ser, and his pauilion forcd. Yea then was that prophecie no other than falle, which expressed the 40 Rerem. 46. verfe and of Pharaoh thus: Behold, I will visite the common people of No, & PHARAOH, and Agypt, with their gods and their kings, even P H AR AOH, and all that trust in him: and I will deliuer them into the hands of those that seeke their lives, and into the hand of NE-BVCHADNEZZAR, King of Babel, and into the hands of his feruants. The clearenes of this prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of Amasis, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greeke Historians. Wherefore looking vpon Iunius, who had in another place taken the enemies of Pharaoh Hophra to be Amasis, and his followers, I found him beere acknowledging that the Aegyptian Priests had notably deluded Herodotus 50 with lies, coined vpon a vaine-glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And furely it may well be thought, that the historic of Nebuchadnezzar, was better knowne to the lewes, whom it concerned, than to the Greekes, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not ra-

ther beleeve Iofephus, reporting that Nabuchodonofor in the three & twentieth yeere of his raigne, and the fift yeere of the destruction of Ierusalem, did conquer Egypt, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his flead, than Herodotus or Diocore; tofephus de Anwho being meere strangers to this businesse, had no great reason to labor in search. ing out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting alide all advantage of authoritic, we should only consider the relations of Iofephus, and of the Greeke Historius, as either of them might bee verified of it selfe by apparant circumstances, without reflecting vpon the Hebrew Prophets or Egyptian Priests; me thinks the death of Apries can no way be appro-10 ued as having beene wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspition; yea, though no man had opposed the reports of Herodetus and Diodore. For the great loue and houour which the Agyptians did beare vnto their Kings, is notorious by the vniforme testimony of al others that have handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of Diodore himselfe. How then can wee thinke it probable, that Apries having wonne great victories, did for one only losse fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may serue to perswade vs, that a King of Agypt would leeke, or so demeane himselfe, that he might be thought to seeke the destruction of his naturall subjects? As for that armie of thirtie thousand souldiers, Carians and Ionians, which the King of Agypt, whom Amasis tooke prisoner, 20 is faid to have kept for his defence: doth it not argue that hee was a forrainer, and one that armed himselfe against the Aegyptians, withing them few and weake; rather than any of the Pharaohs, who accounted the force of the Country, as affuredly their owne, as the strength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than any way needfull, to vie all Arguments that might bee alleadged in this case. The very death of this supposed Apries, which the clamours of the people obtained of Amasis, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was some forren Gouernour, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would have defired to fauchis life, and Amasis to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disproue that opinion, whereunto I should not have yeelded, though it had 30 flood vpon great apparance of truth, considering that the voice of Truth it selfe cries out against it; but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of Aegypt by Nabuchodonofor to bee observed, where due occasion in course of the storic fol-

d. IX.

How Ægypt was subdued and held by NABVCHADNEZZAR.

T is a great losse, that the generall Historic of the World hath suffered, by the spoile and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should have preserved the memorie of such samous actions as were accomplished by this mightic Prince Nabuchodonofor; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now vncertaine. That his victories following the Conquest of Syria, and the Neighbour-Prouinces, were such as did more enlarge his dominion, than all his former warres had done, it may easily be gathered out of Ezektel, who reckons vp in his thirtieth chapter (besides the whole Countrey of Agypt) Phut and Lud, with other Nations that may seeme to have reached out into Mauritania, as people subdued by this great Babylonian. The circumstances of these warres are in a maner vtterly lost; 50 but that the victorie was easie and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular observation; that Pharaoh, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe safe in Agopt by the well defenced fituation of his Countrey, did very vnwisely in suffering his enemies

Bbbb 3

for the guard of his Viceroy, and custodic of the new subdued Province : as likewise to sweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores, by consuming all his friends and the company returning from Cyrene and Bareas, who together with the friends of adhærents in Syria. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden then weafuch as were flaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the Greeke Historirie the Chaldaan army, so the confidence and vaine securitie of the Agyptians, relyans, deposed and slew Apries, I take them to have beene the Aegyptian fugitives, ing vpon the difficult passages which the enemie was to make thorow the Arabian which then recouered their owne Countrey. Sure it is that this Prophecie of Ezedefarts, and the much advantage which the great river of Nilus would afford vnto kiel was verified, At the end of fortie yeeres will I gather the Ægyptians from the people Each 30. v. 13. themselves, did little availe them in provision for the war, and much assonish them where they were scattered, and I will bring againe the captinitie of Agypt, and will cause 614. (as may justly bee thought) in the time of execution: it being vsually seene, that them to returne into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be the hearts of men faile, when those helps faile, in which they had reposed more there a small king dome. If the Agyptian Priests alluded heereunto in the tale which confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of Agypt had flouto they made of Amalis his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with rished under the rule of the Pharaohs, about a thousand five hundred & source score 10 this or the like interpretation; if they deuised matter that had no shadow of truth, yeeres; but from this time forward it remained forty yeeres without a King, vnder onely to keepe the Greekes from knowledge of their Countries difgrace; then are the subjection of the Babylonians; and then at length it began to recour by little & they little to be regarded, fince we know the truth with them. litle the former greatnes, yet fo, that it was neuer dreadful vnto others, God having Ecch. 29.13.14. faid of that people, I wil diminish them, that they shal no more rule the Nations. For wher-

d. X. Of the fundry accompts drawne from fundry acts of NEBVCH ADNEZZAR. and of the destruction of Niniuic, by him; the time of which action is uncertaine.

Hele victories brought the greatnes of the Assyrian Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of Nebuchadnezzar's raigne in fundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of Nebuchadnezzar his times, might feeme to be the ouer-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I

will note; that whereas Daniel was carried captine in the third yeere of Ielioiakims Daniel was carried captine in the third yeere of Ielioiakims Daniel was carried captine in the third yeere of Ielioiakims raigne (which ranne along with some part of Nebuchadnezzar's first yeere) and was kept in diet three yeeres more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; it could not be the second of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdome, wherin he interpreted the 30 forgotten dreame of the great Image, foreshewing the succession of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of divers places which referre fundry matters vnto their fet yeeres; as that of Ezekiel before cited, where he fore-tells, that Aegypt should be given in reward for the service done before Tyrus, dating his prophecie in the seuen and twentieth yeere; and that of Daniel, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeere: for these yeeres held no dependance vpon either the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captinities, but had reference to some memorable action, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not casie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine fearch.

Ofany warre made by Mebuchadnezzar, after fuch time as he returned from the Conquest of Aegypt, I doe not read : excepting that against Ainiuie, the destruction whereof was fore-tolde by the Prophet Naum. Mininie had long before beene taken by Merodach (as in due place hath beene shewed) and together with the rest of Affyria made subject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling against the Chaldean, as Ichoiakim & Zedekias, tributary Kings of Inda, had done, talled likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of Nininie followed the Conquest of Aegypt, it appeareth by the comparison which Nahum the Prophet Nahum. 2. 2. made betweene this Citie, that was to fall, and the Citie of No in Acgypt, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinks) vnpossible 50 to finde out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronologie, that it was in the first of Nebuchadnezzar's raigne; the place of Nahum last cited is enough to disprooue it. Whereasit is referred by some vnto the first of his Monarchie, which began at the end of the Aegyptian warres; the whole Prophecie of Nahum which went betweene the one and the other, argueth fluongly, that there was a longer space of time inter-

Ø 15. Efay 19.11.

Ioseph. Int. Ind. N ebuchednezzar, at which time (faith Iosephus) He slew the King then raigning, pla- 20

found in that Countrie. Now concerning the time which lofephus gives vnto this bufinesse, and the businesse it selfe, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which infinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of Ierusalem, and carrying away those vnto Babel, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same three of twentieth veere of NEBVCHADNEZZAR. is not vnprobably thought by good authors to have been eat the returne from this Experian expedition. But whereas Islephus tels vs. that there was another King put in the roome of Apries by Nebuchadnezzar, wee must viderstand that hee was onely a Viceroy, and not (as some have mistaken it) thinke that this was Amasis. For to 30 place the beginning of Amasis his raigne in the three and twentieth of Nebuchadnez. zar, were as well repugnant vnto the prophecies before alleadged, as to all Chronologie and historic. Some there are, which to helpe this inconvenience, imagine that there were two successfuely bearing the name of Amass, others, that there were two Apries, the one flaine by Nebuchadnezzar, the other by Amasis: a question of small importance, because the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was depriued of life and kingdome by the Asfyrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that Apries, of whom the Greeke Historians wrote, could not be the Deputie of Nebuchadnezzar, feeing that hee was the Grand-childe of Pharao Necho, and made warre (as they report) vpon the Phanici- 40 ans, who were, before the Egyptians, become subject vnto the Crowne of Babylon. I might adde, perhappes, that he whom Nebuchadnezzar left as Governour of Agypt, was more likely to have had some Chaldean or Asyrian, than Agyptian name; vnlesse we should thinke that hee had beene a traytor to his natural Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Country: about which it were but friuolous to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleeue, that Na-

buchodonofor made an absolute Conquest of Agypt; that he was not so foolish as to

giue it away, any man may gueffe; that he appointed one to rule the Countrev. it is

consequent vnto the former, and hath authoritic of Iosephus; that this Gouernour

babilitie enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well bee content, that others

vie their libertie, and beleeue what they lift. As for the armie which this . A gratian

King Apries is supposed to have kept of Ionians and Carians; I hold them to be none

other than the garifons of mercenarie fouldiers which were left by the Affyrian

(or some succession of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by Amasis, I scepro- 50

as it hath beene said of Pharaoh: I am the sonne of the wife, I am the sonne of the anci-

ent Kings: and whereas he had vaunted, The River is mine, and I have made it; the

Princes of Leypt now became fooles, the river failed them, the King himselfe was

taken and flaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to passe

in the first yeere after the destruction of Ierusalem, and the three and twentieth of

ced another in his roome, and carried captines thence to Babylon, the Iewes whome he

Dan.4.27.

current. So that to enquire into the very yeere of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether managed by Nabuchodonosor in person or by his Licutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiositie of Tyberius Casar, enquiring who was the Mother of Heeuba; or to the like idle paines which he should take, who would feeke to learne what woman that Huzzab Queen of Nininie was, whose wofull captiuitie the same Prophet 2V aum likewise did fore-tell.

#### φ. XI.

Of the later time of NEBVC HADNEZZAR; his buildings, madnesse, and death.



F the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I thinke there are no Monuments extant; faue those which wee finde among the prophecies of Daniel. Among these wee may reckon his great works at Babylon, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: Is not this great Babel that I have built for the

house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Maiestie? Surely if those things bee true that are by tosephus rehearsed of him out of Berofus and Megasthenes, he might well delight himselse with the contemplation of such 20 goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified Babylon with a triple wall; that besides other stately works, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the ayre, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out lasted all the remainder of the Affyrian, and all the Persian Empire, is said to have beene reared, and fi-

nished in sifteene daies.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we finde little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatnesse abased him vnto a condition, inferiour to the poorest of men. And not vindescruedly fell these judgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had ho- 30 noured him, not onely with many victories, and much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discouerie of things to come after him, yea and had approoued the certaintic of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memorie, and interpretation thereof by Daniel the Prophet: he neuerthelesse became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had seene and acknowledged, that hee caused a golden Image to be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vtterly repugnant to the law of him that is the King of Kings. Hereof S. Hierome hath well noted; Velox oblinio veritatis, vt qui dudum sernum Dei quasi Deum edorauerat, nune Statuam sibi fieri inbeat, vt ipse quasi Deus in statua adoraretur : A hastie forges-40 fulnesse of the truth, that hee who so lately had worshipped (DANIEL) the servant of God, as if he had beene God himselfe, should now command a Statua to be creeted unto himselfe, wherein himselfe might bee worshipped as God. From this impietie it plcased God to reclaime him, by the strange and wonderfull deliverie of those blesfed Saints out of the fierie fornace; who being thrown einto it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatrie, were affisted by an Angell; preserved from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, madea decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this denotion of Nabuchadnezzar was not so rooted in him, that it could 50 bring foorth fruit answerable to his hastie zeale. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible judgement hanging over his head, which Daniel expounding, aduised him to breake off his sinne by righteousnesse, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his error. Hereby it seemes

that injuffice and crueltic were the faults, for which he was threatned. but this threating sufficed not vnto his reformation. For that so great a Monarch should be driven from among men, (according to the tenor of the dreame and interpretation) yea.compelled to dwell with the beafts of the field, and made to cate graffe as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans judgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dreame, and much more easily be forgotten at the yeeres end. One whole veeres leafure to repent was given to this haughtie Prince: which respite of the execution may seeme to have bred in him a forgetfulnesse of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelve moneths, walking in the royall Palace of Babel, he was so over-ioved to and transported with a vaine contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heavie judgement pronounced against him, hee vttered those loftie words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Maiesticall works which he had reared, as well befeeming his maiefticall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heaven, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearfed ouer vnto him the sentence againe, which was fulfilled vpon him the very same houre.

That Salomon, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their owne buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that ever I have read of any, that were punished for reloying in works of this kinde (though 20 it is hard in ioy, or any passion of the minde, to keepe a just measure) excepting one-

ly this Nabuchadnezzar.

The like may be faid of David: for other (and some very godly) Kings have mufired all their forces to the very last man; but few or none haue been known to haue beene punished as Dauid was. Surely I not onely hold it lawfull to reioyce in those good things, wher with God hath bleffed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulneffe to entertaine them with a fullen and vnfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure cloudes, hindring the influence of that bleffed light, which clarifies the foule of man, and predisposeth it unto the brightnesse of eternall felicitie; so that insolentioy, which 30 man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceineth of his owne worth, doth aboue all other paffions blaft our mindes, as it were with lightning, and make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our seeming inherent greatnesse, forgetting the whilest him, to whom wee are indebted for our very being. Wherefore the lemalamentis gaudia; The euillioyes of the minde, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward than forrowes, cares, and teares, not farre from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainely it is no vnlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when these vnreasonable slushes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that should have beene humbled with a iust repentance and acknowledgement of ill deserving.

40 This was verified vpon Nebuchadnezzar, whose punishment was singular and vnexampled. For he ranne among beafts in the fields and woods, where for feuen vecres hee lived, not onely as a faluage man, but as a faluage beaft, for a beaft hee thought himselfe secundum suam imaginationem, as Thomas noteth, and therefore La. de Reg. fed himselfe in the same manner, and with the same food that beasts doe; Not that prihe was changed in figure externall, according to Mediana, in so much as he appeared Med. 1.2. derea beast to other mens eies, as S. Hierome in the life of Hilarius (how true God knows) dain Denn side cap. 7. speakes of a woman that appeared to all other mens sight a Cow, but to Hilarius onely a woman; neither was he changed as Iphigenia the Daughter of Agamemnon was said to be, into a Hinde, nor made a Monster, as Dorotheus and Epiphanius drea- Dor. in Synopsi.

50 med: but according to S. Ieromes exposition of these words: At the same time was my Epin vit Days understanding restored unto me &c. Quando dicit (Saith S. Ierome) sensum sibi redditum. ostendit non formam se amilisse, sed mentem; when he saith that his sense was restored unto him, he sheweth that he had not lost his humane shape, but his understanding. Seuen yeeres expired, it pleased God to restore Nabuchodonosor, both to his understan-

ding, and his estate, for which heack nowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and everlasting being; that he was the Lord of heaven and Dan. 4. 1. 32. c. earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his faluation; namely, S. Augustine, Theodoret. Lyra, Carthusianus, and others. And for that place of Esay, the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to Balthafar, because Isay, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter, speaketh of the King, and the destruction of Babylon iountly.

# ð. XII. of EVILMERODACH.

Auing already spoken what I could of the succession and yeeres of Nebuchadnezzars posteritie; the most that may be said of him, is said of Euilmerodach, which I will not here againe rehearle. He loft some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his

Kingdome burning in a warre that confumed it to ashes. He lost &gypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yere of his raigne, which was for- 20 tic yeeres after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the accompt of Herodotus, who allowes to Amasis foure and fortie yeeres of raigne; nor with that of Diodorus, who gives him five and fiftie, faying that he died in the third yeere of the threescore and third Olympiad, when Cambyses did conquer Agypt. There were indeed but seuen and thirtie yeeres, which passed betweene the second yeere of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of Euilmerodach, and the first of Amasis) and the fift of Cambyses his raigne, wherein hee wanne Egypt; of which seuen and thirtie yeeresit is credibly held, that Plamennitus, the sonne of Amasis, raigned three: so that Amasis could be no longer King than source and thirtie yeeres. But seeing that these two Greeke Historians have beene abused 20 by Aegyptian Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of Amasis, it is no maruell though they were also deceived in the length of his raigne. This is the plaine answere to this obiection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and foure and fortie set downe in stead of foure and thirtie, or that Amasis did temporise awhile with the Affyriam, and not beare himselfe as absolute King of Egypt, vntill the ninetcenth of Euilmerodach (at which time, and not before, it hath beene proued out of Ezeshiel, that Agypt became againe a Kingdome) I holdit a fuperfluous excuse.

Whether these Aegyptian troubles did animate the King of the Medes to deale with Euilmerodach, as with a Prince greater in fame, and reputation, gotten by the 40 decaied valour of his people, than in present forces, or whether (as I rather thinke) some foile received by the Asyrian invading Media, emboldned the Aegyptians to rebell against him: I will neither undertake, nor seeke to define. Xenophon tels, that the first service of young Cyrus in warre, was under Astrages King of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the Assyrian Prince, who did set upon hims at which time Cyrus was fifteen or fixreen yeeres old. If therefore Cyrus lived threescore & three yeeres (as he is said to have died well stricken in yeeres) which is held to be the ordinarie terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeere of Euilmerodath his raigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early betweene these Nations, for as much as the manner 50 of their fight informer times, with other circumstances infinuating as much, are found in the same place of xenophon. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of Nabuchodonofor gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand vpon prouder termes with the Affgrians, than in his flourishing

Xenople.Cyro. pæd.l. 1.

Xenoph.Cyraped. 1.8.

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.I. \$.13.

citate they durft have vied. How focuer the quarrell beganne, wee finde that it ended not before the last ruine of the Affyrian Monarchie. For the Babylonian, being too proud to digest the losses which hee received by the Medes and their Alijes the Perlians, drew vnto his partie the Lydians, and all the people of the leffer Alia. with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to ouer-whelme his enemies with a flrong inualion, whome in vaine hee had fought to wearie out with a lingting

This happened after the death of Aftyages, who left the World in the ninetcenth veere of Enilmerodach, at which time Amalis tooke possession of Agypt. So that 10 the Allrian having his hands alreadic full of businesse, which more carnessly did affect him, feemes thereby to have given the better meanes vnto the Acceptaints of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did fundry times finde occasion to rebell in after ages, and set up a King within it selfe, against the far more mightie Persan.

The iffue of these great preparations made by Euilmerodach against the Medes. was fuch as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were ma-

ny veeres before vitered against Babel, by Efay and Ieremie.

For the Assertians, and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to have buried the Medes and Persians under their thicke shewes of arrowes and 20 darts, were encountred with an armie of flout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein Eurlmerodach was flaine. So that great frame of Empire which Nabuchodonofor had rayled and vp-held, being shaken and grieuously crackt under his vnfortunate Sonne, was lest to bee sustained by his vnworthy Nephew: a man more likely to have ouerthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

d. XIII.

Aprivate coniecture of the Author; ferwing to make good those things, which are cited out of BEROSVS, concerning the Successors of EVILMERO. DACH, without wrong to the truth, the qualitie, and death of BALTHASAR.

Hough I have alreadie (as it seemes to mee) sufficiently produced that Balthafar was the Sonne, and immediate Successiour to Euilmerodach. yet confidering earnestly the coniectures of those Writers, which following Berofus, infert Niglifar, or Niriglifforoor, and his fonne Labaffardach betweene them : as also that which I finde in Herodotus of Ni-

torris, a famous Queene of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that Citie; I have thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what meanes it was possible that some errour might have crept into the Historic of those times, and thereby have brought vs to a needleffe trouble of fearching out the truth as it were by candle-light, in the vncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered onely to the Scriptures. First, therefore I obferue, that the time which Berofus dinides betwixt Euilmerodach, and the two next Kings, agrees with the vecres in which Nebuchadnezzar lived wilde among brute 50 beafts in the open field: Secondly, that the fuddainenesse of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but worke much perturbation in that state, wherein doubtleffethe honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitic pittied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of Daniel finding reputation in that Herod I.s.

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clause which promised his recouerie, as being verified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for fettling the government, whilest the King was thus distracted, we shall finde it most likely, that his Sonne and Heire did occupie the royall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule Euilmerodach being to supplie the viter want of vnderstanding in his Father, as Protectors doe the vnripenesse of it in young, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That hee had in him very small abilitie of gouernment, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his 10 owne right. That his Sifter Nitoeris (if Nitoeris were his fifter) was a woman of an high spirit, it appeares by that which Herodotus reports of her, saying that shee was more cunning than Semiramis, as appeared in her magnificent and viefull works about the River of Euphrates, and her fortification of Babylon against the Medes, who had gotten many Townes from the Affyrians, & amongst them Ninuie. Wherfore it were not unreasonable to think, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers milgouernment, vsed practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leave it vnto her vngracious fonne. Other time than this, wherein Nitocris could have raigned, we doe not finde; but we finde in Berofus (as Iofephus hath cited him) that Wigliffar, who got the Kingdom 20 from Euilmerodach, was his fifters busband; which argues this to have beene the same woman. As for Labassardach the some of Niglissar, if at the end of nine Moneths raigne hee were for his lewd conditions flaine by the Nobilitie, as the fame Berofus reporteth, it feems that God p dhereby the way for Nebuchadnezzars restitution (whose terms of punishment was then expired) by raising such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here vie many words to confute that which Berofus hath further let downe of Enilmerodach, telling vs that hee was flaine by his fifters husband: for the plaine words of Scripture, naming the yeere wherein he gaue libertie to Iechonia, do plainly testifie that he out-lived the three or foureand fortieth yeare of his Fathers 20 raigne, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded Euilmerodach in the Kingdome, might indeede haue so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right. Of Balthafar, who was his Sonne and Heire, we finde, that he had such conditions, as God permitteth to be in a King for the ruine of the people. He was from his young yeeres of a mischieuous nature; having in his Fathers time slaine a Noble yong man that should have married his sister, onely for spight and envie to fee him kill two wild beafts in hunting, at which himselfe having throwne his I aucline had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beautie, said it were a happie woman that should be his wife. Such 40 barbarous vilanies caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gracious, though vnfortunate Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemic as soone as he was King. Neither doc I finde that hee performed any thing worthy of record, but as a Coward and a Foole hee lost all; fitting still, and not once daring to give battell to them that daily tooke somewhat from him: Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on euery side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable securitie, yet had not that happinesse, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of seare, but was terrified with a dreadful vision; which had shewed his ruine not many houres before, 50 euen whilest hee was drinking in that wine, which the swords of his insulting encmies drew out of him, together with his latest bloud. It is therefore in this place emough to say of him. That after a dishonourable raigne of seuenteene yeres, he perished like a beast, and was slaine as he deserued. The rest that concerneth him in question of histime, hath beene spoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of Cyrius, to whose storie that of Balthazar is but an apnendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatnesse of the Perhans.

à. I.

"dqos

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the Subucrsion of the Babylonian Empire.



HE Line of Belochus being now extinguished in Balthasar, the Empire of Babylon, and of Assiryned first to that of Media, which then was governed by Cyaxares or Darius Medus, after whom Cyrus became Lord and Monarch, both of Asyria and of

Of the race of Phul Belochus there were ten Kings belides himselfe, and of Arbaces as many are found by Metasthenes. These two Provinciall Governours having cut downe the last branch of Ninus in Sardanapalus, divided betweene them the Easterne Empire.

Craxares (whom the Scriptures call Darius Medus) the last of the race of Arbaces. dying about two yeeres after that the line of Belochus was ended in Balthafar : the Dominions aswell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Familie. namely, to Cyrus of the house of Achamenes, the Princes of which bloud raigning in Persia, had formerly beene dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Family of the Achamenes, and Line of the Persian Kings, we shall hereafter

finde occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the Medes descended from Madai the third some of Iaphet; that they had Kings soone after the floud, Lactantiss and Diodorus have found record; For Last antius remembreth an ancient King of the Medes called Hydaspes, and Diodor speaketh of Pharnus with his seuen Sonnes, slaine by the Asyrian in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded Arbaces the first, that freed his Nation from the Byrians. I take the lift and number from Eusebius, adding Darius Medus: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these.

Cccc

Arbaces

Lib. 16.

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Arbaces. ſ28. vecres. Sofarmus. yecres. Medidus. veeres. Cardicens. yeeres. 13. >Who raigned. yeeres. Diocles. 53. Phraortes. yeeres. Cyaxares. vceres. Allyages. yceres. Darius Medus.

And though the Greekes ascribe the conquest of Babylon to Cyrus alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs that Darius was not onely King of Media, and had the Persians his followers, but that the Armic victorious ouer Baltbazar was his; as the Alyrian and Babylonian Empire also was during his owne life. For wee finde in Daniel. that Darius of the Medes tooke the Kingdome being threefcore and two veres old-And further, what Officers it pleased him to set ouer the Kingdome. And so was it Cap. 13. v. 17.51 prophecied by If ay long before: Behold, I will firre up the Medes against them erc. And by IEREMIE: The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the Medes: for hispurpose is against Babel to de destroy it; and in the eigth and twentieth Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes 20 thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures Iulius Affricanus doth well open, who taking authoritic from Diodor, Castor, Thallus, and others, delivereth that Babylon was taken before Cyrus beganne to raigne, which also agreeth with Strabo, where he faith, That as the Medes were subjugated by the Persians, so before that, both the Babylonians and Asyrians were mastered by the Medes. And therfore the reports of Iustine, and Herodotus, are not to be received, who attribute the taking of Babylon to Cyrus alone.

à II.

By what meanes the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.



Ow the Kingdome of the Medes fell into the hands of Cyrus, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the conquest of Babel to the Persian only. For some there are who denie that Allyages had any other Successour than

Cyrus his Grand-child by Mandane. Whereas Ctesias on the contrarie side affir- 40 meth, that Cyrsus was no way descended from Astrages (whom hee calleth Astigus or Apinia) but onely that having vanquished him in battaile, and confined him to Bactria, hee married his Daughter Amytis. But I finde the relations of Ctesias often cited and feldome followed, and himselfe sometimes very justly reproued of willfull vntruth.

Viginier adiligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that Astyages had no such sonne as Cyanares, or Darius Medius; and to confirme his opinion, the more he citeth Diodore, Iustine, Strabo, Plato, Aristotle, 1/0crates, and before them Castor, Thallus, and Phlegon, who doe not finde any such Successour. Neither doe Tatianus, Theophilus, Antiochenus, Iulius Affricanus, Clemens 50 Alexandrinus, Iustine Martyr, Lactantius, Eusebius, S. Hierome, or S. Augustine, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Successour to Astrages than Cyrus.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument ab authoritate negative, doth neuer in-

force consent; we may bee the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alleaged notwithstanding) to affirme that either aftyages himselfe must have been Darius of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or Darius of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the country of this, of collecting in the country of same whom Daniel calleth Darius. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the Xen.L.8.Ped. King of the Medes commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Conquelt, Cyrus during his life, being no other then the Lieutenant of his Armie, and subject to his authoritie; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the Vassalls of Darius, being joyned together to com-10 pound it.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie ouer Babylon was wholly given to Cyria, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himselte, not onely for his action, but for the deliuerie of his Church: a greater worke in the eies of God, than the subuersion of any State or Monarchie, how powerfull foeuer.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that service did rather ascribe the glorie to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the Median, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling vpon Cyrus by fuccession, and continuing in his posteritie, did much augment the same of his ver-20 tue, which among prophane Historians ouergrew altogether the honour due to Cyaxares, both because he was old, and did nothing in person; as also because hee soone after quitted the world, and left all to Cyrus, who was possest of whatsoeuer belonged to Daries, before the fame of any fuch King or Conquerour was carried farre off.

And for the Greeke Historians, they tooke all things from the relations of the Persians, who gaue to Cyrus all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equall. Only Daniel in the first, fift, and fixt Chapters of his prophecies, makes it plaine, that himselse not onely lived a great Officer vnder King Darius, but that hee continued in that estate to the first of Cyrus; which being the yeere of 30 Daniels death, could not have bene distinguished from the raigne of Darius, if they had begunne together and raigned iountly; Neither can it bee imagined that Darius held the Kingdome by Cyrus permission, considering that Cyrus beganne after him.

## **3.** III.

XENOPHONS relation of the Warre with the Medes and Persians, made with ioynt forces opon the Asyrians, and others.



Hele Testimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, yet made more open to our understanding, by that which Xenophon hath written of these warres: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the Asyrian had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all Syria, and many other Countries, hee beganne to hope that if the Medes could be brought under his subjection, there should not then be left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of the Medes was able to bring into the field threescore thousand foote, and about tenne thousand horse, to which the forces of Persia being joyned, made an exceeding

The Asyrian considering the strength of such a Neighbour, inuited Crasus King of Lydia, a Prince very mightie both in men and treasure, and with him other

Lords of Alia the leffe to his affiliance, alleaging that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmely conjoyned by league and many alliances, that it would not bee easie, no not possible, for any one Nation to relist them. With these incitements strengthned with great presents, he drew to himself so many adherents as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thouland foot, and threescore thoufand horse, of which, ten thousand horse, and fortie thousand foote were led by Crass, who had great cause of enmitte with the Medes, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father slyattes; But this great Armie was by Cyaxares King of the Medes, and by Cyrus generall of the Persian forces, vtterly broken; Vpon which defeat the Affrian King being also slaine, so many of the Affrians re- to uolted, as Babylon it self could not longer be affured without the succours of Mercinaries, waged with great summes of money out of Asia the lesse, Agypt, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were also scattered by Cyrus, who following his advantage, possess himselfe of a great part of the lesser Asia, at which time it was, as I take it that Cræ/us himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of Babylon following soone after, the Armie lying before it being paid by Darius, whom Xenophon calleth Cyaxares, and led by Cyrus his fifters sonne,

prenailed against Balthasar, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those Persians which followed Cyrus, and by him leuied, are numbred thirtie thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the 20 common fort were Archers, or fuch as vsed the Dart and the Sling. So farre Xenophon. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in Cyrus the paterne of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: So it cannot be denyed, but that the bulke and groffe of his Narration was founded vpon meere Historicall

Neither can it indeed bee affirmed of any the like Writer, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himself to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his owne invention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politique discourse, and examining but the Historic of things 30 done, it will casily appeare, that Xenophon bath handled his vnder-taken subject in fuch fort, that by beautifying the face thereof, hee hath not in any fort corrupted the bodie.

# d. IIII.

# The estate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this great Warre.

Or it is commonly agreed vpon, that Achamenes the sonne of Perses 40 being Gouernour of Perses, did associate himselfe with Arbaces, who commanded in Media in that rebellion against Sardanapalus, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himselfe the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the Asyri-

ans; as also that they conveyed over the same honor and power to their posteritie; which in Media was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, vntill fuch time as Deioces tooke vpon him the full authoritie and maiestic of a King. From the death of Sardanapalus to the raigne of Deioces, are viually accounted about an hundred and forty yeeres, in the last sixtie whereof there raigned in Asyria mightie Princes, namely Salmanaffer and his Successiours, whose great atchiuements in Syria 50 and elsewhere witnesse, that the Medes and Persians found it not for their advantage to vnder-take any offensiue warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet between these the successours of Belochus, and Arbaces, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of Deioces to the first of Astrages, therepast about ninetie yeeres, in which if Herodotes have written truely, that Phraortes conquered Persia, and how he and other the Kings of Media by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commanded many parts of Asia, it had beene but an vnaduifed enterprise of the Affyrians and Babylonians, to have wasted themselves against the Syrians and Egyptians, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backes. But that the Medes had done nothing vpon the South parts of Persia, and that the Persians themselves were not masters of Susiana in Nabuchodonosors time, it is manifest in Daniel, who was then Gouernour for the Babylonian in Susa or Susan. to the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeed, that the Medians, either under Cranares or Alliages, or both, had quarrell with Halyattes the father of Crass, which after

some fixe yeeres dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of Persia stood in so many ages, I doe not find any memorie. It feemeth that the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then posfeft, with the confederacie which they continued with the Medes, gaue them more securitie than same: For if their Kings, being the posteritie of Achemenes, had done any memorable acts, the greatnesse which they afterward obtained would not have suffered any forgetfulnesse thereof. But as we find all Xenophons reports, both of these Warres and the state of those Countries to be very conso-20 nant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares, that the race of Achemenes held the Principalitie of Persia from father to sonne for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit to Xenophon, who affirmeth. That Cambyfes the father of Cyrus was King of Persia: than to those that make him a meane man, and say, that Aftinges gave him his daughter Mandane in marriage, to the end that her sonne (whose nativitie he feared) might be disabled from any great undertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cause of griefe could it be to Astiages, that the sonne of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of Asa? No , it was more likely, that voon fuch a Prophecie his loue to his grand-child should have encreased, and his care to beene the greater to have married her to some Prince of Arength and eminent

Yea, the same Herodotus, who is the first Author, and as I thinke the deniser of the mischiese intended against cyrus by his grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the Achamenida was forenowned, that the great King Xerxes in the height of his prosperitie did thence deriue himselfe, and vaunt of it: which he would neuer haue done, had they beene ignoble, nor had they been the vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this fort Xerxes in the seuenth of Herodotus deriueth himselfe.

Achemenes Camby fes. Cyrus. Teifpeus. Ariaramnes. Ar famnes . Hyftafpeso Darius. Xerxes.

Of the Achamenida there were two races: of the first was Cyrus the great, whose issue male fayled in his two sonnes, Camby ses and Smerdis. This royall familie is thus fet downe by the learned Reineccius.

Cccc 3

Achamenes

CHAP. III. Of CYRVS.

δ. I.

of CYRVS his name and first actions.

S touching the name of Cyrus, Strabo fayth, That the same was taken from a River which watereth Persia; this great Prince having Agradatus for his proper name. But the great Cyrus was not the first of that name. Herodotus otherwise; and that Cyrus signifieth Strab.1.13. a father in the Persian Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people.

It is true that for his Justice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of Cyrus had any such signification, I thinke it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That Cyrus is as much to fay as the Plutin vit. Sunne, in the fame Language. How soeuer it be, yet the Prophet Esty, almost two Artan. hundred yeeres before Cyrus was borne, gives him that name, Thus faith the Lord unto CYRVS his Anuinted &c.

Before the Conquest of Babylon, the victories which Cyrus obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of Lydia, and other Provinces thereto subiect, together with the taking of Crafus himselfe, are not recounted by Eusebius, Orolius, and others, but placed among his latter atchinements, whose opinion for 30 this difference of time is founded vpontwo reasons; namely, That of the Median there is no mention in that last warre against Crassus: and that the obtaining of Sardis is referred to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victory which Cyrus had ouer Babylon, to the five and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might have beene vsed (and was by the Greekes) to exclude the Medes from the honour of having wonne Babylon it felfe, which in due place I have answered. The latter seemes to have reference to the second Warre which Cyrus made vpon Lydia, when it rebelled; at which time hee so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleene with Heredotus, whome the 40 most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprise of Sardis to præcede that of Babylon.

ð II.

Of CROESVS the King of Lydia, who made warre upon CYRVS.

Haue in the last Booke spoken somewhat of Crassus, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which gouerned Lydia in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors knowne) was Lydus the sonne of Atys: Which familic extinguished, the King-dome was by an Oracle conferred vpon Argon, descended from Her-

cules, whereof there were two and twentie generations, Candaules being the last, who by shewing his faire wife naked to Gyges his fauorite, he was by the same Gyges

Of the fecond were those seuen great Princes of Persia, who having overthrowne the vsurped royaltic of the Magi, chose from among themselves Darius the sonne of Hyftafpes King.

Cambyles, who succeeded him, and Smerdis staine by his brother

Cyrus, the first of that name, had Cambyses and Atossa, who, mar-

ried to Pharnaces, King of Cappadocia, had Artystona and other

This Kingdome of Persia was first knowne by the name of Elam, so called after Elam the fonne of Sem, and the people therein inhabiting, Elamitæ; by Elianus, Ely-

ma : by Iosephus, Elymi. Suidas deriues this Nation sometimes from Affar, sometime from Magog, of

daughters. Camby les had

Cyrus the Great, Cyrus had

Euseb 1.6.c.8.d. whom they were called Magusai; which Magusai, according to Eusebius, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the Magi or Wise men. So doe the Greekes, among many other their fayings of them, 20 affirme, That the Persians were anciently written Artai, and that they called themfelues Cephenes. But that they were Elamite, Moses and the Prophets, Esay, leremie, Exechiel, Daniel, and Eldras in many places confirme: Which also S. Hierome vpon Ieremie the five and twentieth, vpon Daniel the eight and twentieth, and in his Hebrew questions approueth, saying : Elam à quo Elamita Principes Persidis ; El A M. of

whom were the Elamites Princes of Perfia.

Efd.4. 2.Mat.9. 1.Mac.6.

Gen.Io. 8 fay 11.21,22.

1ere.25.0 29 .

Ezecb.32.

Dan.8.

And that Citic which the Author of the second booke of the Maccabees calleth Persepolis, is by the Author of the first called Elimais, but is now called Siras, being the same which Antiochus, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great dishonour. And yet this Citie, now called Siras, was not the 30 old Per sepolis; for Alexander, at the request of Thais the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of Persia to vs knowne, if wee follow the current of Authors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of Genesis, was Chedorlaomer, who lived with Amraphel or Ninias, and iouned with him in the warre against those Arabians, who was afterward ex-

tinguished by the forces of Abraham.

Gen.10:

CHAP.

(thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day flaine. Which done, Gyges enjoyed both the Queene and the Kingdome of Lydia, and left the same to Atys his sonne, who was tather to Sadyattes, the father of Halyattes Hered.l.t.p 3. (who thrust the Cimerians out of Asia) and Halyattes begat Crassus: Which five 40.5. Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that Kingdome an hundred and seventie yeeres. Halyattes the father of Crafus was an undertaking Prince, and after hee had continued a warre against Craxares the Median, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it fix vecres: a peace was concluded upon equal conditions betweene them.

Astrages, the sonne of Craxares, and grandfather to Cyrus, thought himselfe greatly honoured by obtayning Aryenis, Crafus fifter, whom he married.

But Crass lo farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territorie to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the Median, the Babylonian, the Agyptian and the Lydian : onely Nabuchodonofor, after he had iowned Phanicia, Palestina, and Egypt to his Empire, had thence-forward no competitor during his owne life.

But Crass, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrel of the Babylonians, he yet mastred £olis, Doris, and Ionia, Provinces possess by the Greekes in Asia the leffe, adjoyning to Lydia; gaue law to the Phrygians, Bithinians, Carians, Mysians, Paphlagonians, and other Nations. And that he also inforst the Ephesians to 20 acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with Dianaes gir-Atheneus out of Berofus (which also Strabo confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victoric which Crass obtained against the Sacrans, a Nation of the Scythians, in memorie whereof the Babylonians his allies did veerely celebrate a Feast, which they called Sacaa: All which hee performed in

> And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of Cyrus fame, doubting also, that his prosperous vndertakings might in the ende grow perillous to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of Apollo, whom he prefented with maruellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against Cyrw, if 20 he undertooke him: from whom he received this riddle; CR OE s v s passing over the River Halys, shall dissolve a great dominion. For the divell being doubtfull of the fuccesse, payed him with marchandize of both sides like, and might be inverted either way to the ruine of Persia, or of his owne Lydia.

#### d III.

#### CROESUS his Expedition against CYRVS.



Ercupon Crassus being resolved to stop the course of Cyrus fortunes, 40 if he could, despised all the arguments vsed by Sandanes to the contrarie, who desired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not couered with the foft filke of wormes, but with the hard skinnes of beafts;

not fed with fuch meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine; and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he alreadie excelled: and if by them beaten, and subjected, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceined.

Notwithstanding this solide Counsaile, Crassus having prepared a powerfull armie, he led the same towards Media, but in his passage, he was arrested at Pterium, a Citie of great strength in Cappadocia; which while he sought by all meanes to surprise or to force, Cyrus came on, and found the Lydrans encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I doe not finde : for out of doubt, Crafus as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilitie; so was hee not under any in territorie and fame that then lived.

But as Cratippus of Mitylene answered Pompey when he complained against the gods, because they fauoured a disturber and vsurper of the Commonweale against him who fought for the Romane libertic, That Kingdomes and Commonweales had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of Crafus prosperitie at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall. and that of Cyrus but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not 10 Admetis Herdman, Apollo, had given date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainement of diversakirmishes, the Persians and Lydians beganne to joyne in grosse troupes: supplies from both Kings thrust on vpon the falling off, and advauncement of either Nation: and as the Persians had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each armie from the others view, Crafus doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to Cyrus, and with all speede possible retyred, and taking the next way into Lydia, recoursed Sardis his first Citic and Regall Seat, without any pursuite made by Cyrus to retard 20 him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting Cyrus approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the souldiors, and sent the troupes of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to reassemble at the end of five moneths, acquainting his Commaunders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

#### ð. IIII.

#### The Conquest of Lydia by CYRVS.



for happy indeede, till his end.

CHAP. 3. S.4.

Yavs in the following morning finding the Lydians departed, put his armie in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be discourred. But having good intelligence of Crassus his proceeding, hee so measured his Marches, as he presented not himselfe before Sardis, till such time as Crass had disposed his ar-

mie to their Wintring garrisons: when being altogether vnlooked for, and vnseared, he surrounded Sardis with his Armie: Wherein Crassiss having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Gards, after fourteene dayes siege the same was entred by affault, and all executed that relifted. Crafus having now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, Sardis being on all parts strongly encompassed, Incommuni 40 thrust himselse into the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had vn- suamquisque dergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of habet sortunant; his, who had beene dumbe all his life (by extremitic of passion and feare enabled) Memoriam mecried out to the fouldiors to spare Crasus. Who thereupon being taken and impri-tus perimit: 12. foned, despoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied citamentum, in fetters, and fet on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be confumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembring the dis- solme-7. coursewhich he had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cryed out on his name, Solon, Solon: and being demaunded what he meant by that innocation on he first vsed silence: but vrged againe, he told them, That he now found it true 50 which Solon had long fince told him, That many men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could difeerne himselfe Homo qui in

Of which answere Cyrus being speedily informed, remembring the changes of tofo miscricors fortune and his owne mortalitie, he commaunded his ministers of Iustice to with-

draw the fire with all diligence to faue Crafus, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, Cyrus demaunded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? Or what selfe reason had conducted him to inuade his territorie, and to make him of a friend an enemie? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous and my vnprosperous destinie (the Gracian God flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inverters and conductors of Crafus warre against Cyrus.

Cyrus being pierst with Crassus answere, and bewayling his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not onely spare his life, but entertained him cuer after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, Que non causam sed

forsunam hectas.

34

And herein is the reall difference discerned betweene that behauior which wee call Beneficium latronis, & gratiam Principis: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vniustly: A King that giveth breath, and a continu-

ance of being to him that was the cause and author of his owne enill.

The report made by Xenophon is, That Cyrus did friendly entertaine Crassus at the first fight, not mentioning that which Herodotus deliuers, and is here already set downe, that hee should have beene burnt alive. It may well bee, that Xenophon pourtraying (in Cyrus) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent so cruell fitter to be forgotten than rehearled, as too much misbeleeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that necreneffe of alliance might with hold Cyrus (had he beene other- 20 wise vitious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howsocuer it was, the Morall part of the Storie hath given credit and reputation to the report of Herodotus (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for current. though the trust reposed in Crasus afterwards may seeme to argue, that Cyrus did not vie him inhumanely at the first.

For as Herodotus himselfe telleth vs, when Cyrus past with his armie over Araxes into Seythia, he left Crafus to accompanie and aduise his sonne Cambyses, Gouernour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of cyrus, and did afterward follow Camby ses into Egypt, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand.

What his end was I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world tooke end; to wit, of the Babylonians, Medians, and Lydians; in Balthafar, Cyaxares, and Crafus.

#### è. V.

#### How CYRVS wonne Babylon.



Fter this Lydian warre enfined the great Conquest of Babylon, which 40 gaue vnto Cyrus an Empire so large and mighty, that he was instly reputed the greatest Monarch then lining vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooks vp, it is vnccrtaine; onely it seemes, that tenne whole yeeres did passe betweeene his taking those

two Cities of Sardes & Babylon, which neverthelesse I doe not thinke to have beene wholly occupied in provision for the Affyrian warre, but rather to have beene spent in settling the Estate which hee had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which Ctestas hath in his fragments of a warre made by Crrus youn the Seythians, though related as foregoing the victory obtained against Crassus. He telleth vs, That Cyrus invaded Scythia, and being victorious over that 50 Nation, tooke Amorges their King prisoner : but being in a second battaile ouerthrowne by the wife of Amorges, Sparetha, and therein taken, the one King was delinered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought, that no small part of those troubles which arose in

the lower Asia, grew soone after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after Cyrus was returned out of Asia the lesse, many Nations, conquered formerly by Crafus, and now by Cyrus, revolted from him; against whom he imployed Pattias, and then Harpagus, who first reduced the Phocians under their former obedience: and then the rest of the Greekes inhabiting Asia the lesse, as the Ionians, Carians, Eolians, and Lycians, who resolvedly (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt voon Babylon it selfe it is not to be doubted, that Cyrus employed all his forces, having taken order before hand, that no-10 thing should be able to divert him, or to raise that siege, and make frustrate the worke voon which he did fet all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and frength vinto the taking of that Cities, which believe the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was fo strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with waters vn-

poses and power of their besiegers. The onely hope of the Medes and Persians, who despaired of carrying by assault a Citic fo well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and o-20 ther necessaries; whereof though the Towne was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twentie yeeres, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would sooner appeare, and vanquish the resolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the successe of this course, the beliegers were likely to endure much trauaile, and all in vaine, if they

foordable, so plentifully victualled for many yeeres, that the inhabitants were not

onely free from all doubt and feare of their chate, but despised and derided all pur-

did not keepe straight watch and strong gards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vast circuit of those wals which they were togird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured vnto their Commaunder: The confideration whereof ministred unto the Babylonians matter of good pastime, when they saw the Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, and o- Xenoph. Cros-30 thers, quartered about their Towne to keepe them in, who having beene their pedilib.72 auncient friends and allies, were more likely to joyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to vse much diligence on the behalfe of cyrus, who had, as it were, vesterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoake of servitude. Whilest the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitful gladnesse, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of suddaine calamitie; Cyrus, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inuentine, denifed by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of Euphrates, to draw the same from the wals of Babylon, thereby to make his approach the more facile and affured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, hee flayed the time 40 of his aduantage for the execution : for hee had left certaine bankes or heads vncut, betweene the maine river which surrounded the Citie, and his owne

Now Balthafar, finding neither any want or weakenesse within, nor any possibilla tie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publike Playes, and other Pastimes, and thereto inuited a thousand of his Princes or Nobilitie, besides his wines, curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the beliegers know, that his provisions were sufficient, not onely for all needfull vses, but euen for iolitic and excesse: Or because hee hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many distresses were well neere broken, or in honour of 30 Bel his most reverenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (vsing Daniels words) he lifted himselfe up against the Lord of Heaven: For hee and his Princes, wives and concubines, made carowfing suppes of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom he praised his owne puppets,

made of filuer and Gold, of Braffe, of Iron, Wood, and Stone, Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes ligneos & lapideos Deos laudare; How great a foolishnesse was it (favth S. HIEROME) drinking in golden Cuppes, to praise Gods of Wood and Stone. While Balthafar was in this fort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors. he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him certaine words which he vnderstood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement feized him, as the joynts of his loynes were loofed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recoursed, heecryed out for his Caldeans. Astrologians, and Southsayers, promiting them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdome to him that could reade and expound the 10 writing; but it exceeded their art. In this disturbance and assonishment the Queene hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done vsed this Speech: There is a maninthy Kingdome, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father light, and under standing and wildome, like the wildome of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King NABVCHODONOSOR thy father, the King (I fay) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent Birst, and knowledge and understanding . &c. were found in him, even in DANIEL, erc. Nowlet DANIEL be called, and he will declare the interpretation.

Orie. & Theod.

Dan.5.0.18,

19,20.

This Queene, Iolephus takes for the grandmother; Origen and Theodoret for the mother of Balthafar; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that shee was 20 not any of the Kings wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dauncing and banquetting, she came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction: and whereas Daniel was forgotten and neglected by others of younger yeeres and times, this old Queene remembred well what he had done in the dayes of Nabuchodonofor, grandfather to this Balthafar, and kept in mind both his religion and divine gifts.

When Daniel was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherwith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to reade and interprete those words miraculously written; to whom Daniel made answere in a farre different style from that he vsed 30 towards his grandfather: for the cuill which he foretold Wabuchodonofor, he wished that the same might befall his enemies, but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these words, Keepe thyrewards to thy selfe, and give thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing onto the King, and shew him the interpretation: Which before he had performed, he gave him first the cause of Gods just judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence; whereof the King and all his Wisemen were vtterly ignorant: Which being written at large in Daniel, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodnesse to his father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprined him of his estate and understanding ; so upon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite 40 power he restored him to both. This King not with standing lifted himselfe vp against the same God, and presumed both to abuse those vessels, dedicated to holy vses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, prayfed and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Siluer, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those wordes, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) Mene Tekel, V phraifin, gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome, and finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the Medes and Persians.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein Balthafar feasted and perished, Cyrus either by his espiall, according to Xenophon, or inspired by God himselfe, 50 wose ensigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no lesse filled with the vapours of wine, than their hearts were with the feare of Gods judgement, he caused all the bankes and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut

down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of Euphrates drie for the present, by whose channell running, his armie made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Townelay buried (as the Poet faith) in sleepe and wine: fuch as came in the Persians way, were put to the sword, vnlesse they saucd themselves by flight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the tireets with an vncertaine tumult.

Such Assirian Lords as had revolted from Balthazar, and betaken themselves to

the partie of Cyrus, did now conduct a selected companie to the Kings Palace; which having eafily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banqueting, flew both him and them without any mercie, who ftrugled in vaine to keepe those lives which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the prophecie of Ieremie fulfilled, & that of E/ay, two hundred veeres Ier.c. 27. before this subuerlion, who in his three & fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writerh Esa. 6.47. this destruction so feelingly and lively, as if he had beene present both at the terrible flaughter committed, and had seene the great and vnfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrowes and bewailings of every surviving soule thereunto subject. His prophesic of this place he beginneth inthese words: Come downe, and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c. And againe, Sit still and get thee into darknesse, O daugh-20 ter of the Chaldaans, for thou shalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes. For though it cannot be doubted, that God vled Nabacho dono for & the Chaldeans, to punish the idolatrie of the Iudeans, yet Efay teacheth vs in this place, That he did not vet forget, that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitic. For (faith Efay) in the person of God, I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine in- Cap. 47. heritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didft shew them no mercie, but thou didft lay thy very heavie yoke vpon the ancient. I will rife up against them, saith the Lord of Holts, 1/al. 14. and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the sonne and the nephew. And To wit, Enilin the thirteenth, Every one that is found, sall be firicken thorow: and who foeuer ioy - merodate and Balibafar. neth himselfe, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their 30 eyes, their houses spoyled, and their wines ranished. So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victorie of Eyrus, or that received the report from others truely as it was, that could better leave the same to posteritie after it happened, than E-

The greatnesse and magnificence of Babylon, were it not by divers grave Authors fet downe, might feeme altogether fabulous : for besides the reports of Saint Heirome, Solinus, and Orofius, Ariftotle in the third of his Politikes, the fecond Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the Citic knew not that the rest was taken three daies after. Which is not impossible, if the testimonie of 49 Diodarus Siculus may be taken; who findes the compaffe thereof at three hundred Diod.13. and threefcore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes fine and fortie miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, as fixe chariots might passe in front thereon. And ofheight, according to Ctesias and Clitracus, three hundred threescore and fine foot, garnished with an hundred and fiftie Towers. Strabo in the beginning of his fixteenth Booke of Geographic gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twentie furlongs more to the former compasse, reckoning the same at three hundred fourescore and fine furlongs, which makes eight and fortie myle and one furlong: but findes the wall farre under that which Diodor reports: and so doth Curtius measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hun-50 dred cubits; which is also very much: every cubite containing a foot and halfe of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the Citic hee gives the same

fay hath done in many places of his prophecies, which were written two hundred

yeeres before any thing attempted.

with Siculus, and eight furlongs more. Herodotus findes a greater content than Strabo doth, namely, foure hundred and fourescore furlongs in circle; the thick-

Her.L. E(a. 4.7, &.

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nesse of the wall he measures at fiftie cubits, and the height at two hundred of the fame regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Braffe, with posts and hookes to hang them on of the same metall: and therefore did the Prophet Elay rightly intitle Babylon, The Princesse and glorie of Kingdomes.

But when Cyrus had wonne her, he stript her out of her princely Robes, and made her a slaue, dividing not onely all her goodly houses, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his fouldiers : but bestowing the inhabitants themselues as bondslaues vpon those that had taken possession of their

goods. Touching the raigne of Cyrus, and the time which he enioyed in rest and plea- 10 fure, I can fay no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to have lasted onely scuen yeeres: in which time he made such Constitutions, as differ little from the Ordinances of all wife Kings that are defirous to establish a Roval power in themselues and their posteritie.

## d. VI. The end of CYRVS.

He last warre, and the end of this great King Cyrus, is diversly written. Herodotus and Iustine deliver, That after the Conquest of Asia the lesse Cyrus invaded the Mallagetes. a very warlike Nation of the Septhians Cyrus inuaded the Massagetes, a very warlike Nation of the Scythians, gouerned by Tomyris their Queene : and that in an incounter betweene the Persians and these Northerne Nomades, Tomyris loft her Armie, and her Sonne Spargapifes, that commanded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leuies of men of warre, and following the warre against Cyrus, in a second battaile beat the Persian armie, and taking Cyrus prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a boule of bloud, vsing these wordes 3. Thou that hast all thy lifetime thirsted for blond, now drinke thy fill, and sati-30

ate thy felfe. It should hereby sceme, that Cyrus knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their furie by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of Syaxares, father to Altyages, those Scythians inuaded Media and Asia the leffe, and held the same in a service subjection eight and

This warre which Metasthenes calleth Tomyrique, lasted (saith he) fixe veeres. and tooke end at the death of Cyrus.

But in this particular I beleeue with Viginer, that this Seythian warre was rather the same which Cyrus made against the Sacians, before the Conquest of Lydia, ac- 40 cording to Ctessas before cited, who calleth Tomyris, Sparetha, though he deliuer the successe of that warre otherwise then Herodetus doth: The rather (faith Viginer) because Strabo in his eleuenth booke reciteth, That Cyrus surprised the Sacians by the same stratageme by which Instine saith, he deseated the sonne of Tomyris. And the same Ctesias also reporteth, That the last warre which Cyrus made was against Amorrhaus, King of the Derbicians a Nation (as the rest) of Scythia; whom

though he ouercame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three dayes after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of Pasagardes, which himselfe had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is faid to have beene this: O vir quicunque es, or undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoraui: Ego sum Cxxvs qui Perus imperium constitui, pusillum bocterra quo meum tegitur sorpus mihi ne inuideas; O thou man, who seeuer thou art, or whence seeuer

thou commest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldest come: I am CYRVS that founded the Persian Empire, doe not enuie unto me this little earth, with which my bodie is co-

This Tombe was opened by Alexander, as Qu. Curtius reporteth, either vpon Queut.l. hope of treasure, supposed to have beene buried with him, or vpon defire to honour his dead body with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an olde rotten Target, two Scythian Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lav, Alexander cansed to be couered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be set vponit. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of 10 Xenophon and Zonaras, fothey derogate much from Herodotus, who leaves his bodie Xen. ped. 8. in the hands of Tomyris.

And furely, had Cyrus loft the Armie of Persia in Scythia, it is not likely, that his sonne would so soone have transported all his remaining forces into Agypt, so far off from that quarter: the Scythian Nation then victorious, and bordering Media; neither had Cambyfes beene able in such haste to have undertaken and performed fo great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather beleeve Xenophon, faying, That Cyrus died aged and in peace: and that finding in himselfe, that hee could not long eniov the world, hee called vnto him his Nobilitie, with his two sonnes, Cambyses and Smerdis; or after Xenophon, Tanaoxares: and after a long Oration, wherein he 20 assured himselfe, and taught others, of the immortalitie of the Soule, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every, man in this life; he exhorted his sonnes by the strongest arguments hee had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things hee vttered, which make it probable, that hee received the knowledge of the true God from Daniel, when hee gouerned Sufa in Perfia; and that Cyrus himfelfe had read the prophecie of Esay, wherein hee was expressely named, and by God (for the deliuerie of his people) præordained. Which act of delivering the Iewes from their Captinitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and Citie of Hierusalem, was in true consideration the noblest worke that euer Cyrus performed. For in other actions he was an instrument 30 of Gods power, vsed for the chastifing of many Nations, and the establishing of a Gouernement in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which must last for cuer, though heaven and earth shall perish.

#### d. VII.

Of CYRVS bis decree for building the Temple of God in Ierusalem.



Auing therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by fundry Historians, theglory of all which was as a reward of this his feruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meete at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Raigne, being perhaps the first that ever he made, after his pos-

seffion of the Babylonian Empire: That the captive Iewes should return againe into their owne Territoric, and re-build the House of Go Din Ierusalem, having now endured and finished the threescore and tenne yeeres captinitie, by the Pro-50 Phets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, hee gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessarie and wanting. Hee also restored vnto them fine thousand four ehundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver. whereof Nabuchodonofor, the grandfather of Balthafar, had formerly robbed the Temple.

Dddd 2

The

ctel. 15.bift.

Strab. 1. 15.

1.E/d.z. Philain bre.

The number of the lewes which returned out of Chaldea under their leader Zorobabel, the some of Salathiel, and nephew to King Jecomas, and Jesus or Josua the fonne of lofadak, were about fiftie thousand; where, as soone as they arrived, they built an Altar to the lining God, and facrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

1.E/d.2.3.E/d. Jos.l. ant 11.

But no fooner did the Tewes begin to lay any one stone, than the Samaritanes and other idolatrous Nations adioyning gaue all the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of those Provinces under cyrus altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no fort fauoured the lewes, nor the labours and purposes they had in Efd. 1.6.2.0. 16. hand. And not onely those which were but Provinciall Lieutenants and other of- 10 ficers of leffe place, but Cambyfes himselfe; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while Cyrus was buffed otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that what soeuer Camby ses did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of Cyrus there was no such impe-

E(d.2.v.16.

diment or prohibition: They may herein resolue themselues out of Esdras, That Eld. L.C.S. 33. by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations the building was hindered all the time of King Cyrus life, &c. And therefore it is true, that the Iewes themselues affirme as it written in the second of Iohn, That the Temple was fixe and fortie yeeres in fetting vp, having received so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of Darius. And if wee seeke the naturall and politique causes which moved Cambyses to

withstand his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned vnder him, as when himselfe became sole and soueraigne Monarch, we shall finde them in that Epistle remembred by Efdras, written by Belemus, Mithridates, and the rest, Presidents and Counsellors in Phanicia, wherein they complaine, that the Iewes were euermore rebellious & troublers of Kings; that their Citie being once built, they would then refuse to pay Tribute, and fall from the obcdience of the Empire, as they had for-

merly done in the times of other Kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that Camby (es, having it in his resolution to invade Agypt, and that it was a commono. 30 pinion, That the lewes were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence vnder Moses, when they conquered Iudea; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and give the same disturbance to Cambyfes Conquest, which they did to Senacherib, Nabuchodonofor, and other Kings of Babylen. For as it is written in EZEKIEL, Agypt was the confidence of the house of ISRAEL.

Ezck.c.29.

Efd.1, c. 2.

But it is to be vnderstood, as Codoman and others have observed, that Artaxerxes, to whom the Counsellors & Gouernors of Phanicia complained against the Ienes, did not præcede, but succeed Darius Hystaspes, as in the sixt and seventh chapters of Esdras it is made plaine: and also that those Gouernors (whose Epistle sheweth as 40 much) did not withfland the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclofing of the Citie, as by the reasons given in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is euident.

Also in the fixt of Ezra, the foureteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they gouerned, and Artaxerxes written after Darius ; as : And they built and finishedit (to wit, the Temple) by the appointment of the God of Ifrael, and by the commandement of CYRVS and DARIVS, and ARTAHSHASTE King of Persia. Lastly, in the seuenteenth of Ezrait is written; Now after these things, in the raigne of ARTAH-SHASTE King of Persia: which was as much to say as after the sinishing of the Temple in Darius time. And therefore Artaxerxes in the second of Esdras is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citic and Temple of Hierufakm. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very flowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by Cyrus. The other ordinances of Cyrus, with his forme and manner of government, are to be found in Xenophon. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldelt sonne Cambyles. appointing Smerdis or Tanaoxares his younger sonne to be Satrapa or Lieutenant of Media, Armenia, and Cadusia, and then died, after he had raigned (faith Herodotus) one and thirtie veeres, or (according to Justine) but thirtie.

#### è. VIII.

of Cyrvs his issue: and whether A Toss A were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with Queene HESTER.



CHAP.3. S.8.

YR vs had iffue two fonnes, Camby fes and Smerdis, with three daughters, Atolla, Meroe, and Artystona: Ctesias addeth to these, Amytis. Atoffa and Meroe their brother Cambyles married; Artyftona, Darius Hy/taspes obtained; so did he Atossa, Cambyses being dead: who (as some Writers have supposed) inflamed both her husbands Darius,&

Xerxes after him, to inuade Greece, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruell 20 intent that Aman (whom the old translation calleth a Macadonian) had against the lewes though the opinion of Iolephus be more probable, who findes Amen to be an Amalekite. But it is hard to bee vnderstood, how Atoffa, the daughter of Cyrus, should have beene Esther; whose Historic seemes rather to appertaine to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, than of Darius the sonne of Hystaspes, or of Xerxes. The desire of Atossa to have Greece brought under the yoke of Persia, was partly grounded vpon the honour which thereby shee thought her husband might obtaine. partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, Corinthians, Athenians, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give affent to the opinion of Codoman, who vpon the neere found of the two names, 30 Atossa and Hadassa (by the latter of which Esther was also called) makes them to have beene one person. For though it be true, that Esther concerning her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Ladie; yet Codomans inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of Cyrus. Certaine it is, that Efther did at length discouer her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Hystories could not be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobilitie, must

needs have vnderstood the truth: who neverthelesse did so well know the parentage of Atolla, that for her lake, as being daughter of Cyrus, her sonne Xerxes was preferred to the Kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could haue pretended a very weake clayme.

But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

Dddd 3

Сна Р,

# CHAP. IIII.

# The estate of things from the death of CYRVS to the Raigne of DARIVS.

è. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.

10

20



the successors of Cyrus, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions; As that of Metasthenes, who hath numbred the Persian Kings and their times, as followeth.

	Darius Medus, and Cyrus iointly	2	}
Do	Cyrus alone.	22	
杨	Priscus Artaxerxes.	20	
	Darius Longimanus.	37	
	Darius Nothus.	19	yeares.
CARADIC .	Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	1
Asaxerxes Ochus.		26	}
Arfes, or Arfames.		4	ł
Darius	the last, conquered by Alexander.	6	ĵ

To which Philo agreeth; which number of yeeres added, make in all an hundred ninetie and one. But in this Catalogue Metasthenes hath left out Camby les and Xerxes, and names Artaxerxes Assures for the immediate successor of Cyrus; in place (faith Melanethon) of Darius the sonne of Hyftaspes: for Metasthenes, as Melanethon coniectureth, doth not account Cambyfes in the Catalogue, because his 30 raigne was confounded with that of Cyrus:

There is a second opinion, though ridiculous, of Seder Olam, who finds but source

Persian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, Schubert, and Beroaldus hauc also a differing account from the Greekes; whom neuerthelesse Eusebius and most of the Latines follow, and so doth Krentzheim, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors va-Chron. Krentz. rying from that account: For in this fort doe the Greekes marshall the Persian Kings with the times of their raignes.

fel. 135.

Melantien giues Cyrus but 29.	Cyrus inall. Cambyfes, with the Magi.	38	40
Dut 291	Darius Hystaspes.	36	•
Melantt.but 20	Xerxes	21	
	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40 >vceres.	
	Darius Nothus.	19 \ years.	
Melantibut 40	Artaxerxes Mnemon.	43	
Melanct.26.	Artaxerxes Ochus.	23	
	Ar sames.	3 \	
Melanet.4.	Darius the last. Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie.		50

This account (as I have faid) the most Chronologers and the best learned approuc. These Persian Princes being all warranted by the authoritie of the Scriptures, as Peucer in his historicall Animaduersions hath gathered the places; finding first Cyrus in the second of Chronicles, chap. 36. verf. 22, 23. Ezra 1. chap. 1. verf. 1. and often elfewhere.

Secondly Camby les in the 1 1th of Daniel, who may indeed be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the marginall Commentor vpon the Geneua vnderstands that place; but, vnder correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he faith in the same note, that Darius Hystaspes was an enemic to the people of God, and flood against them; his great fauour and liberalitie to the Iewes being elsewhere proued.

Thirdly, is Darius Hystaspes found in Ezrathe first, c. 4. v. 5 who in the sixt verse is

10 also named Abassuerus.

CHAP.4.S.I.

Fourthly, in the eleuenth of Daniel verse the second, Xerxes is plainely foretold and described, and the great warre which hee should make against the Greekes by Daniel remembred.

Fiftly, Artaxerxes Longimanus in Ezrathe fourth, verse seuen, who is also called Arthafasta,c.4. I.lib. Ezra v. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixtly, Darius Nothus, Ezra cap. 4. vers. 24. and sap. 5. vers. 6. Nehem. cap. 12.

ver [.22.

Seventhly, Artaxerxes Minemon in Nehele 2.v.1. who was father to Artaxerxes Ochus, and Arfames: for Darius the last he was of another Familie, the Line of Crrus 20 the Great ending in Ochus, who descended from Xerxes the sonne of Atossa, Cyrus his

Daughter; and the iffue male of Cyrus failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede. Eusebius with the Latines, following the Greekes, apply the beginnings and ends of curry Persian King with their Acts, to some certaine Olympiad; As the war of Astrages (Cyrus his maternall Grand-father) and Alyattes (Crassus his father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of Cyrus raigne to the beginning of the fine and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of Sardis by Cyrus to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The invalion of Egypt by Camby ses to the third veere of the threescore and third Olympiad, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement betweene feuerall formes of computation adde the more 30 credit vrito both.

Againe, this historicall demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomicall com. Ptol. in Alm. putation of Ptolomie, who refers the death of Alexander the Great, who died the 12. lib.3.cap. 8: of Nouember, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foure & twentieth yeere after Nabonassar. And the Era of Nabonassar beganne on the fixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the first yeers of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the accompt of the Olympiads, as doc the Greeke Historians, or that of Nationassar with Ptolomie, we shall finde every memorable accident to fall

out right with each computation. 40 For Ptolomie reckons the time answerable to two hundred and foure and twentie Iulian yeeres, and an hundred and fortie daies from Nabonassar, to the fixteenth of Iulie in the fenenth veere of Cambyfes.

The Greekes, and namely Diodorus Siculus, place the taking of Agypt by Cambyfes in the second or third yeere of the threescore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of Cambyfes feuenth yeere in the first of the threescore and fourth Olympiad: which first of the threescore and fourth Olympiad runnes along with part of the two and twentieth of Nabonassar. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of Cyrus.

Likewise the twentieth of Darius, who succeeded Cambyses, is according to Ptolo-50 mie the two hundred and fixe and fortieth of Nabonassar, which (observing the differences of Nabonassars Ara and the Olympiad, viz. eight and twentie yeeres) it agrees with the third of the threescore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the Greekes. In this Iosephus agrees with the Greekes throughout, saving that he iova neth Darius Medus, whom Xenophon calleth Cyaxares, with Cyrus, in the destruction

84.85.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the Persian Kings formerly rehearled, doth give the greater credit to this of the Greekes, which being constant in it selfe, accordethalso with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

#### ð. II.

#### Of CAMBYSES, and the conquering of Ægypt by him.



E will therefore according to the truth give the Empire of Persia to Cambyles, the sonne of Cyrus, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatnesse of his Empire: whereof hee was possest in his Fathers time while Cyrus made warre in the North. Ctefias with others give him a longer raigne than agreeth with the Gra-

cian accompt before receiued.

In the fifth yeere of his sole raigne, and in the third yeere of the threescore and third Olympiad, according to Diodor and Eusebius, he invaded Egypt, and having overthrowne the King thereof, Plammenitus, he not only caused him to bee slaine, Her. 13, pag. 83. but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and Ctesias give for cause of this Warre (being no other indeede than the Ambition of Camby (es) that when he sent to Amasis King of Egypt, to have his daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the daughter of Apries his predecessour, which Cambyses disdained.

Howfoeuerit were; true it is, that Cambyfes gathered an Armie fit for fuch an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred Ægypt, Amasis 30 died and left Psammenitus, whom Ctesius called Amyrteus, his successiour; who inioyed Egypt after his father (according to the best copies of Herodotus) but sixe Moneths, though other Chronologers give him fixe yeeres.

But how long socuer he held the Crowne, in one battaile heefost it, and was

himselfe taken prisoner.

It is faid that Camby ses following therein the example of Cyrus, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that hee also trusted him with the gouernement of Ægypt, and that vpon some revolt, or the suspition thereof, hee caused him to bee flaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if wee may beleeue Herodotus and Thucydides, but that he left a Sonne called Inarus, who caused the Agyptian to reuolt both from Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

That Pfammenitus was at the first entreated gently by Cambyfes, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated Amafis the King of Ægypt, who died before his arrivall, that hee caused his body to be drawne out of the graue, and after divers indignities vsed, commanded the same to bee burnt, contrarie to the custome both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Agyptians y sed to powder their dead bodies with falt, and other drugges, to the \* Neither did end the wormes might not deuoure them. The \* Persians durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore seared to seede it with

the Romanes

time of Sylla Dictator, who caused his owner to be denoured by that element, fearing the Law called Talionis, or like for like, because himselfe had vntombed the carkasse of Caius Marius after his death, Her. 1.3. Plin. 1.7.c. 54.

à. III.

# d. III.

## The rest of CAMBYSES his acts.



Снар.4.\$.3.

Fter this victorie obtained in Egypt, Camby ses sent an Armicinto Cyprus, and constrained Eucliben King therot to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the Egyptians.

While Cambyses yet busied himselfe in Agypt, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with

10 the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to bectorne downcand defaced. That done, he directed a part of his Armie into Lybia, to ouer-turne the Temple of Impiter Ammon; but the Deuill in defence of his Oratorie raised such a tempelt of Strab. & Infi. Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Countrey is couered, as the Persians were L.s. there-with choked and ouer-whelmed.

Notwithstanding which misaduenture, Herodotus and Senceareport, that disday-Herder, Sendas ning to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Armie, which himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first-sent troupe had tried, hee changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the Elements doe not obey them, according to

20 that old English prouerbe, Goe, faith the King. Stay, Saith the Tide. After his returne from the attempt of Æthiepia, hee caused Apis the Ægyptian Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and beene executed as in feruice of him that only is, and liueth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed vnto him that Smerdis did sit in the royall Throne of Persia (which apparition was verified in Smerdis the Magus) heegaue it in charge to his fauourite Praxaspes, to murther Smerdis his brother. And having married his owne fifters, contrarie to the Persian Lawes, hee committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder vpon the one of them, called Meroe, then by himselfe with child, because shee bewailed the death

30 ofher brother Smerdis. I find it written of this Camby fes, That because his Predeces- Her. pag. 89.50 fors observed religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Judges and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the Persians that did permit the brother to marry his owne fister : it being his owne intent so to doe. The Iudges (who had alwaies either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfic Kings and times) made answere, that there was not any thing written allowing any such coniunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwaiesleft to the will of the Persian Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; and fo, as Nauclerus termes it, inuenerunt occasionem: That is as much to fay, as the Judges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it con-40 cerned not the Kings private latisfaction, he caused Sifamnus one of his Judges, and perchanceone of those which fauoured his incestuous match, to be flayed a-line for an vniust indgement ginen, and the same his hide to bee hung vpouer the indgement feate. After which bestowing the fathers Office on his sonne, hee willed him

to remember, that the same partialitie descrued the same punishment. Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the senne of his beloued Praxaspes was very strange and vngratefull. For when he desired to bee truely informed by him what the Persians thought of his conditions, Praxaspes answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; only it was by many observed, that he tooke more than vsuall delight in the taste of Wine. With 50 which taxation inflamed, heevied this replication: And are the Perfians doubletongued, who also tell me that I have in all things excelled my Father Cyrus? thou Praxaspes shalt then witnesse, whether in this report they have done mee right : for if at the first shot I piercethy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it salse that hath beene spoken; but if I missethe marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted

true, and my subjects beleeved. This being spoken, hee directed an arrow towards the innocentchild, who falling dead with the ftroke, Camby fes commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monstrous T yrant greatly rejoycing, shewed it to the Father with this faying, in stead of an Epitaph. Now PRAXASPES, thou maiest resolue thy selfe that I have not lost my wits with Wine. but the Persians theirs, who make such report.

Many other barbarous cruelties hee exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became felon de soy. For when he was informed that Patizites. and Smerdis the Magi, (Cearenus writeth them Sphendanes and Cimerdius) Ministers of his domeRicall affaires, taking advantage of the great refemblance betweene 10 Smerdis the Kings brother, and Smerdis the Magus, possess themselves of the Empire he made all haste towards Persia, and in mounting hastily on horsebacke, his fword dif-sheathing pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late and remedilesse repentance of the slaughter which hee had executed voon his owne brother, he soone after gaue vp his wicked ghost, when hee had raigned eight yeeres, accounting therein those seven Moneths in which the Magi gouerned, while he was absent.

In Camby fes the Male line of Cyrus failed. For he had no iffue either by Atoffa or Zonaras Com.3. Meroe: yet Zonaras out of Hierome gives him a Daughter called Pantaptes, and a fonne called Orontes, who being drowned in the River Ophites by Antioch, the same 20 was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called Orontes.

He built the Citie of Babylon in Agypt, in the place where Latopolis was formerly feated, and that of Meroe in the Iland of Nilus, calling it by the name of his fifter

#### d. IIII.

Of the inter-regnum betweene CAMBYSES and DARIVS.

Y & v s and his two sonnes beeing now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the Magi, the counterfait of Smerdis, the Princes, or Satrapes, or Provinciall Governours of the Empire (to wit, Otanes, Intaphernes, Gobrias, Megabylus, Alphatines, Hidarnes, and Darius, who were all descended from Achamenes the first Persian

King, having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forcestogether. furprised and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions, and assistants. In which action (faith Infline) Intaphernes and Asphalines were flaine; but Herodotus Otherwise, that they were only wounded, for he answeth, that all the seuen Princes 40 were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Gouernour, these Princes grew into confultation how the same might be ordered from thence-forth. Otanes one of the seuen did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by iust lawes defend their liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrified by the cruelties of Cambyles; As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatnesse it selfe, euen in good men, doth often insect the minde with many vices, and the libertie and freedome in all things is most apt to infult, & to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants do commonly vie the feruices of wicked men, and fauour 50 them most; they vsurpe vpon the lawes of their Countrey; take other mens wives by force, and deftroy whom they please without judgement.

Megabysus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude was thrice more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without judgement runne into bulinesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer bearing flouds.

He therefore thought it fafeft to make election of a few, and those of the best wiselt, and most vertuous; because it is euer found, that excellent Counsailes are euer had from excellent men.

Darius gaue the third judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because even among few diuturnitie of concord is seldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the discord of many Rulers hath inforst the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, faith Darius, farre fafer to observe the Lawes of our 10 Countrie, by which Kingly gouernement hath beene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to Darius, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall gouernement by God established, and made prosperous. And to avoide partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horse-back, and on him the Kingdome should be conferred, whose horse after the Sunne-rifing should first ney or bray. In the euening after this appoint- Her. 1.3.9.100. ment was made, it is faid that Darius confulted with the Master of his horse Oebarus. who in the Suburbs of the Citie when the election was refolued of caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning Darius was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as soone as he came into the same place was the first borse that brayed. Whereupon the o-20 ther fixe Princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged Darius for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the scuen Princes. whereof Darius himselfe was one, that delivered the Empire from the vsurpation of the Mage, hee divided the whole into feuen gouernements; Herodotus faith into twentic Satrapies.

30

CHAP.5. S.1.

# CHAP. V.

# Of DARIVS the some of Hystaspes.

ð. I.

Of DARIVS his Linage.



ARIVS was descended of the ancient Persian Kings, to wit, of the Achamenida, of which, Cyrus the Great was the lineall Successiour. For in this fort Herodotus deriues him as before.

Cyrus the first, who had Tei/pius, who begat Ariaramnes, who was father of Arfammes, the father of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, furnamed Celes, the father of Xerxes,

Hystaspes accompanied Cyrus the Great in the warres against the Scythians, at which time Cyrus being made jelous of Darius by a dreame of his owne, caused him

Her.l.1.0 2.

48

to be sent into Persia, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of Cyrus he was deliuered, and made Gouernor of the Persian Magi. He afterward followed Cambyfes into Egypt; he then joyned with the rest of the Princes against the Magi, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand \* 300 Pag. 237. he obtained the Empire, which he the more affured to himselfe by taking two of Cyrus Daughters, and as many of his Necces for his wives. .

Pag. 101.6 202 Pag. 180. 190. Her.l.6.pag. 180 Pag :80. 190. Pag.200.204. er pag.:13.285. Pag. 214.254. De Reg. Perfar.

Hystaspes, according to \* Herodotus, had besides Darius thesethree sonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which Darius made in Afia the leffe, Thrace, Macedon, and Greece; Atarnes, Artaphernes; and Artabanus, who diffwaded Kernes from the second Gracian warre. Hystaspes had also a Daughter married to Gobryss the Father of Mardonius, who commanded the Armie of Darius in Macedon, and married the Daughter of Darius, Artozostre his Cosen germaine.

Reineccius giues to Hystaspes fine sonnes, Darius who succeeded Cambyses, Artabaniss, Artaphernes, Otanes, and Atarnes, with two daughters.

Of DARIVS his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.



A R 1 vs deuised equal lawes whereby all his subjects might be gouerned, the same being formerly promised by Cyrus. He gaire accessed to all his subjects; and behaved himselfe so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassalls. Only hee laied divers payments and taxes on the people, which had

not beene accustomed in Cyrus time, to the value of source thousand five hundred and threescore talents, saith Herodotus,

The warre which Cambyses made a farre off in Agypt, and the contention betweene the Magi, and the Princes of Persia, for the Empire, gaue heart to the Babylonians to recouer their libertie, and to shake off the Persian yoke, wher of Darius be- 30 ing aduertised, he prepared an Armie to recourt that Citie and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult worke, he vsed the service of Zopirus, who for the love he bare Darius, did cut off his owne Eares and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flie to the Babylonians for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of Darius: who, for having given him advice to give over the fiege of their Citie, had in this fort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the Babylonians gaue him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition & commandement of their greatest forces: which when Zopirus had obtained, after some small colourable ouer throwes given to the Persians vpon fallies, hee delivered the Citie into Darius his hands, who had lyen before it twentie Moneths.

Her.lib.3.

φ. III. Of DARIVS his fauour to the Iewes in building the Temple.



N the second yeere of Darius, he gave order that the building of the Temple at Hierusalem should goe on, and commanded that the same , should be finished at his own charge, and out of the reuennues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouernors of those Provinces which are 50 fituate betweene Euphrates, and the Phanician, and mid-land Sea,

(whom Ezracalleth the Captaines beyond the River) had hindred the worke in Cambyfes his time, Darius gaue commandement that they should not thence-forth come neere vnto Ierusalem, to give any impediment to the building, but that they

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.5. S.4.

should with-draw themselves, and get them farre off till all were finished and at an end. In the old Latine it is written, Procul recedite ab ilis; With-draw your felues farre from them; In our English, Be yee farre from thence, to wit, from the Citie and Temple, now in building.

Hee also made a decree, which concerned his owne Subjects, That who so ever Ex.6.11. should thenceforth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should be torne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the Timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh inuocation to God, That hath caused his name to dwellthere, (to) destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and 10 to deftroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, or. In four yeeres after which decree (the lewes being really furnished with money and all things necessarie from Darius) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth yeere of Dariso Hyflaspes, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

> §. 1111. of DARIVS his Scythian Warre.



Fter the recourrie of Bibylon he inuaded the Seythians, whose King Her.l.4. Instine calleth Lauthinus; and saith, that Darius vnder-tooke this warre against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into Scythia, hee built a Bridge of small

Vessels ouer the River Ister or Danubius, and gave the custodie of the fame in charge (among others of Asia the lesse) to the Ionians, and Eolians, among whom was Miltiades, who perswaded the Asian Gracians to breake downe the bridge, to the end Dartus might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was resisted by Histiam Prince of Milet. a Citie of Ionia, which Nation being a Colonie of the Greekes, Diodorus calleth Traitors to their Countrie, because they joyned themselves to Darius. But the Soythians piedditto

30 more elegantly termed them good flaues, for as much as they would not runne away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were prefented with as faire an occasion of libertie as could have been defired. For the great Armie of Darius entring the defart Countrie called Bestarabia, found in it neither people to result them, nor any sustenance to relieue them. For the Scythians were then, as are the Chrim Tartars, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vsing the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Grafiers, driving their Heards from one place to another as onportunitie of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vsed for Houses the Waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. These Wag-40 gons they place at enery Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in

the manner of a great Towne, remoueable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great Chrim, any other Citie than such an Agora, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore Darius had wearied himselfe, and wasted his provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither waies to direct him, victualls to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either hee himfelfe might make vie of, or by destroying it might gricue his enemies; he beganne to perceive his owne folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet fetting a good face vpon a badde game, he fent braue messages to the Scythian, bidding him to cease his slight, and ei-50 ther to make triall of his valour and fortune in plaine battaile, Or if he acknowled-

ged himselfe the weaker, then to yeeld by faire meanes, and become his Subject, giuing him Earth and Water, which the Persians vsed to demand as a signe, that all was yeelded vnto them. To this challenge the Soythian returned an Hieroglyphicall answere; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and fine Arrowes: which dumbe shew Ecee Darine

Ezra.c.6.

Darius interpreting by his owne wish, thought that heedid yeeld all the Elements wherein those creatures line, and his weapons with all into his hands. But Gobress. one of the seuen Princes, who had slaine the Magi, construed their meaning a-right. which was thus; O yee Persians, get yee wings like Birds, or dine under the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for else yee shall not escape our arrowes. And this interpretation was soone verified by the Seythians themselves, who affailed the Persian camp. draue the horse-men into the trenches, and vexing the Armie with continual Alarums day and night, were so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and euen in his fight, they did not forbeare the passime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of 10 theirs, Darius was fo discouraged, that he for sook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were ficke and weake behinde him, and so with all speede marched away towal is the River Ister. He was pursued hardly by the Scythians who milt him, yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the Ionians to depart, affuring them that the Persian King should neuer more be able to doe them either good or harme. Which words had certainely beene proued true, had not Hylliaus the Milesian prevailed with his people, to attend the comming of Darius, whom the Seythians did likewise faile to meete, when they returned from Ister to fecke him out.

# Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian

Warre ).



ARIV shauing thus escaped out of Scythia, determined the invasion of Thrace and Macedon, in which Warre hee imployed Megabasin, who mastered the Paonians, and transplanted them, & possest Perinthus, Chalcedon, Bizantium, and other places, being also soone after subiceted, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30

Sysamnes, whom Camby ses had excoriated for false judgement. So were the Cities of "A maritimate \* Selybria and a Cardia likewise taken in for the Persian, who having now reduced vader his obeysance the best part of Thrace, did send his Embassadours to Amintas King of Macedon adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth & Water, the Soueraignetie ouer that Kingdome. Amintas doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadours with gentle wordes, and afterward inniting them to a solemne and magnificent feast, the Persians greatly desired that the Macedonian Ladies might bee present: which being granted, the Embassadours who were well filled with wine, and prefumed vpon their greatnesse, and many victories, beganne to vse such imbracings, and other lascinious behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as Alexan-40 der the Kings Sonne, great Grand-father to Alexander the Great, discaining the Persians barbarous presumption, besought his father to with draw himselfe from the affembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embaffadours, whom withall hee entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promifing their speedy returne. This being obtained, Alexander caufed the like number of well-fauoured yong-men to clothe themselves in the same garments, & to vie the same attires which the Ladies had worne at the feast, giving them in charge, That when the Persians offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long kniues, of which they were prouided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after given by Da-50 rius for a seuere reuenge of this murder. But Alexander, somewhat before the death of Amintas, gaue his fifter Gygea in marriage to Bubaris, a principal! Commander of Darius forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of Macedon would proue for the invalion of Attica intended, so prevailed, as Alexan-

Herd.s. 2 Cardia, a City vpon the cherfone fus of Thrace, after-

Снар.5. \$.6. der escaped that tempest, which threatned to fall vpon him very suddenly; the

warre of Asia the leffe, called Ionick, falling out at the same time.

The first occasion of the warre which DARIVS made upon Greece, with archearfall of the government in Athens, whence the the quarrell grew.

Ow the better to understand the reason and motives of that great Warre, which followed soone after, betweene the Persians and Gracians, it is necessarie to make a short repetition of the state of Athens, which Citic indured the hardest and worst brint of Darius inuasion on that side the Sea with admirable successe. Weither doe I hold it

any importinencie, to be large in vnfolding every circumstance of so great a busineffe as gaue fire to those warres, which never could be throughly quenched, untill in the ruine of this great Persian Monarchie, Persepolis the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the request of an Athenian Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the Persians had raised in Athens.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how Athens, and other parts of Greece, were anciently gouerned, the same being alreadic set downe, though scatteringly, and in seucrall times, among other the Contemporarie occurrents of the Easterne Emperors, and the Kings of Indea; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember agains the two last changes in the State of Athens. As for the Lacedemonians, they maintained still their ancient policie under Kings, though these also after some fifteene descents bridled by the Ephori.

Codrus King of the Athenians in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the safetie of his people, was therefore so honored by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former government from Mo-30 narchical to Princes for terme of life, of which Medon the fonne of Codrus was the first, after whom they were called Medontide; and of these there were twelve Ge-

nerations besides Medon, to wit.

Agastus. Archippus, in whose times the Greekes transported themselves into Ionia. after Troy an hundred and fourescore yeeres, according to Eusebius: which migration al other Chronologers (such as follow Enfebies herein excepted) find in the yeere after Troy fallen one hundred and fortic. Ther sippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whose time Lycurgus gaue Lawes to the Spartans,

Pheredus.

Ariphron.

Theispius, in whose time the Asyrian Empire was ouer-throwne by Belochus, and Arbaces.

Agamneftor.

Æschylus, in whose time the Ephori (according to Eusebius) were erected

Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the Athenians ele-&ced Decennal Gouernours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and fixteene yeeres. The first of those that gouerned for ten veeres, or the first Archon, was

Charops, then Ælymedes.

Eccc 2

Elvaious

Paul. pag. 159.

Dienif.l. 3.

Paul.p.169.

Paufan. 170

Pag.331.

10

Elydicus. Hyppomenes.

Leocrates. Absander.

Erixias was the last Archon of the decennal Gouernors, which forme continuing threescore and ten yeerres, was then changed into into annuall Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which Thefeus was the sirst. according to Paulanias: others finde Leostratus; and then

Anthosthenes.

Archimedes. Miltiades.

Damasias.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the leffe to bee regarded, by reason of the

veerely change.

This Solon being a man of excellent wisdome, gaue lawes to the Athenians, which were published according to Gellius, in the three and thirtieth veere of Tarquinius Priseus, and were in after-ages derined vnto the Romanes, and by the Decemviri (Magistrates in Rome created for that purpose) reduced into twelue Tables, 20 which were the ground of the Romane lawes. But these goodly ordinances of Solon, were in his owne daies violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the practice and maintenance of a popular gouernement; the estate of Athens was very soone changed into a Monarchie by Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof Megacles and Lycurgus two Citizens of noble Families were become the heads, tookeoccasion by their contention and infolencie to raise a third faction more powerfull than theother two, and more plaufible, for that he feemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Hauing by this meanes obtained loue and credit, he wounded himselse, and faining that by malice of his enemies he had like to haue 20 beene flaine for his love to the good Citizens, he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadell of Athens, hee made himselse Lord of the Towne; Hegesistratus being then Gouernour. But the Citizens, who in every change of government had fought to remove themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchic, could so ill brooke this vsurpation of Pilistratus, that he was drinen for lack of helpe to flie the Towne, as soone as Megacles and Lyeurgus ioyning their forces attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyranny founded upon the diffension of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soone after well reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when Megaeles found the power of Lycurgus to grow 40 greater than his owne, he did (as is the vsuall practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemic Pisisfratue, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which 'alliance the Familie of the Alemsonida, whereof Megaeles was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet so that Pissifratus by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the Alemaonida, and especially Megaeles being incensed against Pisssfratus for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practifed with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that Pissfratus vpon the first discoueric of their intent, perceiued no other remedie for his affaires, than to with-draw himselfe to Eretria, where he remained eleuen yeeres. Which time being expired, hauing hired 50 Souldiers out of many parts of Greece, hee againe recourred the principalitie of Athens: after which third obtaining his estate, hee gouerned Athens seuenteene Heracia Apud Elian page 262. Yeeres, according to Aristotle, and raigned in all thirtie and three yeeres, saith Juft, pag 28. Elianus, but as Iusline hathit, foure and thirtie, accounting the time belike as well

Herd in. Eretriz a Citie of Euban, by others called Melanc, by Stephanus Erotria.

CHAP.5. S.7. of the Historie of the World. before as after his feuerall expulsions. Herodorus gives the father and the Sonne Holls.

fixe and thirtie yeeres; Aristotle fine and thirtie. But Thucidides affirmeth, that Thucidides. 12. heedied very old, leaving for his Successiours his two Sonnes Hippias and Hipparchus, who gouerned the Athenians with fuch moderation, as they rather feemed the Lineall successors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and fome three yeeres before Hippias was expelled out of Athens, his brother Hipparthus was murdered by Harmodius and Ariftogiton. The cause why, and the manner how performed, Thucidides hath written at large. And though Hipparchus were charged with vnnaturall lust after Harmodius, yet Plato in his Dialogue, intituled 10 Hipparchus, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that hee was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that scandall. Hippias scaring that this enterprise vpon his brother had more and deeper rootes than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of Harmodius and Arillogiton, by a Harlot of their scalled Lemnia: who because shee would not reuease her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did Hippias, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a frait amitie with Lantides, Tyrant of the Citie Lampfacus, whom he knew to bee Lampfacus a cigreatly fauoured by Darius, to whose some Hypotlushee gaue one of his Daugh-on the Helle-

ters in marriage. But some three yeeres after the death of his brother, doubting spont. 20 I know not what strong practice against himselfe, hee beganne to viethe Citizens Thucid. 6.c.t. with great severitie, which neither Pissftratus the Father, nor Hippias himselfe had euer exercised during their vsurpations till this time. And therefore the Athenians fearing lest that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in Hippias, they stirred vp Clistines one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practise their deliuerie : who calling to his affistance the banished Alemanida, together with an Armie of the Lacedamonians, ledde by Cleomenes their King, fo affrighted Hippias, as by composition he gaue ouer his estate, and the possession of Athens, and from thence imbarking himselfe tooke land at \* Sigeum, whence hee went to Lampfacus \* sigeum a proin Mysta gouerned by Eartides, who presented him to Darius. Hee was deprimentorie op-30 ued of his estate, as Herodotus and Thucidides agree, twentie yeeres before the posite to the

battel of Marathon: all which time he continued, partly with Eantides, at other which Arill, in times with Artaphernes Licutenant for Darius in Sardis, the Metropolis of Lydia; 5. Animal. calls perswading and practising the enterprise vpon Athens, which Darius in the ende ide promontoto his great dishonour vnder tooke, twentie veeres after Hippias had refigned his

Thus farre I have digreffed from Darius, to the ende the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motiues of this warre: whereof the hope that Hippias had to be restored to Athens by the helpe of Darius, which made him solicite and perswade the Persians to conquer Greece, was one; but not the most 40 vrgent.

ð. VII. -

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betweene Greece and

Nother, and a fittong motine to this expedition, was the lonick warres breaking out in Asia about the same time. The Colonies transported out of Greece into Asia, which occupied the greatest part of the Scaout of Greece into Alea, which occupied the greatest part of the Sca-coast, having enjoyed their libertic about 500, yeares, even from the linich migration, to the time of Coasta was by this feet. the Ionick, migration, to the time of Crafus, were by this Lydian King

made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by

But as it is the custome of Nations halfe conquered (witnesse Ireland) to rebell againe vpon energy advantage and opportunitie: so did the Ionians, and other Gracians, both in Cyrus his life, and after him, seeke by all meanes possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men readic to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the Persian been given vnto them for bridles to hold them in subjection. Euery one of those Towneshad a Lord to ruleit, whom they (abhorring the gouernment of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the Persian, by whose onely might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutifull af- 10 fection they had well declared, when, Darins being in great extremitie, they vsed all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwise had beene loft) out of the Scythians hand. Of this great piece of service Histraus the tyrant of Miletus expected the chiefe thankes, as having beene chiefe Author of their expecting Darius. when the rest, either perswaded by the Scythians, or carried away with their owne desires, were readic to have abandoned him. But it came so to passe, that Darius being more fearefull of the harme that Histiaus (being powerfull and craftie) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had alreadic received at his hand, found meanes to carry him a-long to Sufa, where hee detained him with all kind vlage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall vpon him, as an enemie, 20 he could not startaway. Histiaus had subtiltie enough to discouer the Kings purpole; which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citic, having a smal Territorie, than to fit and feast at the great Kings table, and heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was menaged; being himtelfe an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of libertie, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow vpon

Wherefore he bethought himselse of raising of some tumults in the lower Asia, to pacific which is he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resolving upon this course, he sent very secret instructions to Aristagoras his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputic at Miletus, aduising him to stirre up some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to Aristagoras, who having failed in an enterprise upon the solvent stay of the seasonably to Aristagoras, who having failed in an enterprise upon the state of the season of the seas

fled the Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counfaile and the better to draw the whole Countrie of Ionia into the same course which he determined to runne, hee abandoned his tyrannic, and did set Miletus at libertic. This plausible beginning wanne 40 vnto him the hearts of the Milesians: and his proceeding with other Ionian Tyrants (of whom some he tooke and sold as slaues to their citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to becat his command. The Persian fleet, whereof hee lately had beene Admirallin the enterprise of Naxos, hee had surprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers, and Captaines, fo that now hee thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all Asia would shortly be vpon his neck, and crush both him and his affistants to pieces, vnlesse that he were able to raife an Armie that might hold the field, which the lonians alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a journey to Sparta, where having affayed in vaine 50 with many arguments, and the offer of fiftile talents, to win to his partie Cleomenes King of the Lacedemonians: hee went from thence to Athens, and with better fuccesse besought the people to led him their assistance. The Athenian Embassadors which had been fent to the Persian Kings Lieutenants in the lower Afia, desiring

them not to giue countenance to Hippias, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answeres, having found very churlish entertainement. So that the euill which they were to expect in all likely hood from the Persian, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinitie with the Ionians, and the perswasions of Arishagoras, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twentie shippes the Athenians surnished for this voyage; to which the Eratrians added sue more, in regard of ancient kindnesse that had passed between the Ionians and them. With these and their owne forces joyned, the Ionians entred the River Caistrus, which falleth into the Sea by Ephelus; by which advantage they surprised Sardis when no enemic was heard of or suspected; infomuch, as Artaphernes, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of sastie, than by retreating himself into the Castle; which the Gracians could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the Citie slaming.

The Persiansat length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, firengthened by the River Pactolus, which ran through it, and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well advising themselves, made all the baste they could toward the Scasside. But Artaphernes having gathered all the strength he could, pursued the Gracians, and sound them neere Ephelus; where setting resolvedly vpon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Armie; the rest saving themselves in Ephelus. In this sight Evaluates, Captaine of the Erstrians, perished: but his same and memorie was by that excellent Poet Simonies preserved. After this overthrow, the Athenians, which were sent to Aristagorus and to the tomans, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their teares, be perswaded to make

any second triall of their fortunes, on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of Sardis made a greater noyse in the world, than the good successe which the Perstans had in one or two skirmishes, could rayse. Wherefore the Ionians brauely proceeding, woon a great part of Caria; and sending their Fleet into 30 the Hellespont, got Bizantium and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the Cyprians, lately subdued by Cambyses, beganne hereupon to take heart and entring into consederacie with the Ionians, who were able to give them aide by sea, rebelled against the Perstans.

These newes comming to the care of Darius, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatted of the Athenians, voon whome hee vowed to take sharpe reuenge. As for the Jonans, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not have dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom their ignorance of his great might had affoorded the courage to prouoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by Darius, and pursued by Xerxes against Athens: To which, the solicitation of Hippias, before remembred, gave onely some forme and affishance: the businesse, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like ynough to have proceeded, though he had perished cre it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this Ionian commotion extended the quarrell of Darius against many of the Ilanders, if not against the whole Nation of the Greekes; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour; the Ilanders moreouer did helpe to furnish our a Nauie of three hundred and fixtie saile against him. These prouocations did rather breede in him a desire to abate their pride, than any feare of harmethat they were like to doe him. For what they had done at Sardis, was but by surprise. In enery fight they were beaten by the Persians, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein Cyrus had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one sea-fight by the Isle of Cyprus, the Ionians indeed had the vaper hand; but they were Phanicians, Egyptians, and Cilicians, whom they vanquished in neither was that victoric of any vie to them; the Cyprians, in whose aid they came,

being veterly beaten by the Persian Armie at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the Persians likewise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the Carians in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Townes vpon Hellespont, with some Lolian & Ionian Cities : when Aristagoras with his friends quitting Miletus, fled into Thrace, desirous to seat himselfe in Amphipolis, a Colonic of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on whose Territorie belike he landed, ouerthrew him, and cut his troupes in pieces.

About the same time, Histiau the first mouer of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who having vndertaken the performance of great matters to Darius, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whome his double dealing was 10

detected.

But this cuasion preserved him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, hee was taken in fight by the Persians, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seemes that hee would have done, by the buriall which he commanded to be given to his dead bo-

dy that was crucified, and by his heavie taking of his death.

Histraus had sought to put himselfe into Miletus; but the Citizens doubting his condition, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselves, without his helpe. The strength of their Citie by land, which had in old time with stood the Lydian Kings, and their good Fleet which promised vnto them the libertie of 20 an open sea, emboldened them to trie the vttermost, when very sew friends were lest voon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauie was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels for saking them vpon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse flight of those that should have affisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being affaulted both by Land and Sca, was taken by force, the Citizens slaine, their wives and children made flaues, and their goods a bootie to the Persians, whome for fixe yeeres space they had put to so much trouble."

#### δ. VIII.

The Warre which DARIVS made upon Greece, with the battaile of MARATHON, and DARIV shis death.



His warre with good successe finished by the Persians, and some attempts made on Europe side with variable successe; Darius obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of Greece (though at first he pretended to make the warre but against the Athenians and Eritrasns, who jointly affifted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydis) did now by 40

his embassadours demaund an acknowledgement from them all: among whome, fome of them not so well resolued as the rest, submitted themselues; as the Æginets and others. Against these, the Athenians being inflamed (by the assistance of the Lacedemonians) after divers encounters for ft them to give pledges, and to relinquish Ido notknow: the partie of the Persians. Cleomenes led the Lacedamonians in this warre, and caused but those bor- his companion King Demantus to be deposed: who thereupon fied to Darius, farre the more confident of victorie, by reason of these discords, alienations, and civill warres among the Greekes. He therefore gaue order to Hippagaras to prepare a Fleet of shippes fit to transport his Armie ouer the Hellesport: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse. The charge in chiefe of his Armie he committed to Datio, accompanied and affisted by Hippias, the sonne of Pisson fratus, expelled out of Athens twentie yeres before, and by Artaphernes his brother, Gouernour of Sardis, and the Sea-coaft of Afia the leffe. These Commaunders hation degea. Luie 32-13.000 uing their Companies brought downe to the Sea-fide, imbarked themselues in fixe

Herod lib.6. Whether this Citic or People were of Peloponnefus in Sicyonia,or of Ægea, be tween Theffalia and Macedon. derers, & next the enemie, were more likely to compoundthan the rest farre off. There is called Æginihundred Gallies and other Veffels; and first of all attempted the Islands called Cyclades, which lay in the mid-way betweene Asia the lesse, and Greece. For (obtaining those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the Agean Sea; but on the contrarie they might alwayes both relieve themselues in their passage, and shrowd themselues from all suddaine tempests and

To this end they first possess themselves of Samos, secondly, they attempted Naxos: Which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of Delos, of which Apollo was native: Which Island Daring did not onely forbeare to facke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice, to Apollo erected. And having recovered these and other Islands, the Persians directed their course for Eretria in Eubara: for that Citie in Herod. (as already hath beene shewed) had affisted the Ionians at the taking and firing of Sardis. In this Island the Persians tooke ground, and besieged Eretria very straitly, and after fixe dayes affault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of Euphabus and Philagius; they tooke it, fackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus farre the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From Eubwa the Persians past their Armie into Attica, conducted and guided by Hippias, late Prince of Athens, and marching towards it, they encamped at Marathon, in the way from the Sea, where

20 they landed, towards Athens.

CHAP.5. S.8.

The Athenians finding the time arrived, wherein they were to dispute with their owne vertue against Fortune, and to cast lots for their libertie, for their wives, their children, and their lines, put themselves in the best order they could to make resiflance, and withall fent away with speed to the Lasedamonians for succour, imploying in that Negotiation one Phidippides; who paffing through Areadia, encountred in the way a familiar Diuell, which he supposed to be Pan, who willed him to affure the Athenians of victorie, promising that some one of the Gods should be present at the battaile to affift them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. Phidippides at his returne feeing he could not bring with him any present succours 20 from Sparta, yet he thought it greatly auailing to bring newes from the Gods, and promise of affistance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have beene more stirred vp with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solid reason. The Athenians being now left to themselves, with one thousand onely of the Plateans (who having beene formerly defended by the Athenians against the Thebans, did in this extremitie witnesse their thankefulnesse and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their advantage to defend the wals of Athens, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of tenne thousand Athenians, 40 and one thousand of the Plateans. In the end, and after great diversitie of opinions, Miltiades, who perswaded the trial by battaile prenailed. The Armies being now in view, and within a myle of each other, the Athenians disposed themselues into three troupes: two wings or hornes, as they tearme them, and the body of a battaile. The Persians, when they perceived so small a Troope advancing towards them, thought the Athenians rather disposses to their understanding, than possess with the resolution whereof they made hew. So invincible and resistlesse the Persians esteemed their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, fometime the vertue of the Gracians, and 50 sometimes the number of the Persians prevailing, the Gracians fighting for all that they had, the Persians for that they needed not, the legreat forces of Darius were

disordered and put in rout; the Athenians following their victorie even to the Scashore; where the Persians, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage,

faued themselues in their shippes.

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The Perlian Armie confifted of an hundred thousand foot and tenne thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place fixe thousand three hundred, and of the Grecians an hundred fourescore and twelve. For howsoever it came to passe, either by strange visions, which were afterward called Panici terrores, or by some other affright, it seemeth, that the inuading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backes towards their enemie, and lost that number, by Herodotus set downe . in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for 14flines report. That two hundred thousand of the Persian Armie were slaine, the fame hath no apparance nor possibilitie of truth. In this fight Hippias the perswader of the enterprise was flaine, fayth Iustine and Cicero, but Suidas tels vs, That he esca- 10 ped and died most miserably in Lemnos.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast vpon Miltiades, who both perswaded the triall by battaile, and behaued himselfe therein answerably to the counsell which he gaue. Themistocles had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the Gracians, of marke and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were Callimachus and Stesileus. It is also said, That Cynegrus following the Persians to their embarking, layd hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he vet offered to arrest it with his left; of which being also deprined, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeere of the threescore and 20 twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the Warre made by Coriolanus against his fellow-Romanes: Alexander the sonne of Amintas being then King of Macedon. and Phanippus then Gouernour of Athens, according to Plutarch; or Hybilides, af-

This great fray thus parted, and the Persians returned backe into the leffer Asia, Wiltiades lought and obtained an imployment against the Ilanders of Pares. one of the cyclades, and passing over his Companies in threescore and tenne Gallies, after fixe and twentie dayes affault he brake his thigh, in feeking to enter it by the Temple of Ceres, wherewith himselfe being made vnable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to Athens; where those vngratefull Citizens forget- 30 ting all his services past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of Marathon, did by the perswasion of Xantippus, the father of Pericles (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weake and wounded body being notable to endure the one, nor his effate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which enuie of the better fort to each other, with their private Factions, affifted by the vnthankfull and witleffe people, brought them, not many vecres after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subjection and slauerie. Miltiades left behind him one fonne called Cymon, begotten on Hegisipila, daughter of Olorus King of Thrace, who (faith Plutarch) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to 40 Themsflocles in vnderstanding, but exceeded them both in justice and good go-

Now Darius taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than forrow for the losse received in Greece, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike prouisions. But the Agyptians revolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the reinvasion of Greece. The diffensionalso among his sonnes; of whom, the yonger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as Atosa, disdained to give place to his elder brother, borne before Darius obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations 50 and enterprises, and joyned him to the earth of his auncestors, about a veere after the battaile of Marathon, and after that he had raigned fixe and thirty yeres. He left behind him fine sonnes, namely Artabasanes, born before heobtained the kingdome, Kernes who succeeded him, Achemenes gouernor of Ægypt, Massles and Anabignes.

CHAP. VI.

Of XERXES.

ð. I.

The preparation of XERXES against Greece.



CHAP. 6. S.I.

ERXES received from his father, as hereditaric, a double Warre; one to be made against the Agyptians, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the Gracians; of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the successe ridiculous. In the confultation for the profecution of this Warre, which was chiefely bent against the Athenians, the Princes of Persia were divided in opinion. Mardonius, who had formerly commaunded in Thrace and Macedon,

under Darius, and had also Hylaspes for his grandfather, as Xerxes had, and married Xerxes his fifter Artozoftres, perswaded by many arguments the European warre. But Artabanus, brother to the late Darius, and vncle to Xerxes, maintained the contrarie counfell, laying before Xerxes the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late invalions, which Darius had made contrarie to his counsell: The one in person voon the Sevthians, the other by his Lieutenants voon the Greekes; in each of which Darius left to his enemies both his Armie and his honour.

Hetherefore besought Xerxes to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himfelfe in this bufineffe. For whatfoeuer vndertaking hath deliberate and found counfell for conductor, though the fuccesse doe not alwayes answere the probabilitie, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variablenesse of her owne nature, which only the divine Providence, and not any humane power, can constraine.

But so obstinate was the resolution of Xernes in prosecution of his former intent. that Artabanus, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which hee made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion & counsell) affisted the Gracian Expedition with all the 40 power he had.

After the Warre of £grpt was ended, fourc yeeres were confumed in describing and gathering an Armie for this inualion : which being compounded of all Nations subject to the Persian Empire, consisted of seventeene hundred thousand foot, Her. in: and eightie thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleeve Herodotius: for of this multitude, Trogus findes the numberleffe by scuen hundred thousand footmen.

The Commaunders of the scucrall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of Persia, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commaundements of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of 50 their owne leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on Mardonius, the sonne of Gobryas by a fifter of Darius, to whom were joyned some others of Xerxes his neerest kindred, as Generals ouer all; fauing that the charge of tenne thouland select Persandicalled the immortall Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died

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CHAP.6. S.2.

derstanding.

or were flaine, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was given to Hydarnes; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sonnes of Datis, who commaunded the late Armie of Darius in Greece.

The Fleet of Gallies were two thousand two hundred and eight, furnished by the Phanicians, who had Commaunders of their owne Nation, and by the Cypriotes. Cilicians, Pamphilians, Lycians, Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Eolians, and Hellespontines; who were trufted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commaunded by the Princes of Persia, as by Ariabignes the sonne of Darius, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies furnished by Artemisia, the daughter of Lygdames, Princesse of Halycarnassus, 10 and the Islands adioyning, which her selfe commaunded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of Zidon, in which Xerxes himselfe was imbarked.

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ð. II.

XERXES Armie entertained by PYTHIVS: His cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent : his bridge of Boates over the Hellespont : and the discourse betweene him and ARTABANVSUR. on the view of his Armie.



Hen this world of an Armie was throughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their Rendez-vous and repaire at Sardis in Lydia. And when hee had affembled to the number of seventeene hundred thousand foot, as he entred the body of Celenas, he was by one Pythius the Lydian entertained, who out

of his Flocks and Heards of Cattell gaue food to Xerxes and his whole Armie. The Feast ended, hee also presented him with two thousand Talents of silver, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting seuen thousand of the Persian Darici, which make so many of our markes.

The King ouercome with the exceeding liberalitie of Pythus, did not only refuse his treasure offered, but commaunded that seuen thousand Dariei should be gipen him to make up his foure Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soone after, when Pyrbius besought him to spare one of his five sonnes from his attendance into Greece (because himselfe was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne sonne) Xerxes most barbaroufly caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commaunding, that the one halfe of his carkaffe should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount Athos, making the same (which the halfe Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of Thrace five Cities, besides the Mountaine and the Chersonesus or Necke of Land it selfe a worke of more offentation than of vse, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough onely for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so seuered from the maine, were Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thy (us, and Cleona.

He also gave order, that a Bridge vpon Boats should be made over the Hellesont 50 betweene Abidus and Seflos, the Sea there having am yle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne as under and diffeuered: wherewith Xerxes being more enraged than discouraged, commaunded those to be flaine that were masters of the worke, and caused fixe hundred threescore and

fourteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industry of the Phanicians was so well anchored to resist both windes blowing into and from the Euxine Sea, as the same being well boorded and rayled. the whole Armie of seventeene hundred thousand foot, and fourescore thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past ouer it into Europe in seuen daies and feuen nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did Celar afterward vie. And Caligula that mad Emperour, in imitation of Xernes his Bridge, did build the like.

of the Historie of the World.

The Bridge finished, and the Armie brought nevre to the Sea side, Xerxes tooke 10 a view of all his Troupes, affembled in the Plaines of Abidus, being carried vp. and feated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adioyning: and after he had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and commaund so many Nations, and so powerfull an Armic and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeeres there should not any one survive of that maruellous multitude; the cause of which sudden change of pathon when he vttered to Artabanus his vncle, Artabanus spake to the King to this effect. That which is more lamentable than the diffolition of this great Troupe within that number of yeeres by the King remembred, is, That the life it felfe which we enjoy is yet more miferable than the end thereof: for in 20 those few daies given vs in the world, there is no man among all these, nor elsewhere, that ever found himselfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleafed himfelfe better with the defire and hope of death, than of living: the incident calamities, diseases, and forrowes whereto mankind is subject, being so many and ineuitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appeare vnto vs ouerlong; to avoide all which, there is neither refuge nor rest but in desired death

With this melancholy discourse, Xerxes being not much pleased, prayed Artabanus not to ouer-cast those ioyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding stil a doubtful conceit, that Artabanus vtterly condemned the 20 invasion of Greece, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, desired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of Greece could not be prosperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good succeffe? Artabanus, notwithstanding that he affured himselfe of the Kings resolution togo on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet he told the King, That there were two things which maruelloully affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he feared, to be most aduerse; to wit, the Seaand the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of fo great a Fleete: infomuch, as if any tempest should arise, all 40 the Continent of Greece could hardly receive them, nor all the Hauens thereof affoord them any fafetic: and therefore when fuch shelter shall be wanting vnto them, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremitie, men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemie, by how much the vnfatiate defire of man to obtain more and more thereof doth leadehim forward: for were there no man found to give refissance, yet the want of meanes to feede fuch an Army, and the Famine, which cannot bee preuented, will without any other violence offered difinable and confume it. By these Arguments Artabanus hoped to have diverted Xernes, not daring perchance 50 to vtter what indeed he most feared; to wit, the ouerthrow of the Armie it selfe both by Sea and Land, which soone after followed. These Cautions were exceeding weightie, if Xerxes his obstinacie had not misprised them. For to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succored by any party, may better fit a Prince profuming on his fortune, than enriched with vn62.

Lib. 3.

derilanding. Such was the enterprise of Philip the second upon England in the veere 1588, who had belike neuer heard of this Counfell of Artabanus to Xerxes, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it was vericlikely, that Xerxes his Armie. which could not have leffe in it than two millions of Soules, befides his beaftes for Service and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vsing Machianels words, Mourire sans cousteo; die without a knife. For it was impossible for Greece, being a ragged, strait and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (besides what serued them (clues) for twenty hundred thou fand strangers, whom they never means to entertaine but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withall 10 what socuer they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may believe Heradotus, the Armic of Xerxes, being reviewed at Thermopyla, confifted of five millions, two hundred eightie three thousand, two hundred twentic men, besides Laundresfes, Harlots and Horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of xerxes his answere was, That it was impossible to prouide for all things; and that who focuer should enterprise any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be objected of accidentall inconveniences, hee should never pursue the same farther, than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecesfors, the Persian Kings, had done, they had never growne to that greatnesse, or posfest so many Kingdomes and Nations as now they did, and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were neuer undertaken without great perils. Which resolu- 20 tion of Xerxes was not to be condemned, if any necessity had enforst him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which hee already commaunded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperity of the Persians endured, and that Greece was separated by the Sea from the rest of Xerxes Dominions (of whose resolution his father Darius had made a deare experience) the fruit of this warre was answerable to the plantation. and the successe and end ab Weable to the weake counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owne iudgement not sufficient (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of Thrace 30 and Macedon) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the Greekes by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wifely faid of those vncountable multitudes: Non vires habent sed pondus, & impedimenta potius sunt quam auxilium. They are great in bulke, but weake in force, and rather a luggage than an aide.

Besides, as it was impossible to marshal such a world of men in one Armic, so the divers Nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion among the Perfian commaunders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of Babel, when they came to worke. Whereas if Xerxes had of his five millions compounded tenne Armies of fiftie thousand chosen souldiors in each, and sent them yeerely into 40 Greece well victualed and furnished, he had evther prevayled by the sword, or forst them to forfake their territorie, or brought them in obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be relified. But while Xerxes, resoluted to cut down the bankes of Greece, and to let in a sea of men vpon them, he was deceived both in his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the Greekes, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himselfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into Asia. A great part of his Armie was buried in Greece: the remainder wherof, which wintred in Thessalie, and led by Mardonius, who perswaded the Enterprise, was in the Summer following vtterly defeated, and himselfe slaine.

ð. III.

#### ð. III. Of the fights at Thermopyla and Artemisium.



CHAP.6. S.3.

Fter such time as Xerxes had transported his Armie over the Hellefont, and landed in Thrace, (leaving the description of his passage a. longst that Coast, and how the River of Liffus was drunke drie by his multitudes, and the Lake neere to Piffyrus by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards Greece) I will speake of the encoun-

ters he had, and the shamefull and incredible ouerthrowes which he received: As first at Thermopyla, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying betweene the Mountaines which divide Thessalie from Greece, where sometime the Phocians had rayled a wall with gates, which was then forthe most part ruined. At this entrance Leonidas, one of the Kings of Sparta, with three hundred Lacedamonians, affifted with one thousand Tegeate and Mantineans, one thousand Arcadians, and other Peloponnesians, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole, besides one thousand Phocians, foure hundred Thebans, seven hundred Thespians, and all the forces (fuch as they were ) of the bordering Locrium, defended the passage two whole daies together against that huge Armie of the Persians. The valour of the 20 Greekes appeared fo excellent in this defence, that in the first dayes fight, Xerxes is faid to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Armie by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had veterly despised : and when the second dayes attempt vpon the Greekes had prooued vaine . hee was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might have continued. had not a run agate Gracian taught him a secret way, by which part of his Armie might ascend the ledge of Mountaines, and set vpon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the Persian Armie had almost inclosed the small forces of the Greekes, then did Leonidas, King of the Lacedamonians, with his three hundred, and seuen hundred Thespians, which were all that abode by him, 20 refuse to quit the place which they had vindertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely relift that world of men which charged them on all fides: but iffuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well bee called vanquishers, though all of them were slaine vpon the place. Xerxes having lost in this last fight, together with twentic thousand other Souldiers and Captaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of fuch as had not beene present at these battailes, with whome hee knew that hee shortly was to deale. Especially of the Spartans he stood in great feare, whose manhood had appeared singular in this tryall, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring in-40 to the field. It is reported of Dieneces the Spartan, that when one thought to haue terrified him by faying, That the flight of the Persian arrowes was so thicke as would hide the Sunne: he answered thus; It is very good newes: for then shall we fight in the coole shade.

Such notable resolution having as freely beene expressed in deedes, as it was vttered in words, caused the Persian to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of Sparta could arme well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other Lacedemonians, though inferiour to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsell of Demaratus, a banished King of the Spartans, who had alwaies well aduised and instructed him in the things of Greece, what course 50 were fittest to bee taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of Demaratus was, That all the Land-forces would affemble together to defend the Isthmus, that ftraight necke of ground which joyneth Peloponne fus to the Continent. For which cause he aduised, That three hundred shippes well manned should be sent unto the Coast of Laconia, to spoyle the Countrie, and to hold the Lacedamonians and their

neighbours busied at home; whileit Xerxes at his leasure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power vponthem, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same Demaratus further aduised, that the said fleet of three hundred ships should seize vpon the Iland then called Cythera, now Cerigo, which lying neere to the Coast of L'aconia, might serue as a fit place of Rendez vous vpon all occasions either of their own defence or endamaging the enemie: whereby that ancient speech of Chilon the Lacedemonian should be verified, that it were better for his Countrie-men to have that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might have taken had it been followed it is not easie to 10 guesse. But a contrarie opinion of Achemenes brother to King Xerxes was preferred as the fafer. For the Persian fleet had bin forely vexed with a gricuous tempest which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were lost vpon the coast of Magnesia foure hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as Artabanus had foreseene, that if any such calamity should ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them succour. Therefore Achemenes perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet; for if (laid he) after the losse of foure hundred thippes we shall fend away other three hundred to seeke aduentures, then will the Greekes be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the Nauie, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counsel Xerxes yeelded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet should each of them stand the other in good 20 ftead, whilest both held one course, and lay not farre asunder. But herein he was farre deceived; for about the same time that his armie had felt the valour of the Greekes by Land, his Nauie likewise made a sorrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at Sea. The Grecian fleetlay at that time at Artemissium in the straits of Eu. baa, wherethe Persians thinking to incompasse them, sent two hundred sayle about the Iland to fall voon them behind, vling a like strategem to that which their King did practife against Leonidas in a case not vnlike, but with far different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which divideth Eubera from the maine, was in the same sort held by a Nauy of two hundred threescore and eleuen saile against the 30 huge Persian Armada, as the straits of Thermopyla had formerly been maintained by Leonidas, till he was so circumuented as this Nauie might haue been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Iland, and the cause of their voiage, was too well knowne in the Persian fleete, and soone enough disclosed to the Greekes, who setting faile by night, met them with a counter-sur-

the Greekes, who readily did present them battell at Artemisium. The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall loffe to both parts. For though more of the Persians ships were sunke and taken, yet the lesser loffe fell altogether as heavie vpon the Greekifb fleet, which being small could worse beare it. Herein onely the Barbarians may seeme to have had the worse, that they for sooke the place of fight, leaving the wracke and spoyles to the enemic, who neuerthelesse were faine to abandon presently even the passage which they had vn- 50 dertaken to defend, both for that many of their ships were forely crusht in the battaile, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of Leonidas at Thermopyle. Before they waied anchors, Themislosles general of the Athenians engraved vpon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the Ionians, that either

prise, taking and finking thirtie veffels, inforcing the rest to take the Sca, where be-

ing ouertaken with foule weather, they were driven vpon the rocks & call alaway.

Gontrariwise, the Nauie of the Greekes was increased by the arrival of fiftie three

Athenian ships, and one Lemnian, which came to their partie in the last fight. As

red up the other to redeeme their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore set-

ting aside their vnfortunate policie, they resolved in plaine fight to repaire their

honour, and casting themselves into the forme of a Crescent, thought so to inclose

these new forces incouraged the one side : so the feare of Xerxes his displaying fire fir-40

they should reuolt vnto the Greekes or stand neutrall; which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the Persians.

#### ð. IIII.

The attempt of XERXES upon APOLLOE's temple: and his taking of Athens.

Hen Xerxes had passed the straites of Thermopyla, he wasted the country of the Phocians, and the regions adioyning: as for the inhabitants, they chose rather to flie, and reserve themselves to a day of battell, than to adventure their lives into his hands, vpon hope of fauing

their wealth by making proffer vnto him of their service. Part of his armie he sent to spoile the temple of Delphi; which was exceeding rich by meanes of many offerings that had there beene made by diners Kings and great personages; Of all which riches it was thought that Xerxes had a better Inuentorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great affondhment that fell vpon the companies which arised at the Temple to have sacked it, and of two 20 Rocks, that breaking from the mount Parnaffus, ouerwhelmed many of the Barbarians, it were peraduenture somewhat superstitious. Yet Herodotus, who lived not long after, faith, That the broken Rocks remained euen to his memorie in the Temple of Minerua, whither they rowled in their fall. And furely this attempt of Xerxes was impious; for seeing hee beleeved that Apollo was a god, hee should not haue dated to entertaine a couetous desire of inriching himselfe by committing sacriledge vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastife his impietie, in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Divel, by that Holy one, who faith, Will aman (poile his gods? and elsewhere; Hath any nation chan- Malace, ; v.8. ged their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and fend to Ke- Ierum. c. 2. v.9,

30 dar, and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things. Now this impietie of 6 10, Xerxes was the more inexculable, for that the Persians alleadged the burning of Cybeles Temple by the Athemans, when they fet fire on the Citie of Sardis in Asia, to be the ground and cause of the waite which they made in burnings of Cities and Temples in Greece. Whereas indeed, in the enterprise against Delphos, this Vizzor of holy and zealous reuenge falling off, discouered the face of couctousnesses on much the more velie, by how much the more themselves had protessed a detestation of the offence which the Athenians had committed in that kind by meere mischance.

The remainder of that which Kerxes did, may be expressed briefly thus: He came to Athens, which finding for saken, he took & burnt the Cittadel & temple which was there-40 in. The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisedome, who litterally interpreting Apollo's Oracle; that Athens should be safein woodden walls, had fortified that place with boords and Palissadoes: too weake to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first affault, that they might have yeelded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainely relied vpon the prophecie: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of Themistocles, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present neede, than fashioning the businesse to words.

Ffff 3

Q. V.

How THEMISTOCLES the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.



66

He Athenians had, before the comming of Xerxes, remooued their wiues and children into Træzene, Ægina,& Salamis, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedome, and the common libertie of Greece. Neuertheleffe, this great zeale, which the Athenians did 10 the of the generall good of their Countrie, was ill requited by the

other Greekes, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at Salamis, whilest they remooued their wives and children out of the Citie. But when the Citic of Athens was taken, it was presently resoluted vpon, that they should forfake the Ile of Salamis, and with-draw the fleet to Isthmus: which neck of land they did purpose to fortifie against the Persians, and so to defend Peloponnessus by Land, and Sea, leaving the rest of Greece, as indefensible, to the furie of the enemic. So should the Ilands of Salamis and Agina have been abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestowed as in places of securitie) have beene giuen ouer into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution Themissocles, Admirall 20 of the Athenian fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the Pelaponnesians were so possessed with searc of losing their owne, which they would not hazard, that no perswasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distreffed friends and Allies. Many remonstrances Themistocles made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemie at Salamis; As first in private vnto Eurybiades the Lacedamonian, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the selfe same feare which made them for sake those coasts of Greece, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to dissener the fleet, and every one of the Confederates to with-draw himselfe to the desence of his owne Citie and estate: Then to the Councell of Warre which Eurybiades vpon this motion 39 did call together (forbearing to obiect what want of courage might worke in them hereaster) he shewed that the fight at Ishmus would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the straights; and that, besides the safeguard of Agina, Megara, and Salamis, they should by abiding, where they then were, sufficiently defend is thouse, which the Barbarians should not so much as once looke vpon, if the Greekes obtained victorie by sea; which they could not so well hope for else where, as in that present place which gaue them fo good advantage. All this would not ferue to retaine the Peloponnessans, of whom one, unworthic of memoric, upbraided Themistocles with the loffe of Athens, blaming Eurybiades for fuffering one to speake in the Councell, that 40 had no Countrie of his owne to inhabite. A baseand shamefull objection it was, to lay as a reprochthat loffe, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate Themistocles, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as availed more than all his former perswasions. Hee told them all plainely, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer Citie, than any Nation of Greece could boaft of; having well-neere two hundred good ships of Warre, the better part of the Gracian fleet, with which it was casse for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselues in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremitie 50 had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a towne in Italie belonging of old to the State of Athens, of which townshee faid an Oracle had fore-told, That the Athenians in processe of time should build it a new, and there (quoth he) will we plant our sclues, leaving vnto you a sorrowful remembrance of my words,

and of your owne vnthankfulnesse. The Peloponnessans hearing thus much began to enter into better consideration of the Athenians, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceived, vpon so weake termes, that they should bee driven to crouch to others; but rather were fuch, as might inforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condescend even to the vttermost of their owne demands.

For the Athenians, when they first embraced that Heroical resolution of leaning their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessitie should inforce them so far, for the preservation of their libertie; did imploy the most of their private wealth. and all the common treafure, in building a great Nauie. By these meanes they ho-12 ped (which accordingly fell out) that no fuch calamitie should be fall them by land, as might not well be counterpoised be great advantages at sea: Knowing well, that a firong fleet would either procure victorie at home, or a secure passage to any other Countries. The other States of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somewhat amend their Nauic. Whereby it came to passe, that, had they been vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetuals sauerie; neither could they hope to be victorious without the affishance of the Athenians, whose forces by sea did equal all theirs together; the whole confisting of more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore these Peloponnesians beginning to suspect their owne condition, which 20 would have stood vpondesperate points, if the fleet of Athens had for saken them; were fome perswaded, by the greater searc of such a bad euent, to forget the leffer. which they had conceived of the Persians; and laying aside their insolent brauerie. they weelded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at Salamis. Palose Hill

How the Persians consulted about giving battaile: and how THEMISTO-CLES by policie held the Greekes to their resolution; with the victorie at Salamis thereupon enfuing.

N the meane season the Persians had entred into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battell to the Greekes, or no. The rest of the Captains giving such aduice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed upon the sight: but Artemista Queene of Halicarnassia, who followed Xerxes to this war in person,

was of contrarie opinion. Her Counfell was, that the King himselfe directly should march toward Peloponnesus, whereby it would come to passe, that the Greeke Nauic (vnable otherwise to continue long at Salamis for want of prouision) should pre-40 fently be diffeuered, and enery one feeking to preserve his owne Citieand goods, they should, being divided, proue vnable to resist him, who had wonne so far vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will bee great in forbearing to giue battell; so on the other side, the danger will bee more (said shee) which wee shall vnder-goe, than any need requireth vs to adventure vpon; and the losse in case it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victory which we defire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is more than they would have done, we fitting still : but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worst, the journey to Peloponnefus is viterly dasht, and many that now declare for vs. will soone revolt vnto the Greekes. Mardonius, whom Xerxes had fent for that purpose to the fleet, related vn-50 to his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, & withall this disagreeing opinion of Artemisia. The King well pleased with her aduice, yet resolved vpon following the more generall, but farre-worse counsaile of the rest; which would questionlesse have beene the same which Artemisis gave, had not feare and flatterie made all the Captaines vtter that, as out of their owne judgement, which

they thought most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeede that Xerxes had entertained a vaine persuasion of much good, that his owne prefence vpon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he incamped upon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the mount Agaleus, which is opposite vnto the He of Salamis, whence at ease hee might safely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to writ: downe the acts and behaviour of every Captaine. The necre approch of the Barbarians, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countrimen shewed in fortifying the Isthmus, and of a Persian Armie, marching a-pace thither, did now againe fo terrifie and amaze the Peloponnesians, that no intreatie, nor 10 contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madnesset o fight for a Countrey alreadie lost, when they rather should endeuour to faue that which remained vinconquered; propounding chiefly to themselues what miserie would befall them, if losing the victorie, they should be driven into Salamis.

there to be shut vp, and besieged round in a poore desolate Iland. Hereupon they resolued forth-with to set saile for Isthmus: which had presently beene done, if the wisedome of Themistocles had not preuented it. For he perceiving what a violent feare had stopt vp their eares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, & forth-with labour to preuent the execution of this vnwholsome decree; not suffering the very houre of performance to find him busic in wrangling 20 altercation. As soone as the Councell brake up, hee dispatched secretly a truffie Gentleman to the Persian Captaines, informing them truely of the intended flight, and exhorting them to fend part of their Nauie about the Iland, which incomparfing the Greekes, might preuent their escape; guing them withall a false hope of his affiltance. The Perstans no sooner heard than beleeued these good newes, well knowing that the victoric was their owne affured, if the Athenian fleet io yned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Citic, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the Greekes very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they 30 found themselues inclosed round with Persians, who had laboured hard all night, fending many of their ships about the Ile of Salamis, to charge the enemic in reare, and landing many of their men in the Isle of Pfyttalea, which lyeth ouer-against &alamis, to faue such of their owne, and kill such of the Gracian partie, as by any misfortune should be cast vpon the shore. Thus did meere necessitie enforce the Gracians to undertake the battaile in the Straights of Salamis, where they obtained a memorable victorie, stemming the formost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conveniently fight nor flie. I do not finde any particular occurrances in this great battaile to be much remarkable. Sure it is that the Scribes of Xerxes had a wearisome taske of writing downe many 40 disasters that befell the Persian fleet, which ill acquited it selfe that day, doing no one peece of seruice worthic the presence of their King, or the registring of his Notaries. As for the Greekes, they might wel seeme to have wrought out that victorie with equal courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of Azina, and to the Athenians, of whom it is recorded, That when the Barbarians did flie towards Phalerus, where the Land-armie of Xerxes lay, the ships of Agina having possessed the Straights, did sinke or take them, whilest the Athenians did valiantly give charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of relifting. 50

VII.
 Of things following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of XERXES.



Fter this victorie, the Greekes intending by way of secutinic, to determine which of the Captaines had best merited of them, in all this great fernice; cuery Captaine, being amottous of task and the first place write downe his owne name, but in the second place as the first place write downe his owne name, but in the second place as

best deserving next vnto himselfe, almost every Suffrage did concur vpon Themislocles. Thus private affection yeelded vnto vertue, assoon as her own turne was ferued. The Persian King, as not amazed with this calamitie, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such tashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discerne his faint heart, through his painted lookes. Especially Mardonius, Author of the warre, began to cast a warie eye vpon his Master, searing lest his counsell should be rewarded according to the euent. Wherefore purpoling rather to adventure his life in pursuite of the victorie, than to cast it away by vnder-going his Princes indignation; he aduised the King to leave vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces he promised to reduce all Greece under the subjection of the Persian Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to footh Xerxes with many faire words; telling him, that the cowardise of those Egyptians, Phanicians, and Cilitians, with others of the like mectall, nothing better than flaues, who had so ill be haved themselves in the late Seaferuice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies been victorious, and had alreadie subdued the better part of Greece, yeataken Athens it selfe, against which the Warre was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who presently betooke himselfe to his journey homewards, making the more hafte, for that he vnderstood, how the Greekes had a purpose to saile to Hellespont, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the Greekes had no such intent, but rather wished his hastie departure, knowing that hee would leave his Armie not so strong, as it should have beene, had 30 hein person remained with it. And for this cause did Eurybiades give counsel, that by no meanes they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessitie should inforce the Persians to take courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore Themistocles did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement to this timorous Prince, advising him to convay himselfe into Asia with all speed, before his bridge were dissoluted: which counsell Xerxes tooke verie kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that hee found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into Asia; or whether it were torne in sunder by tempests, and he thereby driven to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessel, 40 it is not greatly materiall; though the Greekes did most willingly imbrace the later of these reports. How soener it were, this flight of his did well case the Countrie; that was therby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locusts, had before ouerwhelmedit.

The negotiations betweene MARDONIVS and the Athenians, as also betweene the Athenians and Lacedamonians; after the flight of XERXES.



ARDONIVS with his three hundred thouland had withdrawn himfelfe into Thessaler, whence he sent Alexander, the sonne of Amyntas King of Macedon, as Embassadour to the Athenians, with promise of large amends for all their losses received; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne defires; allowing them to retaine their

their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with Xerxes, and affift him in that

The Athenians had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought backe their wines and children; for as much as they well perceined that the place could not be secure, till the Armie of Mardonius were broken and defeated. Wherefore the Lacedemonians, understanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, lest bee should finde good and ready acceptance. Hercupon, they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadours for Athens, who arriving, before the Macedonian had audience, vied the best of their perswasion to retaine the Athenians firme. They alleadged, that neither Xerxes 10 nor Darius had any pretence of Warre against the rest of Greece, but had onely threatned the subuersion of Athens, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the Athenians without much crueltie of injustice could not leave them. Weeknow, said they, that yee haue indured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forsake the Towne, the houses whereof beeruined, and vnfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintaine as our owne, your wines and children amongst vs, as long as the war shall continue, hoping that yee, who have alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all Greece into flauerie and bondage. As for the Barbarians, their promiles are large, but their words and oathes are of no affurance. It was needleffe to vie many argu- 20 ments to the Athenians, who gave answere to Alexander in presence of the Spartan Embassadours; That whilest the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to Xerxes, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might feek to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wines and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselues, only desiring the Lacedemonians, that with all speede they would cause their Armie to march, for as much as it was not likely, that Mardonius would long fit still in Thessalie, having once received such a peremptorie answere. In this their opinion of Mardonius his readinesse to inuade Attica, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as 20 foone as Alexander had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did foorthwith leade his Armie towards them, and their Citie: they having now the second time quitted it, and conueyed themselues into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arrivall of their Confederates.

From Athens he sent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was that either the people, wearied with forfaking their houses so often, would be desirous to presente them from fire, and to have those which were alreadie laid waste, reedified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection took no place with them, but that needes they 40 would relie vpon their old Consederates, whose succours did very slowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might bee wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects if they should faile, the destruction of Athens would be a good meane to please his Master, King Xerxes, who must thereby needes understand, that Mardonius kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of Greece, in the strongest part of their owne Countrie. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the Athenians so little regarded his offers, that when one Lycidas, or (as Demosthenes calls him) Cyrcilus, aduised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propound them to the people; all the Senators, and as many as abiding without the Counsaile-house heard what he had said, immediate 50 ly set vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were searcor money, that had mooued him to vtter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of Athens, in the Ile of Salamis, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together, did enter his house there, & put his wife and children to the like execution.

All this brauerie notwithstanding, when they perceyued the slacknesse of the Pelaponnesians in giuing them aide, they were faine to betake themselves to Salamis againe, the old place of their securitie. Remaining there, and seeing little forward. nesse in those whom it most concerned to affish them, they sent verie seuere messages to Sparta, complaining of their flacknes, & threatning withal, to take such course as might stand best with their owne good, seeing that the common estate of all was fo little regarded. These messensers were at the first entertained with dilatorie anfweres, which every day grew colder, when as the Peloponne stan Wall, builded athwart the Ishmus, was almost finished. But as the Lacedamonians waxed carelesse 10 and dull, so the Athenians hotely pressed them to a quicke resolution, giving them plainely to vinderstand, that if they should hold on in those dilatorie courses, it would not be long ere the Citie of Athens tooke a new course, that should little please them. All this while the Persian fleet lay vpon the coast of Asia, not daring todraw neerer vnto Greece, as being now too weake at Sea. Likewise the Greekish Nauie contained it selfe within the Harbours vpon Europe side; both to doe service where neede should require at home; and withall to shunne the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest, had adventured ouer far. So mutuall feare preserved in quiet the Ilands lying in the niddest of the Ægean Seas. But it was well and seasonably observed by a Counseirous of 20 Sparta, that the wall vpon Isthmus would serue to little purpose for the defence of Peloponnesus, if once the Athenians gauc eare to Mardonius : considering that many dores would be opened into that Demic-Iland, as soone as the Enemic should by winning the friendship of Athens, become the Master of the Seas about it. The Lacedamonians upon this admonition, making better perufall of their own dangers. were very careful to give satisfaction to the Athenian Embassadors, who not brooking their delaies, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away fine thousand Spartans in the enening, vnder conduct of Paufanias; they gave audience the next day to the Embassadours, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesses. 20 deeply swearing that the Armie of Sparta was already farre upon the journey; and

adiovning to follow after them: The Athenians, though distasting such want of gravitie, in a matter so important, were neuerthelesse contented with the finall conclusion; and leaving the number appointed of Lacedamonian Souldiers, made what haste they could to incampe in Attica. The other Gracians were nothing flacke in fending forth Companies, whose neere approch caused Mardonius to forsake Attica as a rough Country, and therefore of much disaduantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he busnt the Citie of Athens, beating downe the wals of it, and rui-40 ning all that had formerly escaped the fury of Warre.

giving them leave to take vp other five thousand Lacedamonians, out of the Region

#### ð. IX.\*

#### The great battaile of Platea.

T were too long a rehearfall to shew all that hapned in many skirmilhes betweene the Greekes and him, in the Countrie of Bactia, which Mardonius had chosen to bee the seate of that Warre. Much which Mardonius had chosen to bee the leate or that warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by trial of one maine battaile: for both parties did stand vpon their guard, each expecting

when the other should assaile them.

The Armie of Mardonius contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of Xerxes his Armie; to whom were adio yied the forces of Thebes, Macedonie, The sfalie, and other parts of Greece, that now siding with the Persian, furnished

furnished his Campe with tiftie thouland men. Against these the Lacedamonians, Athenians, and their Confederates, had leavied an Armie of one hundred and ten thousand, of which fortie thousand were waightily armed, the rest were only affifants to these fortiethousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excurfions and give chase, than to sustaine any strong charges.

These two Armies having eleven daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of seruice; Mardonius, whose victualls beganne to faile, resolued to begin the fray. The Greekes were promised victorie by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the Athenians, and in the plaine of Ceres & Proferpina, making prayers vnto certaine gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to 10 finde the certaine place which the Oracle deligned. For the plaine of Ceres was indeede in the Territorie of Athens; but there was also an old Temple of Ceres and Proferpina, necrevnto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewife the memorialls of those Nymphs, and Demi-gods, were in the same place, vpon Mount Citheren, and the ground ferued well for foot-men against horse; onely the Land belonged vnto the Plateans, and not vnto the Athenians.

Whilest the Greekes were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull Oracle; the Plateans, to make all cleere, did freely bestow their land on that side the

Towne vpon the Athenians.

This magnificence of the Plateans caused Alexander the Great, many ages after,

to reedifie their Citic, which was ruined in the Peloponnesian warres.

All things being readie for battaile; the Lacedamonian Generall thought it most mecte, that the Athenians should stand opposite that day to the Medes and Persians, whom they had formerly vanquished at Marathon; and that he, with his Spartans, should entertaine the Thebans and other Greekes which followed Mardonius, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed upon, the Athenians changed place with the Lacedamonians; which Mardonius vnderstanding (whether fearing the Athenians, of whose valour the Medes and Persians had felt heavie proofe, or desiring to encounter the Spartans, as thinking them the braueft Souldiers of Greece) hee did also change the order of his 30 battaile, and oppose himselfe to Pausanias. All the Greekes might well perceive how the Enemie did shift his wings, and Paulanias thereupon returned to his former Station; which Mardonius noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the Persians made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the Greekes at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselues, and none to the enemie, lie neere to that Fountaine which did serue all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Armie being sent away before day-light: Mar donius perceiued their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which 40 to him seemed to proceede out of meere cowardise) he charged them in reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valor, That the Lacedamonians being ouer-taken by the Enemies horse, and ouer-whelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly fit stil, not making any relistance or defence, til the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slaine, and some of especiall marke lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as Pausanias had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superflition of that Age and Countrie accounted fortunate; hee gaue the Signall of battaile: and therevpon the Souldiers, who till then did sit vpon the ground, as was 10 their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the Barbarians, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of such notable relistance. The rest of the Greeke Armie that was in march, being renoked by Pau-Sanias, came in a-pace to succour the Lacedamonians : onely that part of the Armie

which was led by the Athenians, could not arrive vnto the place of the great battaile, because the Thebans, and other Greeks confederated with the Perfions, gaue them checke by the way. Neuertheleffe, the Spartans with other their Affiflants, did fo well acquite themselves, that the Persians were vanquished, and Mardonius with many thousands more flaine in the field; the rest fledde into the Campe, which they had fortified with woodden walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessitie inforced them vnto, holding out the longer, because the Lecedemonians were not acquainted with the manner of asfaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the meane season, the Athenians having found to firong opposition of the Thebans and The falians, did with much labour and courage obtaine victorie, which having not long pursued, they came to helpe the Lasedamonians, whom they found wearily bufied in affaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they them selves under-tooke it, and in short space forced a passage through the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the Greekes entred with such furie, and just defire of vengeance, that of three hundred thoufand they are faid not to have left three thouland alive, excepting those who fled away with Artabazus, when the Persian Armie first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolish retrait, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were so, that the 20 place was well fortified, and the number of those who call themselves into it, greaterthan of the Assailants; yet they being of seuerall Nations and Languages, and having lost their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was vnpossible that they in such a terrour and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemie Countrie, against an Armic of men, farre more valiant then themselves, and enflamed with present victorie. Therefore the fame wall which for a few houres had preserved their lives, by holding out the Enemie, did now impale them, and leave them to the flaughtering furie of vnpittifull Victors. Artabazus fled into Thrace, telling the people of Thessalie, and other Countries in his way, that hee was fent by Mardonius vpon some piece of scruice: 30 For hee well knew, that had they vnderstood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would have been hostile vnto him, and sought with his ruine to purchase fauour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and loft, hee came to Byzantium, whence hee shipped his men ouer into Asia. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vnder-taken by Xerxes against the Greekes, vpon hope of honour, and great Conquest, though sorting otherwise, accordingly as Artabazus had fore-seene, and rather worse, for as much as it began the quarrell, which never ended, before the ruine of the Persian Empire was effected by that Nation of the Greekes, despised and fought to have beene brought into flauerie. Hereby it may feeme, that the vi-49 from appearing to Xerxes, was from God himselfe, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subuersion of the Persian Monarchie by the Greekes, who, thus prouoked, entred into greater confideration of their owne strength, and the weakenesse of their Enemics.

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ò. X.

The battaile of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the

He same day on which the battaile was fought at Platae, there was another battaile fought at Mycale, a Promontorie, or Head-land in Asia, where the Persian fleet rode.

Leutychides the Spartan, with Xantippus the Athenian, Admiralls of 10 the Greeke Nauic, at the request of some Handers and Ionians, did faile into those parts, to deliuer the Samians, and procure the Ionians to reuolt from the Persian. Xerxes himselfe at this time lay at Sardis, a Citie in Lydia, not farre from the Sca-fide having left threefcore thou fand under the command of Tieranes for desence of Ionia and the Sea-coast. Therefore when Artayntes and Ithramitres, Admiralls of the Persian fleet, vnderstood that the Greekes bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a-ground, fortifying with Palissadoes and otherwise, as much ground as did seem needfull for the encamping of al their Land and Sea-forces. Leutychides at his arrivall, perceiving that they meant to keepe within their strength, and resoluing to force them out of it, rowed with his Gallie 20 close aboord the shore, and called vpon the Ionians (who more for scare then good wil were encamped among the Persians) exhorting them in the Greeke tongue to remember libertic, and vie the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it. Herein he did imitate Themistocles, who had done the like at Eubæa; trusting that either these perswasions would preuaile; or if the Persians did happen to understand them, that it would breed some ielousie in them, causing them to fight in seare of their owne Companions. It neede not seeme strange, that this very same stratageme, which little or nothing availed Themistocles, did now very happily succeede. For Xerxes being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficultie, to perswade those Inhabitants of Asia to revolt; who now, in his declining estate, gauca willing 20 eare to the sweet found of libertie. The Persians likewise, who in their former brauerie, little regarded and leffe feared any treason, to be contriued by their Subjects, were now so warie, that from the Samians which were amongst them, they tooke away their armes; the Milesians, whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed farre from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of Mycale; pretending that these Milesians did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the Samians perceiving that they were held as Traitors, tooke courage in the heate of the fight, and laying hold vpon such weapons as came to hand, affailed the Persians manfully within the Campe; which example the Ionians presently followed, being very glad to have found some that 40 durst beginne. It is said that while the Greeks were yet in a march towards the Encmies campe, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Armie, that Mardonius was ouerthrowne in Greece, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of Plataa was fought in the morning, and this of Mycale in the evening of the same day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein Paulus Amylius ouerthrew Perleus the last king of Macedon, was brought to Rome in foure daics, as Liuie with others doe record. And Plutarch hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the River Sagra in Italie, which was heard of the same day in Peloponnesus: That of the battaile against the Tarquinians and the Latines, presently 50 noised at Rome: And (which is most remarkable) the victorie obtained against Lucins Antonius, who was Rebell to Domitian the Emperour. This Lucius Antonius being Lieutenant of the higher Germanie, had corrupted his Armie with gifts and promifes,

promifes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himselfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the Citie of Rome, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was fuddainely reported that Antonius was flaine, and his

Armie defeated. Hereupon many did offer facrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publique iov, as in luch cases was accultomed. But when better inquirie was made, and the Author of these tidings could not be found; the Emperour Domitian betooke himselfe to his journey against the Rebell; and being with his Armie in march, hee receiued aduertisement by Poste, of the Victorie obtained, and the death of An-10 tonius: whereupon remembring the rumour noised before in Rome, of the selfesame victorie, hee found that the report and victorie were borne vpon one day. though twentie thousand furlongs (which make about five and twenty hundred miles) a-funder. It is truely faid of Plutarch, that this last example gives credit vnto many the like. And indeede it were very strange, if among so many rumours. begotten by forgerie or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination. there should not be found (as happens in dreames among many thousand vaine and friuolous) a fewe precisely true. Howbeit wee may finde, that God himselfe doth fometimes vse to terrifie those who presume vpon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noises; as hee raised the siege of Samaria, by causing a 20 found of Horses and Chariots to affright the Aramites; and as he threatned Senacherib, faying: Behold, I will fend a blast upon him, and hee shall heare a noise, and re- Esay.c.37.v.j. turne to his owne Land. Wherefore it may well have beene true, that God was pleafed by fuch a meane as this, to animate the Greekes; who (as Herodotus notes) went towards the Enemies with heavie hearts, being in great feare, lest their owne aduenture should by no meanes fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their Countrie of Greece, which was readie to be subdued by Mardonius, whilest they went wandring to seeke out enemies a far-off, vpon the coast of Asia. But the fame of the battaile fought at Platee being noised among them; every man defired that his owne valour in the present fight, might be some helpe to worke out the 30 full deliverance of Greece. In this alacritic of spirit, they divided themselves into two Battalions, whereof the Athenians led the one, by the way of the plaine, directlytowards the enemies campe; the Lacedemonians conducted the other, by the Mountaines and straight passages, to winne the higher ground. The Athenians did first fet vpon the Campe (ere the Lacedamonians could arrise on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly affaultit, that they brake way through the Palissadoes and Gabions, and made themselues Masters of the place, slaying all that could not saue themselues by flight. In this fight the Samians did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the Miletians, who vpon the like icaloulie, were placed by the Persians on 40 the tops of Mycale, to defend the passages; did now (as if they had beene set of purpose to keepe them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except a very few, that fled through by-pathes. The Lucedamonians that day did little service, for the businesse was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke fuch companies as retyred in whole troups; making them flie dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the Milesians were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the last fight of that huge Armie leavied against Greece, which was now vtterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offensiue Warre.

è. XI.

Of the barbarous qualitie of XERXES: with a transition from the Persian affaires to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthic of regard.

ERXES lay at Sardis, not farre from the place of this battaile; but

little minde had hee to reuenge either this or other his great loffes, to being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom when he could not preuaile by intreatie, nor would obtaine his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her husband, hee thought it best to make a match betweene his owne Sonne Darius, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that meanes to finde occasion of such familiaritie as might worke out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastitic of the Mother did still reiech him, or the beauty of her Daughter allure him; he soone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as illable to gouerne himselse in peace, as to guide his Armie in Warre. This yong Ladie hauing once desired the King to give her the Garment which hee 20 then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; caused the Queene thereby to perceiucher husbands conuersation with her, which shee imputed not so much to the beautie of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon shee conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant their request, shee craued that the Wife of Massiles, her husbands Brother, the yong Ladies Mother, might bee giuen into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the abuse of such a custome, or have deluded the importunate crueltie of his Wife, by threatning her selfe with the like, to whatsoener shee should inflict upon the innocent Ladie, granted the request; and sending for 30 his brother, perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that hee vnderstood how villainously that poore Ladie should be intreated, whom hee knew to bee vertuous, and whom himselfe had loued. Massifes refused to put her away; alleaging his owneloue, herdeseruing, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to mooue him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner Xerxes reuiled him; faying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which hee had, nor have his Daughter whom hee had promised vnto him. Massistes was much grieued with these wordes, but much more, when returning home, hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by 40 the Queene Amestris, who had caused her Nose, Lippes, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Brests in like manner, which were cast vnto Dogges. Mais enraged with this vilanie, tooke his way with his children, and some Friends, towards Bactria, of which Province hee was Governour, intending to rebell and auenge himselse. But Xerxes vnderstanding his purpose, caused an Armie to bee leavied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the fword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the Persian Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxurie, when it is ioyned with absolute

Yet of Xerxes it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore 50 Alexander the Great, finding an Image of his over-throwne, and lying vpon the ground, said, That hee doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee should again erect it, or, for the mischiese done by him to Greec, should let it lie.

But furely whatfocuer his other good qualities were, he was foolith, and was a coward, and confequently mercileffe.

CHAP. 6.S.11. of the Historie of the World.

Therefore wee may firmely beleeue, that the vertue of Cyrus was very great, vpon which the foundation of the Persian Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of Xerxes, and other worse Princes, could not ouerth ow it, vntill it was broken by a vertue almost equall to that which did establish it. In warres against the Asyptians, the fortune of Xerxes did continue, as at the first it had beene very good; but against the generall estate of Greece, neither hee, nor any of his posteritie, did euer make offensiue warre, but received many losses in Asa, to which the last at Mycale served but as an introduction; teaching the Greekes, and especially the Athenians, that the Persian was no better Souldier at his owne dores, than in a forraine Countrie: whereofgood triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as soone as the affaires of Athens were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the Historic of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* estate continued in her greatnesse, many Ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Maicstie of a great Empire.

Dut this greatnesse depended only upon the riches and power that had formerly been eacquired, yeelding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxurie, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that ever were, have been encruated, made unweldie, and (as it were) fattened for the hungrie swords of poore and hardie Enemies. Hereby it came to passe, that xernes and his successors were faine to defend their Crownes with money and base policies; very seldome or never (unlesse it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation of Greece, which would soone have ruined the foundations laid by Cyrus, had not private malice and ielousie urged every

Citic to enuie the height of her Neighbours walls, and thereby diuerted the fwords of the Greekes into their owne bowels, which after the departure of Xerxes beganne very well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way of conquest, on the side of

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# CHAP. VII.

# Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

#### è. I.

#### How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



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TER that the Medes and Persians had received their last blow, and were vtterly beaten at Mycale: Leotychides, who then commanded the Gracian Armie, leauing the pursuit of the warre to the Athenians, affisted by the revolted Iones, returned with the Lacedamonians and other Peloponnesians to Sparta and 0- 20 ther places, out of which they had been leavied. The Athenians in the meane while belieged Seftos, a Citie on the strait of the Hellespont, betweene which and Abydus, Xerxes had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not

long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the Greekes, who entertained themselues the Winter sollowing on that side the Hellespont. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, fince the invasion of Attica, and the abandoning of Athens, in divers Islands, and at Troezen, they now found

them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in Athens were burnt and broken downe, and the walls of the Citic ouer-turned, yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to couer themselues, their wives and children, with any private buildings: Whereof the Lacedamonians being aduertised, and misliking the fortifying of Athens, both in respect that their owne Citic of Sparta was vnwalled, as also because the Athenians were growne more powerfull by Sea, than either themselues, or any other State of Greece, they dispatched messengers to the Athenians to dissi wade them; not acknowledging any privat mislike or iclousie, but pretending, that if the Persians should returne to inuade Greece a third time, the Athenians being in no better state to defend themselves than 40 heretofore, the same would serue to receiue their enemies, and to bee made a Seate for the Warre, as Thebes had lately beene. To this the Athenians promifed to give them facisfaction by their owne Embassadors very speedily. But being resolued to goe on with their workes by the aduice of Themistocles, they held the Lacedamonians in hope of the contrarie, till they had rayled their wals to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched Themistocles towards Lacedamon, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliuer the Athenians resolutions, till the arrivall of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the Lacedamonians expectation being converted into ielousie (for by the arrivall of divers persons out of Attica, they were told for certaine, That the walls of Athens were speedily growne vp beyond expectation) Themistocles prayed them not to beleeue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trustie Citizens to Athens, from whose relation they might resolue themselues, and deter-

mine accordingly. Which request being graunted, and Commissioners sent, Themistocles dispatched one of his owne, by whome hee aduised the Athenians, first to entertaine the Lacedamonians with some such discourse as might retaine them a few dayes, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till him lefte and the other -thenian Embassadors, then at Sparta, had their libertie also to returne. Which done. and being also assured by his associates and Aristides, that Athens was already defensible on all parts, Themestoeles demaunding audience, made the Lacedamonians know. That it was true that the wals of Athens were now ray fed to that height, as the Athenians doubted not the defence of their Citie; praying the Lacedemonians to beleeue, That when societ pleased them to treat with the Athenians, they would know them for fuch, as right well vnderstood what appertained to a Commonweale and their owne fafetic, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the warre of Xerxes abandoned their Citie, and committed themselves to the woodden wals of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or perswaded by others: and sinally, in all that perillous warre against the Persians they found their owne judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or leffe fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonweale among the Greekes; And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Judges of their owne affaires, and thought it good 20 reason, that either all the Cities confedered within Greece should be left open, or else that the wals of Athens thould be finished and maintained.

The Lacedemonians finding the time vnfit for quarrell, diffembled their millike, both of the fortifying of Athens, and of the division, and so suffered the Athenians to depart, and received backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The wals of Athens finished, they also fortified the Port Pyreus, by which they

might under couert imbarke themselues upon all occasions.

#### ð. II.

#### The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warres made by that State upon the Persian.



30

He Athenians having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirtie Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the Persians, to which the Lacedamonians added other twentie; and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of Greece confederated, they fet fayle for Cypres, under the conduct of Paufanias the Lacedemonian;

where after their landing having possess themselves of many principall places, they imbarked the Armie againe, and tooke land in Thrace, recouring from the Persians 49 by force the Citie Bizantium, now Constantinople: from whence Pausanias, behaving himselse more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, especially towards the Ionians lately revolted from Xerxes, was called backe by the counfell of Lacedemon, and not onely accused of many insolent behauiors, but of intelligence with the Medes, and Treafon against his Countrey. In his stead they imployed Docres, who either gaue the same cause of offence; or else the Athenians, who affected the first commaundement in that warre, practifed the fouldiors to complaine, though indeed the wife and vertuous behauior of Aristides, Generall of the Athenian forces, a man of rare and incomparable sinceritie, had beeneable to make a good Commaunder seeme ill in comparison of himselfe; and therfore was much more availeable, in rendring those 50 detelled, whose vices affoorded little matter of excuse. Howsocuer it were, the Lacedamonians being no leffe wearie of the warre, than the Athenians were eagre to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honor which they defired: for all the Greekes (those of Peloponnesus excepted) willingly subjected themselues to the commandement of the Athenians, which was both the beginning

of their greatnesse in that present age, and of their ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and beganne to leuie money, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the generall detence of Greece, and for the recovering of those places on Europe side, in Alia the leffe, and the Islands, from the Persians. This tribute (the first that was ever payed by the Greekes) amounted to foure hundred and threefcore Talents; which was rayled easily by the honest care of that just man Aristides, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of Ariftides, and other worthy Citizens, brought vnto 10 the Athenians great commodities so the desire which they conceived of encreasing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall love, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their Citie to the defence of her treafure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long cre these foure hundred & threescore Talents were raysed to fixe hundred, nor long, after that, ere their conctous Tyrannie had connerted their followers into slaves, and extorted from them yeerely thirteene hundred Talents. The Isle of Delos was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these summes were layd vp; and where, at the generall affemblie, the Captaines of those forces, sent by the confederates. were for forme sake called to consultation. But the Athenians, who were stronger 20 by sea than all Greece besides, had lockt vp the common treasure in an Island, under their owne protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commaunder in this Warre was Cimon, the sonne of Miltiades, who first tooke Eiona, vpon the River Strimon; then the Isle of Sciros, inhabited by the Dolopes: they maftered the Cariffy, and brought into servitude the Naxy, contrarie to the forme of the confederacie: So did they other the inbabitants of Greece, if at any time they fayled of their contribution, or disobeyed their commaundements, taking vpon them and vsurping a kind of soueraigne authority ouer the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become 20 Lords of the Sea, and could not be relisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, wearie of the warre in their owne persons, and given vp altogether to their ease, made choise rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in shippes; leaving the provision of both to the Athenians. Heereby the one grew weake in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Warres; the other greatly strengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honourable Seruices, at the cost of those, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, leuied vpon these their consederates, employed so well by the Athenians at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good be- 40 ginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith cimon the Admirall scouring the Asiaticke Seas, tooke in the Citie of Phaselis; which baying formerly pretended neutralitie, and refuled to relieue, or any way affilt the Greekes, were enforced to pay tenne Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the athenians, paying yeerely contribution.

From thence hee fet fayle for the Riner Eurymedon in Pamphylia, where the Persian Fleet rode, being of sixe hundred sayle, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fiftie, and having a great Land-Armic, encamped vpon the shoare; all which forces having beene prouded for advauncing the Kings af 50 faires in Greece, were vtterly defeated in one day, and two hundred thippes taken by the Athenians, the rest being broken to pieces, or sunke, ere ever they had fwomme in the Greekish Seas. Cimon having in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very soone presented with a

third. For fourescore layle of Phanicians (who were the best of all Sea men, vnder the Persian commaund) thinking to have joyned themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arrived vpon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and searing nothing leffe than what enfued. Vpon the first notice of their approach.Cimon weighed anchor, & meeting them at an head-Land, called Hydra, did fo amaze them, that they only fought to runne themselves on ground; by which meane preferuing few of their men, they loft all their shippes. These losses did so breake the courage of the Persian, that, omitting all hope of prenailing vpon Greece, he condifcended to what focuer Articles it pleased the Athenians to propound, graunting li-10 berrie vnto all the Greekes inhabiting Asia; and further covenanting. That none of his shippes of Warre should sayle to the Westward of the Isles, called Cyanea and

This was the most honourable peace that ever the Greekes made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till fuch time as, vnder Alexander, they overthrew the Empire of Persia; in which Warrefew, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great commaund, but ferued altogether under the Macedonians.

#### ð. III.

#### The death of XERXES by the treason of ARTABANVS.

Esides these losses, which could not easily have been erepaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time fuch, as gaue just cause to the Persian of seeking peace vpon any tearmes not altogether into-lerable. For Artabanus, the process of versions and seeking peace vpon any tearmes not altogether into-King his mafter did eafily take small occasions to shead the bloud of fuch, as in kindred or place were neere vnto him, beganne to repose lesse hope of 20 fafetic in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraignetic, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his crueltie, and despised for his cowardise and misfortunes. Having conceived this Treason, he found meanes to execute it by Mithridates an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himselfe had beene innocent) he accused Darius the sonne of Xerxes, and caused him to suffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickednesse he got the Kingdome, and held it feuen moneths; or whether intending the like euill to Artaxerxes the sonne of xerxes, he was by him presented and surprised, it were hard to affirme any certainetie. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken he was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreme torments, according to the fentence, whereof the 40 truth is more anneient than the Verse.

> Raro antecedentem (celestum Deseruit pede pana claudo.

Seldome the villaine, though much haste he make, Lame-footed Vengeance failes to ouer-take.

d. IIII.

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#### ð. IIII.

The banifoment of THEMISTOCLES: His flight to ARTAXERXES newly raigning in Persia; and his death.

R TAXERXES being established in his Kingdome, and having so Compounded with the Athenians, as the present necessitie of his affaires required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the Greekes, than he or his predecessors had ever hitherto found. For 10 the people of Athens, when the Persians were chased out of Greece,

did so highly value their owne merites in that service, that they not onely thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders over many Townes and Islands of the Greekes, but, euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Gouernment than meerely Democraticall. Herein they were fo insolent. that no integritic nor good defert was able to preserve the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the rafcall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deedes to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended Themistocles; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse vpon popularitie, yet 20 now prefuming upon his good feruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reason they might graunt him the libertie to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwife, they were so highly offended with his often rehearling the benefits which they had received from him, that they layed vpon him the punishment of Ostracisme, whereby he was banished for tenne yeeres, as a man ouer-burthensome to the Commonwealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the Lacedamonians, who charged him of consulting with Paulanias, about betraying the whole Countrey of Greece vnto Xerxes. Heercupon Themi-Rocles finding no place of fecuritie against the malice of two such mightic Cities, was 30 driven, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himselfe into Persia; where he found Artaxerxes newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which Artaxerxes had conceived of advauncing his affaires by the counsell and affistance of Themistocles, proved altogether fruitlesse. For when the Athenians, in fauour of Inarus the Lybian, (who infested £gypt, causing it to rebell against the Persian) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in Egypt, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hinderance of Artaxerxes, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with xerxes; then did the King fend his Letters to Themistocles, requiring him to make good the hopes which 40 he had given, of affuring the Persian estate against the Greekes.

But whether Themistocles perceiued much vnlikelinesse of good successe, in leading a great Armie of dastardly Persians against the warlike people of Greece; or else (as in favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to feeke honour by the ruine of it : fureit is othat being appointed by Artaxerxes to vindertake the conductiof great forces against the Athenians, hee decided the great conflict betweene thankfulnesse to his well-deserving Prince, and naturall affection to his owneill-descruing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyfon. 50

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in Agypt.



Hen was Artaxerxes driven to vie the service of his owne Captaines in the Agyptian warre, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemic. An Athenian Fleet of two hundred faile strong was fent forth under Cimon, to take in the Isle of Cyprus: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine.

the Persian being vtterly broken at Sea, and thereby vnable to relieve the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have beene kept fincerely by the Persian, who had made so good proofe of the Gracian valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any shippes of Warre (without which the Greekes could receive no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found fayling towards Greece, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole efface; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemie too farre ouer-matching him. Yet whether the Athenians were 20 in doubt, lest the league which in his owne worser fortunes hee had made with them, he would breake in theirs; and therefore fought to get fuch affurance into their hands, as might veterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great Iland to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wifest way, to take whilest they might, whatsoener they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The 1le of Cypres lying in the bottome of the straights betweene Cilicia, Syria and Ægypt, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselse by trade with those Countries, or to infest one or 30 more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the Athenians, their Ambition which had already denoured, in conceir, this Iland, was on the sodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morsell, to smatch at which, they let Cyprus alone, which they might easily have swallowed and digested. For Inaries King of the Lybians confining Egypt, having found how greatly the Country was exhausted by the late warres, and how weakely defended by very slender Persian garrifons, conceived rightly, that if fuch small forces as the Satrapa or Viceroy could make on the fodaine of his owne Gardes, or leuic out of the ordinarie Garrifons, were by him defeated; the naturalls of the Countrey, not long fince oppressed by Cambys, and after a repolt very lately subdued by Xerxes, would soone breake faith with him who had no other title to that kingdome than a good fword. Further, he perfwaded himselfe that the people, vnable to defend themselves against the Persians without his affiftance; would eafily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for king. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly flaine Achamenes the Viceroy; divers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclayming him king, shewed the most of their endcuour for profecution of the warre. But hee confidering his owne weakenesse, and that the meanes of the Agyptians his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived wel, thatto relist the power of Artaxernes, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price focuer he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the 30 great Athenian fleete, and knowing well the vertue of the fouldiers therein embarqued; he inuited the Commaunders to thate with him the kingdome of £gypt, as

a farre greater reward of their adventure, than such an addition as that of Cyprus could be to their estate. Whether hee orthey (if things had wholy sorted according to their expectation) would have beene contented with an equal share, and

not have tallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination vnnecessarie. Hee was possessed of the peoples love, they were of most power. But the issue of those affaires was such as left them nothing to comunicate but mistortunes, which they thared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopefull successe: For they entred the Land as farre as to Memphis, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfe they tooke two parts: to the thard part, which was called the White wall, they layd such hard siege, that neither those forces of the Persians, which then were in Agype, were strong enough to remove them; neither could Artaxerxes wel denile what meanes to vie for the recovery of that which was loft, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by to fetting the Lacedamonians upon Athens, to enforce the Athenians to looke homewards to their owne defence. This was the first time that the Persian sought to procure alhitance of the Greekes one against the other, by stirring them vp with gold to the entertainement of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemie. To this purpose he sent Megahazus to Sparta with much Treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the Lacedamonians were nothing forward in imploying their whole force against the Athenians, whome in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, not with flanding the absence of their Armie in £gypt; he thought it his wifest way to imploy the rest of his money & meanes to their reliefe, who had now the space of fixe yeeres defended his malters right in 20 Agypt. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of Zopyrus, who arriving in Egypt, was first encountred by the revolted people: over whome he obtained a victoric, which made him master of the Countrey, whilest the Athenians lay busied about Memphis the great Citie. It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supply, had much enseebled the Athenis ans: sure it is, that when Megabazus, having reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the Persians, or want of necessaries made the Athenians inferior to themselues, he chased them out of Memphis, and pursued them so neere, as they were forst to fortifie themselves in the Isle of Prosopites, where Megabazus, after eighteene 30 moneths siege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, assaulted the Athenian without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the fword, saue a few that saued themselves by flight into Lybia; the same entertainement had fiftie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hunwillis, between the out-let cal- dred. For those Athenians having heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie was consumed, entred by the branch of Nilus, called Mendesium, and fell vnawares among the Phanician Gallies and the Persian Armie; so as the Persians recoucred all of Nilus, called Agypt, but that part held by Amyrtem, and Inarus the King of Lybis, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the Athenians fixe yeeres warre in Egypt, the Sea by the and the reward of their vanitie and indifferetion to vndertake many enterprises at 40

Profonites an Iland between the Rivers of Taly and Pharmutiacus.two of the out lets of Nilus.towards Alexandria. Mendelus is an Island in the mouth of led Busiritiens and Diolcos. Butthebranch Citic Panephylis.

Of other Warres made by the Athenians for the most part with good successe, about the same time.



Otwithstanding these overthrowes in Agnot, yet the Athenians in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held thereputation of their forces against the Lacedamonians, Corinthians, and 50 others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neere unto Halia by the Corinthians & Epidaurians, so they ob-

tained two great victories soone after; the one ouer the Peloponnesians, neere vnto Cecryphalia; the other ouer the Aginets, neere vnto Agina; where they funke and carried away threefcore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the suddaine, and besieged Egina, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the Corinthians, to divert them, invaded Megara: where, after a great fight, with equall loffe, the Corinthians, when they returned againe to fet vp their Trophie, as Victors in the former battaile, were vtterly broken and flaughtered by the Athenian Garrisons, and Megarians, to their great loffe and dishonour.

Againe, as the Athenians were discomfitted neere to Tanagra, by the Lacedemonians, who returned from the fuccour of the Dorians against the Phocians, (at which 10 time the The Salian horse-men turned from their Allies the Athenians, and fought against them) so about threescore daies after, the Athenians entred Buotia vnder the conduct of Myronides, where beating that Nation, they wanne Phocis on the gulfe Ceteus, and euened the walls of Tanagra to the ground. Finally, they enforced Agins to render upon most base conditions; as to beat downe the walls of their Citie, and to give them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, norwithfianding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victories they fackt and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of Peleponnesis, belonging to the Laced amonians; wan vpon the Corenthians, and overthrew the Sicronians that came to their fuccour. These were the vindertakings of the Athenians, and 20 their Allies, during the time of those fixe yeeres that a part of their forces made warre in Agypt. In the end whereof they attempted Theffalte, perswaded thereunto by Ozefles, but were refifted by th. King Pharfalus, who had chased Ozefles out of his Dominions. They also landed in Segonia, and had victorie ouer those that resifled, after which they made truce with the Peloponnesians for flue vecres, and sent Cimon into Cyprus with two hundred theps, but they were againe allured by Amyr. tem one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marish & Wooddie parts of Agypt from the Persians, to whom they sent sixtic of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprise of Cyprus, and their fortunate and victorious Leader Cymon dying there, as they coasted the Hand, incountred a fleet of the Pho-30 nicians and Cilicians, oner both which Nations they returned victorious into Greece: as also those returned lafe which were sent into Azypt.

#### ð. VII.

Of ARTAXERNES LONGIMANUS, that he was AHASHVEROSH the husband of Queene HESTER.



Hele Agyptian troubles being ended, the raigne of Artaxernes continued peaceable, wherof the length is by some restrained into twentie yeeres, but the more and better Authors gine him fortie, fome allow voto him foure and fortie. He was a Prince of much humanitie, and noted for many examples of gentlenesse. His fauour was exceeding great to the lewes, as appeareth by the Histories of Esdras and Nehemias, which

To proue that this was the King who gave countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needeleffe trauaile; confidering that all the late Divines have taken very much paine, to shew that those two Prophets were licenfed by him, and fuccoured in that building, in fuch fort as appeares in 50 their writings.

This was likewise that King Abasbueros who married Hester. Wherof if it be needfull to give proofe, it may suffice. That Abashueroshlived in Susa, raigning from India to Athiopia, and therefore must have beene a Persian; That he lived in peace, as appeares by the circumstances of the Historie, and vsed the counsaile of the seuen Hhhh

Princes, the authoritie of which Princes beganne under Darits, the sonne of Hyllas. pes, wherefore he could be neither Cyrus nor Cambyfes.

The continual Warres which exercised King Darius the sonne of Hystaspes, together with the certainety of his marriages with fundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first wife Atoffa, the daughter of Cyrus, alive in great honour, thee being mother to Xerxes the succeeding King; doe manifestly proone that Hester was not his. Whereunto is added by Philo the Iew, That at the perswafion of Mardochaus, Joiachim the high Priest the sonne of Jesus, caused the feast of Purim to be instituted in memoric of that deliuerance. Now the time of Iotachim was in the raigne of Artaxerxes, at the comming of Efdras, and Nehemias: Iefua his to father dying about the end of Darius.

The same continuance of warres, with other his furious and tragical loues. wherewith Xerxes did confume fuch little time, as hee had free from warre, are cnough to proue, that the floric of Hester pertained not vnto the time of Xerxes, who lived but one and twentie veeres, whereas the two & thirtieth of Abaluerus or Artasastha is expressed by Nehemias. Againe, it is well knowne, that Xerxes in the seuenth yeere of his raigne (wherein this marriage must have been celebrated) came not neere to Sufa. Of the Princes that succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus, to proone that none of them could be Abalbuerolb, it is enough to fay, that Mardockaus hauing beene carried from Hierusalem captine, with Iechonia, by Nebuchadnezzar, was 20 vnlikely to have lived vnto their times.

But of this Artaxerxes it is true, that he lived in Sufa, raigned from India to Athiopia, liued in peace, was contemporarie with Ioiakim the high Priest; and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious Agyptians in that seuenth veere of his raigne; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a Royall feast, as is described in the beginning of the booke of Hester. This is the fumme of the arguments, brought to proue the age of Heffers storic by the learned and diligent Krentzhemius, who addes the authorities of Issephus, affirming the fame, and of Philo, giving to Mardochaus eighteene yeeres more than Isaac the Patriarch lived, namely, one hundred fourescore and eighteene yeers in all, which ex- 20 pire in the five and thirtieth of yeere of this Artaxerxes, if we suppose him to have beene carried away captine, being a Boy of ten yeeres old.

#### d. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesian Warre.

> Vt it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the Greekes, who from this time forward, more vehemently profecuting their civill warres, fuffered the Persians for many ages to rest in peace: this £ gyptian ex- 40 2 pedition being come to nought. Soone after this, the Laced amonians vndertooke the warre called, Sacred, reconered the Temple and Ile of

Delphos, and deliuered both to the inhabitants; but the Athenians regained the fame, and gaue it in charge to the Phocians. In the meane while the banished Baotians reentred their owne Land, and mastred two of their owne Townes possess by the Athenians, which they soone recourred againe from them; but in their returne towards Athens, the Baetians, Eubaans, and Locreans, (Nations oppress by the Athenians) fet vpon them with fuch resolution, as the Athenians were in that fight all flaine or taken, whereby the Bæstians recovered their former libertie, restoring to the Athenians their prisoners. The llanders of Eubaa tooke such courage vpon this, 70 that they revolted wholly from the Athenians, whom when Pericles intended to reconquer, he was aducrtifed that the Megarians, (who first left the Lacedamonians, and submitted themselves to Athens) being now wearie of their yoke, had slaine the Athenian Garrisons, and joyned themselves with the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and

Снар. 8. §.1. of the Historie of the World.

Epidaurians. These newes hastened Pericles homeward with all possible speede : but ere he could recouer Attica, the Pelaponnesians, led by Plistoanax, the sonne of Paufanias, had inuaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whose returne Pericles went on with his first intentand recovered Eubwa. Finally, the Athenians beganne to treat of peace with the Peloponne fians, and yeelded to deliner up all the places which they held in the Country of Peloponne [w: and this truce was made for thirtie yeeres. After fixe of these yeeres were expired, the Athenians (fauouring the Mylesians against the Samians) inuaded Samos by Pericles, and after many repulses. and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the citizens were fore't to yeeld them-10 selues vpon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ships, to breakedowne their own walls, to pay the charge of the warre, and to reflore whatfoeuer had beene taken by themselues, or by their practice, from the Athenians. In the necke of which followed that long and cruell Peleponnesian Warre, whereof I have gathered this briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie veeres after the flight of Xerxes out of Greece. But because there was no Citie there. of which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell: I hold it convenient now at the first to show briefly the effate of the Countrie at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, Athens, and Sparta, upon which all the rest had most dependance.

## CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

ò. I.

Vpon what termes the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, flood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.



R BECE was never united under the governement of any one Prince or Effate; vntill Philip of Macedon, and after him Alexander, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the Persian, whereof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subjection. For euery Estate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the Macedonians, to whom they did yeld obedience no otherwise than as to fuch, who were (perforce) their leaders in the Perfi-

an warre (deemed the General quarrell of Greece) and tooke the profit and honor of the victorie, to their owne vseand increase of greatnesse. But the Kings which afterwards raigned in Macedonia, did so farre enlarge their authoritie, that all Greece was by them brought vnder fuch obedience, as differed little from feruitude; verv for few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with armes, and sometimes with gifts, prescrue their liberty; of whom the Lacedamonians and Athenians were chiefe: which two people deserved best the plague of tyrannie, having first given occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrie by perpetuall Warre. For vntill these two Cities of Athens and Sparta distracted

all Greece, drawing enery State into the quarrell, on the one or other fide, and so gaue beginning to the Peloponnesian warre (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that Philip had ouer-mastred all, forasmuch as every conclusion of one warre afforded hencesoorth matter to some new distraction of the whole Countrie) the warres, commenced between one Citie of Greece and an other, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controversies were soone decided, either by the authoritie of the Amphistiones, who were the generall Councel of Greece; or by the power of the Lacedemonians, whose aide was commonly held as good as the assurance of victorie.

These Lacademonians had lived about foure hundred yeeres under one forme of 10 Gouernment, when the Peloponnesian warre beganne. Their education was onely to practile feates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner of life as they vscd. For brauery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinarie meales being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They vsed money of yron, whereof they could not be couetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived Vtopian-like, faue that they vsed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glory of 20 their valour. Heereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all Greece followed their conduct. But the Athenians were in all points contrarie to this. For they fought wealth, and measured the honors of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subiects, which were for the most part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, because the Athenian fleet was great.

As in forme of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference betweene these two people was very much. The Athenians were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as hastic in the execution; The Lacede- 30 monians very flow in their deliberations, full of grauitic, but very resolute, and such as would in cold bloud performe what the Athenians did viually in flagrant. Wherby it came to passe, that the Lacedamonians had all the Estates of Greece depending vpon them, as on men firme and affured, that fought honour and not riches; wheras the Athenians were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in straight subjection. But the Signorie of the Athenians was nothing large, vntill such time as the Persian Xerxes had inusded Greece, pretending onely a quarrel to Athens: For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the Towne of Athens could not be defended against his great Armie of seuenteene hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth upon a Nauie, and (affisted by the other Grecians) ouerthrew the fleet 40 of xernes, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfitted by them, and the Greekes, who all served under conduct of the Spartans. After these victories, the Athenians being now very mightie in fleet, reduced al the Ilands of the Greekilb Seas under their obedience; imposing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of warre against the Persian; though indeede they imploied their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands, and hauen-Townes, of their owne Countrimen, as food out against them. All which was easily suffered by the Lacedemonians, who were In-landers, and menthat delighted not in expeditions to be made farre from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the Athenians to grow great, they held them in muchiclousie, and were very apt to quarrell with 50 them; but much more willing to breed contention betweene them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the Thebans would have oppressed the Plataans, when they of Platea repaired to Sparta for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduice, That they should seeke helpe at Athens. Hereby it was

was thought, that the Athenians should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their neighbours of Thebes. But it produced otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did onely serue to increase their honour and puissance.

#### ø./ II.

#### How Sparta and Athens entred into warre.

Euerthelesse many Estates of Greece were very ill affected to Athens, because that Citie grew very insolent vpon suddaine prosperitie, and maintaining the weaker Townes against the stronger, incroched a pacevpon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the Corinthians were much inraged, because the people of the Iland Coreyra, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and given them agreat ouerthrow by Sea, was by the Athenians (who desired to increase their sleet by adioyning that of Coreyra vnto it) taken into protection, and the Corinthians thereby impeached of that revenge which else they would have taken. Now how-looked in the stronger of the Athenians were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the Greekes, yet were the complaints made at Sparta so vehement, that (though with much a-doe) they concluded to redresse by warre the iniuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the Athenians to expiate certaine offences committed against the gods; whereto having for answere, That they themseliues should expiate other the like offences, committed in Sparta; they beganne to deale plainely, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the Estate of Athens, should be set at libertie; and that a decree made against those of Megara, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the 30 Athenians, should be reversed. This last point they so earnessly pressed, that if they might obtaine it, they promised to absist from their purpose of making Warre.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entring into a warre, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to vnder-goc.

But the Athenians would yeeld to nothing; for it was their whole defire that all Greece (hould take notice, how farrethey were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both fides verie strongly, all that was needfull to the Warre; wherein the Lacedamonians were Superiour, both in number and qualitie, 40 being assisted by most of the Cities in Greece; and having the general sauour, as men that pretended to set at libertie such as were oppressed: but the Athenians did as farre exceede them in all provisions of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held; and afterward sound of greater vse in such neede, than the willing readinesse of friends, who some grow wearie, and are not easily assembled.

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à. III.

ò. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian warre.

He first and second yeeres expedition was very grieuous to the Citie of Athens. For the fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrie people driuen to flie, with Wittes, Children, and Cattaile, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citic, the revolt of the Mytilenians, in the lie of Lesbos, and the fiege of Plataatheir con- 10 federated Citie, which they durst not aduenture to raise, besides some small over-

throwes received. The Lacedemonians aftembling as great forces as they could raile out of Peloponne [us, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countric of Attica, and therein abide, vntill victuals beganne to faile, washing and destroying all things round about: The Gouernours of the Athenians would not suffer the people to iffue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies: but vsed to send a fleet into Peloponnesius, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemics, whilest they were making warre in Attica. So the Peloponnessans being the stronger by Land, wannethe Towne of Platea, which wanted rescue; the Athenians likewise being more mightie by Sea, did subdue Mytilene which had re- 20 belled, but could not be succoured from Sparta. By these proceedings in that warre. the Lacedamonians beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with fuch enemies. For after that Attica was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harme as they themselves might, and did receive. Their Confederates beganne to set forward very flowly in their expeditions into Attica; perceiuing well that Athens was plentifully relicued with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subject vnto that Estate; and thereforetheseinuaders tooke small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mightie Citie, or in washing a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilest afflicted. Wherefore they 30 beganne to set their care to build a strong Nauie, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the Athenians, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the Peloponnesians.

### d. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans received at Pylus.



Mong other losses which the Spartans had felt by Sea; they received 40 at Pylus a verie fore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of Athenian ships bound for Corcyra, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of Laconia, and all the halfe lie of Peloponnesus, was by contrarie windes detained at Pylus, which is a rag-

ged Promontoric, joyning to the maine, by a strange necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Handof lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head Land and Isle. This Promontorie the Athenians fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the naturall firength and fite of the place. By holding this piece of ground, 70 and hauen, they in reason expected many advantages against their enemies. For the Countrie adioyning was inhabited by the Messenians, who in ancient time had held very strong and cruell warre with Sparta; and (though quite subdued) they were held in straight subjection, yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that

by the necre neighbourhood and affiftance of the Athenians, it might not be excuiued. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the Lacedamonians, and as many of their bond flaues as could escape from them, would repaire to Pylus. and from thence make daily excursions into Laconia, which was not farre off: Or it other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this hauen, lying almost in the midway betweene them and Coreyra, make them able to fur-round all Peloponne wand walte it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at Pylus, drew the Peloponnesians thither in all half out of Attica, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Nato vie to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they

well forefaw, little tearing the grieuous losse at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vaine made a general lassalt on all sides, both by Sea and Land; finding that finall Garrison which the Athenians had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the hauen, placing fourehundred and twentie choice men all of them, Citizens of Sparta, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leades into the Port; but so narrow, that only two ships in front could enter betweene the Isle and Pylus; likewife but feuen or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, betweene the Hand and the Maine. Hauing thus taken order to shut up this new Towne by Sea, they fent part of their

20 fleet to fetch wood, and other stuffe, where with to fortific round about, and blocke up the piece on all sides. But in the meane season, the Athenian fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at Pylus, returned thither, and with great courage entring the hauen, did breake and finke many of their Enemies veifels; tooke fine, and infor-

ced the refidue to runne themselves a ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the Spartans abiding in the Iland as good as loft. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from Sparta to the camp (as was their custome ingreat dangers) to aduife what where best for the publike safetie; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Ile, then by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the Athenians 30 about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at Pylus. The conditions of the truce were, That the Lacedamonians should deliuer vp all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Towne. nor the Athenians against the camp: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, should be daily carried into the Isle, but that no ships should passe into the Iland secretly: That the Athenians should carrie the Lacedemonian Embassadors to Athens, there to treat of peace, and should bring them backe, at whose returne the truce should end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, should be held veterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the Athenians should restore the Pelapannesian ships, in as good case as they received them. The 40 Embassadors comming to Athens, were of opinion, that as they themselves had be-

gunne the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the Athenians how great an honour it was that the Lacedamonians did fue to them for peace, aduiting them to make an end of warre, whileft with fuch reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For in stead of concluding vpon euen termes, or desiring of meete recompence for losse sustained; the Athenians demanded certaine Cities to bee restored to them, which had beene taken from them by the Lacedamonians long before this warre beganne, refuling likewife to continue the treatic of peace, vnleffe the Spartans which were in the Ile, were first rendred vnto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassago dours returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was de-

fired from the Athenian Captaines, that they should, according to their couenant, reflore the ships, which had been put into their handes. Whereto answere was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should be held void now (said the Athenians) yee have affaulted our Garrisons,

and thereby are we acquited of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like friuolous allegations which they made, were but meere shifts; yet profit so farre ouer-weighed honour, that better answere none could be got. Then were the Lacedemonians driuen to vie many hard meanes, for conuciance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to Athens, where it was decreed, that when the Peloponnesians next inuaded Attica, these prisoners should all be slaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with held by the troubles, which (according to the Athenians hope) fell vpon them: the Lacedamonians were now fo farre from wasting Attica, that they suffered their owne Countrie to be continually ouer-runne, both by the Athenians, who landed 10 on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of Pylus; which became the Rendeuous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

How the Lacedemonians hardly, and to their great disaduantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.



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Herefore they indeuoured greatly to obtaine peace; which the Athenians would not harken vnto. For they were so puffed vp with the 20 continuance of good successe, that having senta few bands of men into Sicilie, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the Sicilians quarrells; when afterward they heard that the diffe-

rences in that Ile were taken away, and their bands returned without either gaine or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene meerely through their default, that the He of Sicilie was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferiour vnto Peloponnefus. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in Thrace, where in a battaile which they loft at Amphipelis, Cleon, and Brasidas, Generalls of the Athenian and Lacedamonian forces, were both 30 flaine; which two had most been eaduersaries to the peace. As the Atheniane by their losses were taught moderation; so the Lacedemonians, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Nauie which they had received at Pylus, were faine to proceede lamely in the warre, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently defirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reviue the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that vrged them to bring the treatie of peace to good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which vnlesse they compounded with the Athenians, they 40 knew not how to avoide. The estate of Argos, which had ancient enmitte with them, was now, after a truce of thirtie yeeres well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by joyning with those who alone found them worke enough. Arges was a rich and strong Citie, which though inseriour to Sparta in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the Lacedemonians could ever farre prevaile vpon it, when they had little else to doe. This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not been eregarded. For it was then thought, that by wasting the Territoric of Athens with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue beene ended, whereby not only the Athenians should haue beene brought to 50 good order, but the Corinthians and others, for whose sake the warre was vnder-taken, have beene so firmely knit to the Lacedamonians, that they should for love of them have abandoned the Argines, to their owne fortunes. But now the vanitie of those hopes appeared, in that the Athenians abounding in ready money, and meanes

to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harme, that the Peloponnesians wanting wherewith to maintaine a Nauie, could doe vnto them, yea as Masters of the Sea, to wearie them out, as in effect alreadic they had done. As for the Confederates of Sparta, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily trauailes, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the Lacedamonians were glad to vse the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much a-doe they procured, as seemed equal and easie; but were indeede impossible to be per-

CHAP. 8. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

formed, and therefore all their travaile was little effectuall. The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed vpon; it fell out by lot, that the Lacedamonians should restore first. These had won more townes upon the continent from the Athenians, than the Athenians had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not won absolutely. For they had restored some Towns to fuch of their Allies, from whom the State of Athens had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at libertie (as reason required) which had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends and delinerers, & not compelled them to breake in as Enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands. but had beene rendred vnto their Confederates, the Spartans found meanes to give some satisfaction, by permitting the Athenians to retain others, which they had got-20 teninthe warre; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselues into the hands of their old Lords the Athenians, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoeuer articles were drawne', and concluded, for their fecuritie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the Spartans, made the Athenians become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; fo that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the reft, vntill fuch time as they might receive the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficul-20 ties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the Lacedamonians entred into a more straight alliance with the Athenians; making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the Argines, who being(as they thought) likely to have fued for peace at their hands, as foone as things were once compounded betweene Athens and Sparta; did shew themselves plainly vnwilling to give eare to any fuch motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from Argos all hope of Athenian fuccour, they should make sure worke, the Spartans regarded nor the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deserving in the late warre, or found so troublesome, that their enmitie (if perhaps they durft let it appeare) were little worse than friendship. It bred great 40 jelousie in all the Cities of Greece, to perceive such a conjunction betweene two so powerfull Signories: especially one clause threatning enery one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a fecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceints. offubduing the whole Countrie, and taking each what they could lay holdon. For belides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This impression wrought fo frongly in the Corinthians, Thebans, & other ancient Confederates of Sparta, that the hate which they had borne to the Athenians their professed Enemies, was violently throwne vpon the Lacedamonians their vnjust friends: whereby it came to passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in Greece, might have beene abanso doned to the discretion of their Enemies, as alreadie in effect they were, had the Enemies wisely vsed the aduantage.

CHAP.8. S.6.

ð. V I.

Of the negotiations, and practices, held betweene many States of Greece, by occasion of the peace that was concluded.



He admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of Sparta as vnrefiftable, and able to make way through all impediments, had beene so excessive, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not sounding very to honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-

pens vsually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was neuer thought that any Lacedamonian would have endured to lay downe his weapons and yeeld himselfe prisoner, northat any misfortune could have beene so great, as should have drawne that Citie to relieue it selfe otherwise than by force of Armes. But when onceit had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were fome of especiall marke, being ouer-laied by enemies, in the lland before Pylus, had rather chosen to live in captivitie, than to die in fight; and that Pylow it selfe, flicking as a thorne in the foot of Laconia, had bred fuch anguish in that Estate, as vtterly wearying the accustomed Spartan resolution, had made it sit downe, and 20 seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonourable ease: then did not only the Corinthians and Thebans beginne to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other lesser Cities joyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their eies vpon the rich and great Citie of Arges, of whose abilitie, to doe much, they conceived a strong beliefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankinde. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should have discerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting to our selues.

The first that published their dislike of Sparta were the Corinthians, at whose vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuic at the greatnesse of Athens dayly encreasing) the Lacedamonians had entred into the present warre. But these Corinthians did only murmure at the peace, alleadging as grieuances, that some townes of theirs were left in the Athenians hands. The Mantingans, who during the time of warre, had procured some part of the Arcadians to become their followers, and forfake their dependency vpon the State of Sparta, did more freely & readily discouer themselues; seare of revenge to come working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The Argines feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fill their failes, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand vn. 40 der; giving for that purpose vnto twelve of their citizens, a full and absolute commission to make alliance betweene them and any freecities of Greece (Athens and Sparta excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular bufinesse to the multitude. When the gates of Argos were set thus open to all commers ; the Mantineans began to lead the way, and many Cities of Peloponnesses following them entred into this new confederacy; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wifest way to doe as the most did. What inconvenience might arise to them by these courses, the Lacedamonians easily discerned, and therefore sent Embassadors to stoppe the matter at Corinth, where they well perceived that the mischiese had beene hatched. These Embassadors found in the Corinthians a very 50 rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their present advantage over Sparta. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into the alliance with Argos, to fend their Agents to them, in whose presence they gaue audience to the Lacedamonians; the purport of whose Embassie was

this: That the Corinthians, without breach of their oath, could not for fake the alliance, which they had long fince made with Sparta, and that reason did as well binde them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their auncient confederacy, for asmuch as it had bin agreed betweene the Spartans and their affociates, that the confent of the greater part, (which had yeelded vnto peace with Athens) should binde the leffer number to performe what was concluded, if no Dinine impediment with flood them. Heereunto the Corinthians made answere, that the Spartans had first begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had lost many places, without 10 provision of restitution; & that the very clause, alledged by the Embassadors, did acquite them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, for a smuch as the had fworne vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against Athens, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall agains into the tyrannous hands of the Athenians. Wherefore they held themselues bound both in reason and religion to vse all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common confent they had taken into protection; for that an oth was no leffe to be accounted a Dinine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vndertaken. As for the alliance with Argos, they faid that they would doe as they should finde cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors 20 with this answere, they made all hast to joyne themselves with Argos, and caused on ther States to doe the like; fo that Sparta and Athens were in a manner left to themselves, the Thebans and Megarians being also vpon the point to have entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were divers, which caused this hastie confluence of fudden friends to Argos, it so likewise came to passe that the friendthip it felfe, such as it was, had much diversitie both of sinceritie & of continuance. For some there were that hated or scared the Lacedamonians: as the Mantingans and Eleans: these did-firmly betake themselves to the Argines, in whom they knew the fame affection to be inuctorate; others did only hate the peace concluded; & these would rather have followed the Spartans than the Argines in warre, yetrather the 30 Argines in war than the Lacedamonians in peace. Of this number were the Corinthians, who knowing that the Thebans were affected like vnto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the focietie of the Argues, as they had done: but the different formes of government, vsed in Thebes and Argos, caused the Thebanes to hold rather with Sparta, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incurre the danger of innouation, by joyning with fuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This businesse having ill succeeded, the Corinthians beganne to bethinke themsclues of their owne danger, who had not so much as any truce with Athens, and yet were unprepared for warre. They fought therefore to come to some temporarie agreement with the Athenians, and hardly obtained it. For the Athenians, who had 40 dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment, with one citie that shewed against them more stomach than force; but gaue them tounderstand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which Athens had lately made with Sparta and her dependants; vet finally they granted vnto these Corinthians (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependants of Sparta) the truce that they desired; but into private confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league betweene them and the Spartans, That the one should not make peace nor warre

without the other.

Heerein, as in many other passages, may clearely be seene the great advantage 50 which absolute Lords have as well in peace as in warre, ouer such as are served by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any one Signorie, that hath beene so constantly followed as Sparta was by so many States, and some of them little inferior to it self, being all as free: whereas contrariwife, the Athenians had lately, and by compulfine meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselues as Tyrants.

But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the Athenians were able to make their wordes good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giving vp such places as were agreed vpon: of which the Lacedemonians could doe neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late warre, could not be restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of Panalle, which the Thebans held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the Lacedemonians (who earnessly desired it; that by restitution thereof vnto the Athenians, ascernessly demanding it, them so like the such the such that the such that

be contrarie to the last agreement betweene them and Athens.

The Lacedemonians having broken one article of the league made between them and the Athenians, that by so doing they might enable themselues to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the Thebans, who did not giue vp the Towne of Panatte, till first they had vtterly demolished it. and made it of no worth to the Athenians. This was fought to have beene excused by the Lacedemonian Embassadours, who comming to Athens (whither they bed fent home all prisoners that had beene detained at Thebes) hoped with gentle words to salue the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemie to Athens should nessle in Panacte, for it was destroied. But these Embassadours had not to deale with 20 tame fooles. For the Athenians told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but yled fuch bate collusion as stood not with their honour: having made private alliavec with the Thebans; having destroiced a Towne that they should have restored; and not nating forced their dependants by warre, to make good the couenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deedes to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in Athens and Sparta, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the Ephori, chosen for that yeere, in Sparta: and Alcibiades a powerfull yong Gentleman in Athens. But the Ephori, though de- 30 firing to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the Athenians as much as was to beerendred to them by couenant, especially Pylus that had so forely troubled them. Aleibiades, whose Nobilitie, riches, and fauour, with the people, made him desire warre, as the meanes, whereby himselfe might procure some honourable emploiment, vsed all meanes to set the quarrell on foot, whilest the Athenians had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought faue their prisoners, and pretence enough to vie that advantage of breaking the peace, by reafon that the Lacedamonians (though indeede against their wills) had broken all couenants with them. Now the State of Athens had fully determined to retaine Fylus, and to performe nothing that the Lacedamonians should, and might require, vittil 40 they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles wherunto they were bound, even to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who hauing already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliueric of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But Alcibiades wishing

derstand how fitly the time served for them to affociate themselves with Athens,

which was enough to give them securitie against all Enemies.

The Argines vpon the first confluence of many Estates unto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should have had the condust of all Greece against the Athenians, to being Sparta of that honour, as having ill used 50 it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and disabilitie. But these suddained apprehensions of vaine 100, were suddained y changed into as vaine scare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceiused of Argos. For when the Thebans had resused their alliance; when the Corin-

a speedie beginning of open warre, sent privily to the Argines, and gave them to vo-

thians had fought fecuritie from Athens; and when a fallerumour was noised a-broad, Ashens, Thebes, and Sparta, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then beganne the Argines to let fall their crefts, and sue for peace unto the Lacedamonians, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauity, and were not outer hastie to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of Aisibiades came very welcome to the Argines, which were not now confining how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to saue themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to Athens, their owne Embassadours, accompanied with the Mantineans and Eleans, to make a league offensive, and defensive, between 10 their Estates and the Athenians.

Of this bulinesse the Lacedamonians knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that fach a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to present it ; but to keepe the love of the Athenians, the new Ephori thought that more was alreadic done, than flood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wifen way, buting done so much, not to slick vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full latisfaction, to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to bee valued then all the rest of Greece. This resolution preuailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to Athens with full commission to make an end of all controuersies, did carnestly labour in the Coun-20 cell-house, to make the truth of things appeare, saying; that their Confederacie with the Thebans had tended to none other end than the reconerie of Panaste: concerning which Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grieued the Lacedamomans, to fee things fall out in fuch wife as might give to the Athenians cause of dis pleasure; but that all should be done which in reason might bee required for making matters even betweene them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they defired that Pylus might be restored visto them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the Argines might becalled a-lide. Fanourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather because they which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all 30 this faire likelihood of good agreement was dasht on the suddaine, by the practice of Alcibiades, who, secretly dealing with the Lacedamonian Embassadours, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their Citic, and aduised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of Sparta, might not be knowne to the Communaltie of Athens, lest the insolenn multitude should thereupon grow peremptoric and yeelde to nothing, vnlesse they could draw them to vnreasonable conditions. The Embassadours beleeved him, and falhioned their tale in the affembly of the people, as hee had aduised them. Hereupon the same Alcibiades taking presently the advantage, which their double dealing affoorded, inneighed openly against them, as men of no sinceritie, that were 40 come to Athens for none other purpose, than to hinder the people from thengthning themselves with friends, meaning to draw the Argines and their Artherents to their owne alliance, as (contrarie to their oath) already they had the Thebans. The people of Athens, whom a pleasing errand would hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the Lacedamonians, (whose honest meanings had so ill beene feconded with good performance) were now so incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadours, and the strong perswasions of Aleibiades; that little wanted of concluding the league with Arges, Yet for the present so farredid Wieins, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevaile with them, that the businesse was put off, till he himselfe with other Embassadours might fetch a 50 better answere from Sparta.

It may seeme a great wonder, how so poore a tricke of Altibiades was able to carrie a matter of such importance, when the Spartan Embassadours might have cast the loade vpon his owne shoulders, by discouring the truth:

But the gravitie which was vivally found in the Lacedamonians, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a wit; and they might wel haue been thought vntrusty men, had they professed themselues such as would

fay and vn-fay for their most aduantage.

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Nicias and his Companions had a fowre meffage to deliuer at Sparta, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the Lacedamonians should take the paines to rebuild Panacte, and should immediately renounce their alliance made with the Thebans; letting them vnderstand that otherwise the Athenians, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the Argines, and their Adherents. The Ephori at Sparta had no minde to for fake the to Thebans, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the Athenians was suffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than only (at the requell of Micias their honourable friend, who would not seeme to have effected nothing) swearea new to keepe the articles of the league betweene them and Athens. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embassadours, a new league was made between the Atbenians, Argines, Mantinaans, & Eleans, with veric ample prouision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the Lacedamonians were passed ouer with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it selfechiefly against them, as in short while after was proued by effect.

At this time the Lacedamonians were in ill case, who having restored all that they could vnto the Athenians, and procured others to doe the like, had themselues recouered nothing of their owne (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late warre by misfortunes, than in fundrie passages betweene them and the Athenians: to procure and keepe whose Amitie, they had left fundrie of their old friends to shift for themselues. Contrariwise the Athenians, by the treatie of peace, had recourred the most of that which they loft in warre; all their gettings they had retained; and were frengthned by

the accesse of new Consederates.

. d. VII.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

T was not long ere the Argines and their fellowes had found busines wherewith to let the Athenians on worke, and make vie of this coniunction. For presuming vpon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the State of Spar- 40 bato defend. So, many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein Athens and Sparts did (as principals) intest each the other, but came in collaterally,

as to the aide of their feuerall friends.

By these occasions the Corinthians, Baotians, Phocians, Lecrians, and other people of Greece, beganne a-new to range themselves under the Lacedamonians, and follow their ensignes. One victorie which the Lacedamonians obtained by their meere valour in a set battaile, neere to Mantinaa, against the Argine-side, helped well to repaire their decaied reputation, though otherwise it yeelded them no great profit.

The civill diffension arising shortly after within Argos it selfe, betweene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of 50 the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with Sparta, wherein they proceeded fo farre as to renounce the amity of the Athenians in expresse words, and forced the Mantineans to the like. But in short

foace of time the multitude prenailing, renerfed all this, and having chafed away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themselves to the Athenians as closely as be-

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP. 8. S. 8.

Beside these vprores in Peloponnesus, many assaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of Greece, and likewise in Macedon, to the Athenians; whose forces and readinesse for execution, preuented some things, reuenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the Athenians wanting matter of quarrell; and the Lacedamonians growing wearie, they beganne to be quiet, retaining still that enmitie in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not to as yet breaking out into termes of open warre.

#### ð. VIII.

The Athenians fending two fleets to facke Siracufe, are put to flight and vtterly discomfited.

Vring this intermiffion of open warre, the Athenians re-intertained their hopes of subduing Sicil, whither they sent a sleet so mighty as neuer was fet forth by Greece in any Age before or after. This fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessa-

ries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in Athens, whence Alcibiades Author of that voyage, & one of the Generalls of their fleet, was driven to banish himselfe, for feare of such judgement, as elfe he was like to have vnder-gone, among the incenfed people; partly by the inuation which the Lacedamonians made vpon Attica, whilest the forces of that State were fo farre from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of Persia, who supplied the Peloponnesians with money.

Neither was the successe of things in Sicilia such, as without helpe from Athens. could give any likelyhood of a good end in that warre. For although in the begin-30 ning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged Siracuse, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, and one of the fairest Townes which the Greekes inhabited, obtavning the better in fundry battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieued with strong aide from Peloponnesus, it came to passe that the Athenians were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise that their flect was shut vp into the hauen of Stracufe, and could not iffue out.

As the Albenian affaires went very ill in Sicil, so did they at home stand upon hard termes for that the Lacedamonians, who had beene formerly accustomed to make wearisome yeerely iournies into Attica, which having pilled and foraged, they returned home; did now by counfell of Alcibiades, (who seeking revenge vpon his 40 owne Citizens was fled vnto them) fortifie the Towne of Decelea, which was neere to Athens, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harricall the Countrie round about, and sometimes give alarme vnto the Citie it selfe.

In these extremities, the peruerse obstinacie of the Athenians was very strange; who leaning at their backes, and at their owne doores, an enemie little leffe mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another sect into Sicil, to inuade a people no

lesse puissant, which neuer had offended them.

It often happens, that prosperous event makes foolish counsaile seeme wiser than it was, which came to passe many times among the Athenians, whose vaine conceits Pallas was faid to turn vnto the best. But where vnsound aduice, finding bad proofe. 50 is obstinately pursued, neither Pallas nor Fortune can be justly blamed for a miserableiffne. This fecond fleet of the Athenians, which better might have ferued to convey home the former, that was defeated; after some attempts made to small purpo!e against the Siracusans, was finally (together with the other part of the Nauie, which was there before) quite vanquished, and bard vp into the hauen of Siraeuse, whereby the campe of the Athenians, vtterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to breake vp, and flie away by Land, in which flight they were over-taken routed, and quite overthrown in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischiese well deserved sell vpon the Athenians, who had wickedly condemned into exile Sophoeles and Pthiodorus Generalls, formerly sentinto that Ile, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in Sieil, whereas indeede there was not any meanes or possibilitie to have made warre. Hereby it came to passe, that Nieius, who had the chiese command in this vnhappie enterprise, did rather choose to hazard theruine of his Countrie by the losse of that Armie, wherin to consisted little lesse then all the power of Athens; then to adventure his owne estate, his life, and his honour, vpon the tongues of shamelesse accusers, and the sentence of Judges before his trial resolued to condemne him, by retiring from Syracuse, when wisdome and necessitie required it. For (said he) they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give eare to any that would speak in our behalfe, but altogether barken to suspicious and vainer umours that shall be brought against us, yea these our Souldiers who now are so desirous to returne in safetie, with in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewel and insolent multi-

This resolution of Nicias, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of 20 an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth, and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may bee excused; fince he had before his eies the iniustice of his people; and had well vnderflood that a wicked fentence is infinitely worfe than a wicked fact, as being held a president and patterne, whereby oppression beginning vpon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily have ouer-mastered; but when afterwards the Armie having no other expectation of fafetie then the faint hope of a fecret flight, he was foterrified with an Eclipse of the Moone, happening when they were about to 30 dislodge, that he would not consent to have the camp break vp till seven and twentie daies were past. His timorousnesse was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the power of the Heauens, & the course of Nature, would be as vninst as his Athenians, or might pretend leffe euill to the flothfull, than to fuch as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Astrologer can alleage this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise then as the follie of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had C. Cassus the Roman, he, who slew Iulius Casar, imitated this superstition of Nicias, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retyring, the broken remainder of Crassus his Armie defeated by 40 the Parthian Archers was adulfed, upon fuch an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of Scorpio; he made answere that hee flood not in such feare of Scorpio, as of Sagittarius. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, then the neerer danger of Enemies vpon earth, hee made such a safe and honourable retrait, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a faire example to that good rule;

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Gouernours of vnderstanding, when he intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of vniust men is the readie meane to weaken the vertue of those who might have done them good.

ð. IX.

Of the troubles where-into the State of Athens fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Armie, in Sicilia.

He losse of this Armie was the ruine of the Athenian Dominion, and may bee well accompted a very little leffe calamitie to that Estate, than was the subuersion of the walls, when the Citic about seuen yeeresafter was taken by Lysander. For now began the subjects of the Athenian Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced under their of the subjects of the subject of bedience; others held out; some for feare of greater inconvenience were let at libertie, promifing only to be their good friends, as formerly they had beene their Subjects; others having a kind of libertie offered by the Athenians, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among these troubles it fell out very vnscasonably, that the principall men of Athens being wearied with the peoples insolencie, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Eflate, and bring the gouernement into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captaines which were abroad, they caused them to set up the forme of an Aristocratic in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likely to withstand this innovation, being slaine at Athens, the Commonaltie were so dismaid, that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but cuerie man was afraid of his Neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this generall feare the Maiestic of Athens was viurped by 400. men, who observing in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did causeal matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely fuch as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than only to approue and give consent: for who foeuer presumed any 20 further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murder. By these meanes were many decrees made, all tending to the chablishment of this new Authoritie, which neuerthelesse indured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was at the Ile of Samos, did altogether detelt thete dealings of the fourehundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked Alcibiades out of banishment, & by his affistance procured that the supplies which the Persian King had promised vnto the Lacedamonians, were by Tissaphernes his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the flow and bad performance. Alcibiades had at the first beene very well entertained in Sparta, whilest his service done to that State was not growne to be the obiect of enuie. But when it appeared that in coun-40 faile and good peformance he fo farre excelled all the Lacedamonians, that all their good successe was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principal! Gitizens wearie of his vertue; especially Agis one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yeelded her selfe to the loue of this Athenian, that among her inward friends shee could not forbeare to call her yong child by his name. Hercupon order was taken, that Alcibiades should be killed out of the way. But he discouring the Spartan trecheric, conveighed himselfe vnto Tissaphernes, whom he so bewitched with his great beautie, sweet conversation, and sound wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-roics affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings trefures and forces in those parts. Then beganne he to aduise Tessaphernes, not so farre foorth to affift the Lacedamonians, that they should quite overthrow the State of Athens, but rather to helpe the weaker side, & let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the Persian. By this counsaile he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the only favourite

of so great a Potentate) hee played his owne game, procuring his restitution. Ar length his banilhment being repealed by the Armic, but not by the Citizens (who

then were oppressed by the source hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile the

Souldiers to the Gouernors; or at least to divert their heat another way, and turne

it youn the Common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approved his motion, as

being wearie of the tyrannie wherof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, & partly for that themselues, being lesse regarded by the

rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit them-

selucs of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to ob-

thoritie, and the greatnesse of their Citie, if they might but if this could not be, they

did rather wish to preserue their owne power, or safetie at least, then the good E-

flate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made fundrie ouertures of peace to

the Lacedamonians, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affir-

ming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wavering multitude; especially

considering that the City of Sparta was gouerned by an Aristocratie, to which form

they had now reduced Athens. All these passages betweene the source hundred (or

the most and chiefe of them) and the Lacedemonians, were kept as secret as might be.

For the Citic of Athens, hoping, without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was

much more auerfe, trufting well that the discord of the Athenians (not vnknowne

abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in

effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And vpon this hope King Agis did fometimes bring his forces from Develeato Athens, where doing no good, hee

received some small losses. Likewise the Nauie of Peloponnesus made shew of at-

tempting the Citie, but seeing no likelihood of successe, they bent their course from

thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune

of the Athenians might more lightly have beene regarded, then in this their decaied

estate. Yet it seemes, without any disparagement to their wisdome, they should

any terrour of the warre. For the diffention within the walls might foone haue

done more good then could be received from the Fleet or Armie without, which

indeed gaue occasion to set the Citizens at vnitie, though it lasted not very long.

The foure hundred, by meanes of these troubles, were faine to resigne their autho-

ritie, which they could not now hold, when the people having taken armes to repel

forraigne enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themselves from

fuch as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of government

a full restitution of the sourraigne command vnto the people, or whole body of the

Citie, but onely to fine thousand; which company the foure hundred (when their

to doelittle wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldome affembled in greater

number. But now when the highest power was come indeede into the handes of

fo many, it was soone agreed that Aleibiades and his Companions should bee recalled from exile, and that the Armie at Samos should be requested to vndertake the

gouernement: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

authoritie beganne) had pretended to take vnto them as affistance : herein seeming 40

rather have forborne to present vnto the Citie, or to the Countries necre adioyning 30

not inclined to make composition; from which vpon iuser ground the enemie was 20

taine peace of the Lacedemonians, desiring chiefly to maintaine both their owne au- 10

à. X.

How ALCIBIADES wanne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and againe deposed.

His establishment of things in the Citic, was accompanied with some good successe in the warres. For the Lacedamonians were about the same time overthrowne at Sea, in a great battaile, by the Athenian fleet, which had remained at Samos, to which Alcibiades afterwards joyning fuch forces as he could raife, obtained many victories. Before

the Towne of Abydus, his arrivall with eighteene ships, gaue the honour of a great battaile to the Athenians; he ouerthrew and vtterly destroyed the fleet of the Lacedamonians, commanded by Mindarus, tooke the Townes of Cyzicus, and Perinthus. made the Selymbrians ranfome their Citie, and fortified Crysopolis. Hercupon letters were fent to Sparta, which the Athenians, intercepting, found to containe the distresse of the Armie in these few words: All is lost; MINDARVS is flaine; the Souldiers want victualls; we know not what to doe.

20 Shortly after this, Alcibiades overthrew the Lacedamonians in fight by Land at Chalcedon, tooke Selymbria, besieged and wanne Byzantium, now called Constantinople, which even in those dayes was a goodly, rich, and very strong Citic. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driuen to banish himselse againe; only because his Lieutenant, contrarie to the expreffecommand of Alcibiades, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the fleet.

The second banishment of Alcibiades was to the Athenians more harmeful than 30 the first; and the losse which thereupon they received, was (though more heavie to them, wet) leffe to be pittied of others, than that which enfued voon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought reuenge vpon his owne Citie; now, as inured to aduersitie, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should have repaired their weake estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himselfe after injurie receined. Before they, who were instituted in the place of Alcibiades, arrived at the fleet, he presented battaile to Lysander the Lacedamonian Admirall, who was not so confident vpon his former victorie, as to vndertake Alcibiades himselfe, bringing ships more in number (not withstanding the former losse of sisteene) than his ene-40 mics had, and better ordered than they had beene under his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Nauie, then did Alcibiades with-draw himselse to a Towne vpon Hellespont, called Bizanthe, where hee had built a Caftle.

X I.

The battaile at Arginusa, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.



Fter this time, the Athenians receiving many losses & discomfitures. were driuen to flie into the Hauen of Mytelene, where they were straightly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessity inforced them to man all their Vessells, and to put the vttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile

was fought at Arginula, where Callieraditas, Admirall of the Laced amonians, losing the honor of the day, preserued his owner eputation by dying valia ntly inthefight. It might well haue beene expected, that the ten Captaines, who jo yntly had command in chiefe ouer the Athenian fleet, should for that good daies service, and so happy a victorie, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise they were forth-with called home, and accused, as if wiltully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them vp, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very just answere; That they purfuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, under fufficient men, to faue those that 10 were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arifing about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse anailed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who faid, That he himselfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had beene intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to defire of the people reuenge of their deaths upon the Captaines. It was very itrange, that vpon fuch an acculation maintained with fo slender quidence, men that had well deserued of their Countrie should bee ouerthrowne. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolue them, sauc only Socrates the wise and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one 20 had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much a-doe relicued by other vessells in the storme : but the Captaines which were absentescaped; for when the furie of the people was ouer-past, this judgement was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceined and peruerted the Citizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselves from the infamic of injustice; but the divine justice was not a-sleepe, nor would be so deluded.

#### à. XII.

The battaile at Agos- Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian Warre.



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He Peloponnesian fleet under Lysander, the yeere next following, hauing scowred the Egean Seas, entred Hellespont, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged and tooke the Towne of Lampsacus. Hereupon all the Nauie of Athens, being an hundred and fourescore saile, made thither in haste, but finding Lampfacus taken before their com-

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ming, they put in at Seffos, where having refreshed themselves, they sailed to the 40 River called, Egos-Potamos, which is (as we might name it) Goates-brooke, or the River of the Goate; being on the Continent, opposite to Lampfacus: and therethey cast Anchors, not one whole league off from Lysander, who rode at Lamplacus in the harbour. The next day after their arrivall they presented fight vnto the Peloponnefians, who refused it, whereupon the Athenians returned againe to Agos-Potamos, and thus they continued five dayes, braving every day the Enemie, and returning to their owne harbour when it drew towards euening.

The Castle of Alcibiades was not farre from the Nauie, and his power in those places was such as might have greatly availed his Countrimen, if they could have made vie of it. For he had waged Mercinaries, and making warre in his owne name to wpon some people of the Thracians, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the Athenian Commanders, repaired vnto them, and shewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not soone fore-see and prevent it. For they lay in a roade subject to eve-

ry weather, neither neere enough to any Towne where they might furnish themselues with necessarie, nor so farre off as had beene more expedient. Sestus was the next Market-Towne; thither both Souldiers and Mariners reforted, flocking away from the Nauie cuerie day, as soone as they were returned from brauing the Enemie. Therefore Alcibiades willed them either to lie at Seffus, which was not farre off, or at the least to consider better how neere their enemie was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to his Generall, than from any cowardife. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of to date. Had it not beene for these opprobrious words, hee could (as hee told his familiars) have compelled the Lacedamonians, either to fight vpon vnequall rermes, or vectly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that hee might fo have done by transporting the light-armed Thracians his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Straights, who affaulting the Peloponnesians by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leave their ships to the mercy of the Athenians. But finding their acceptance of his good counsaile no better than hath beene rehearfed, he left them to their fortune, which how cuill it would be he did prognosticate,

CHAP. 8. S.12.

Leaders in the Warres.

of the Historie of the World.

Lylander all this while defending himselfe by the advantage of his Hauen, was 20 not carelesse in looking into the demeanour of the Athenians. When they departed, his manner was to fend forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who obferring their doings, related vnto him what they had feene. Therefore vnderstanding in what carelesse fashion they romed vp and downe the Countrie; he kept all his men a-boord after their departure, and the fift day gaue especial charge to his Scouts. That when they perceived the Athenians, dilembarking, as their custome was, and walking towards Sestos, they should forth with returne, and hang vp a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and Lyfander being in a readinesse; made all speed that strength of Oares could give, to Agos. Potamos, where he found ve-30 ry few of his enemies a-boord their Ships, not many neere them, and all in great confusion upon the newes of his approch.

Infomuch that the greatest industrie which the Athenians then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported. gaue over Athens as desperate, and made along flight vnto the Ile of Cyprus, all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. Thus was the warre which had lasted seuen and twentie yeeres, with variable succeffe concluded in one houre, and the glory of Athens in such wise eclipsed, that the neuer afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this victoric Ly fander, having taken such Townes as readily 40 did yeeld vpon the first fame of his exploit, set sayle for Athens, and ioyning his forces with those of Agus and Paulanias, Kings of Sparta, summoned the Citie, which finding too stubborne to yeeld, and too strong to bee wonne on the sudden, hee put forth agains to Sea, and rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and such Townes of the Ionians, as had formerly held of the Athenians, to submit themselues to Sparta, hee did thereby cut off all provision of vichuals, and other necessaries, from the Citie, and inforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to these conditions: That the long walles, leading from the Towne to the Port, should bee throwne downe; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should be set at libertie; That the Athenians should bee Masters only of 50 their owne Territories, and the fields adiovning to their Towne, And that thev should keepe no more then twelve Ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the Lacedamonians did, and follow the Lacedamonians as

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## CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian Warre, or shortly following it.

#### ò. I.

How the affaires of Persia flood in these times.



VRING the times of this Peloponnesian Warre, and those other lesse expeditions foregoing it, Artaxerxes Longimanus, having peaceably injoyed along raigne oner the Persians, left it by his death either to Darius, who was called Darius Nothus, or the Bastard, whom the Greeke Historians (lightly passing over Xerxes the second, and Sogdianus, as Vsurpers, and for their short raigne little to be regarded) place next vnto him, or to Xerxes the second, who, and his brother Sogdianus after him seeming to have benethe sonnes of Hester) held the Kingdome but one yeere betweene them,

theyonger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to pursue the Historie of the Persians from henceforth, by rehearfall of all the particulars, otherwise then as they shall be incident to the affaires of Greece. It may therefore fuffice to fay, That Xerxes the second, being a vicious Prince, did perilhafter a moneth or two, if not by furfeit, then by treachery of his as riotous bro-30 ther Sog dianus. Likewise of Sog dianus it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he flew vnjustly Bagorazus a principall Eunuch, and would have done as much to his brother Darius the Bastard, had not hee foreseene it, and by raising a ftronger Armie than this hated King Sog dianus could leavie, seized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. Darius having flaine his brother, held the Empire fineteene veeres. Ampriaus of Sais an Egyptian rebelled against him, and having partly flaine, partly chased out of the Land the Persian Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmely with the Greekes, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his posteritie, who (notwithstanding the furie of their civill Warres) maintained it against the Persian, all the daies of this Darius, and of his sonne Artaxerxes 40 Mnemon. Likewise Amorges, a subject of his owncand of the Roiall bloud, being Lieutenant of Caria, rebelled against him; confederating himselfe with the Athenians. But the great calamitie, before spoken of, which fell vpon the Athenians in Sicil, having put new life into the Spartans, and given courage to the Ilanders and others, subject to the State of Athens, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for Darius, that the Lacedamonians being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Nauie, without which it was imposfible to advance the warre against the State of Athens, that remained powerfull by Sca, were driven to crave his affiftance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the articles of the league 50 betweene him and them were fet downe in more precise termes ; wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre joyntly vpon the Athenians, and vpon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of Asia, which had formerly beene his, or his Predecessours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the warreen-

joycing of those who had borne displeasure to Athens; and not without some consultation of destroying the Citie, and laying waste the Land about it. Which aduice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirtie Gouernours, or rather crucili Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former insolencie, and injustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slauerie.

The only small hope then remaining to the Athenians, was, that Alcibiades

These articles being agreed upon, the walls were throwne downe with great re-

The only small hope then remaining to the Athenians, was, that Alcibiades might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirtie Tyrants perceiving this, advertised the Lacedamonians thereof, who contribed, and (as to nowe domineering in every quarter) soone effected his suddaine death.

Such end had the Peloponnesian Warre. After which the Lacedamonians abufing the reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to all Greece, and by Combination of many Cities again them, were dispossessed of their high authoritic, euen in that very Age, in which they had subdued Athens. The greatest foile that they tooke was of the Thebans, led by Epaminondas, under whom Philip of Macedon, Father to Alexander the Great, had the best of his education. By these Thebans, the Citie of Sparta (besides other great losses received) was sundrie times in danger of being taken. But these haughtie attempts of the Thebans came finally to nothing; for the severall Estates and Si-20 gnories of Greece, were growne fo jealous one of anothers greatnesse, that the Lasedamonians, Athenians, Argiues, and Thebans, which were the mightiest associating themselves with the weaker partie, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one Citie could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so farre as might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Countrie remained rather euenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till fuch time as Philip, and after him Alexander, Kings of Macedon, (whose forefathers had beene dependants, and followers,

yea almost meere Vassalls to the Estates of Athens and Sparts) found meanes, by making yee of their factions, to bring them all into feruitude, from which they never could be free, till the Romanes presenting them with a shew of libertie, did themselves in-

deede become their Masters.

CHAP.

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fuing (of which I have already spoken) he recovered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in Asia. Likewise by assistance of the Lacedamonians be got Amoroes a-line into his hands, who was taken in the Citic of Iafus; the Athenians wanting either force or courage to succour him. Neuerthelesse Agypt still held out against him the cause whereof cannot beethe emploiment of the Persian forces on the parts of Greece, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions. but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his natural lenemies, what the valour of his owne Subjects was insufficient to performe. Darius had in marriage Parylatis his owne fifter, who bare vnto him (besides other children) Artaxerxes called Mne- 10 mon, that is to say, the Mindfull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; and Cyrus the yonger; a Prince of fingular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever Persia bred after Cyrus the Great. But the old King Darius, intending to leave vnto his elder sonne Artaxerxes the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealous eye vpon the doings of yong Cyrus, who being Lieutenant of the lower Asia, tooke more vpon him than befitted a Subject: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to have taken some verv sharpe course with him, had not his owne death prevented the comming of his vonger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betweene these brethren, and summarily of Artaxerxes, we shall have occasion to speake somewhat 20 in more convenient place.

# How the thirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

Hold it in this place most convenient to shew the proceedings of the Greekes, after the subuersion of the walls of Athens, which gaue end to that warre called the Peloponnesian warre, but could not free the vnhappy Countricof Greece from civill broiles. The thirtie Gouer-30 nours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of Athens, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of fuch ancient Statutes, as were meeteft to be put in practice: the condition of the Citie standing as it did in that so sodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the Supreme authoritie, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessitie of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being vncertaine, it was fit that fuch men should give judgement in particular causes, to whose judgement the Lawes themselues, by which the Citie was to bee ordered, were become subject. But these thirtie having so great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to descrue it, by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them 40 in truft.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the citie, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who colidered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethinke themselves, how easie a thing it would be vnto these thirtie men, to take away the lines of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elfe they lifted, when condemnation without due triall and proofe had been conce well allowed. Having thus plaufibly entred into a wicked course of gonernement, they thought it best to fortisie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needes commit for the esta- 50 blishing of their authoritie. Wherefore dispatching two of their owne companie to Sparta, they informed the Lacedamonians, that it was the full intent of the thirtie, to keepe the City free from all rebellious motions, to which purpose it behoued them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the Lacedamenians to send

them a Garrison, which they promised at their owne cost to maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a guard fent, the Captaine of which was to well entermined by the thirtie, that none of their mildeedes could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the Tyrants beganne to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, inuaded the principall men of the City, lending armed men from Houseto House, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely or able to make any head against this wicked forme of government: whereby there was such effusion of bloud, as to Theramenes (one of the thirtie) scemed very horrible, and vnable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discouered, caused his fellowes to bethinke themselves, and provide for their owne fecurity, and his destruction, lest he should make himselfe a Captaine of the discontented (which were almost the whole Citie) and redeeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens. whom they thought meetelt, and gaue vnto them some part of publike authority, the rest they disarmed; and having thus increased their owne strength, and weakened their opposites, they began a fresh to shead the bloud, not only of their prinat enemies, but of fuch whose money, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the paiment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man, vpon whose goods he should seize, putting the ow-20 ner to death. But when Theramenes vttered his detestation of so wicked intent; then did Critias, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one maine priniledge of the three thouland was that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but have the accustomed trial) he took vpon him to strike out of that number the name of Theramenes, and so reduced him under the triall and sentence of that order. It was well alleaged by Theramenes, that his name was not more cassie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans, vpon which confideration, he adulfed them all to conceive no otherwise of his case, than as of their owne, who were liable to the fame forme of proceeding; but (enery man choosing rather to presente his owne 30 life by filence, than prefently to draw vpon him felfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come neere him) the Tyrants interpreting filence as confent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poylon.

#### ð. I II.

#### The conspiracie against the thirtie Tyrants, and their deposition.



Fter the death of Theramenes, the thirtie began to vie such outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For having three thouland (as they thought) firme vinto them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, despoiling them of lands and goods, and causing them to flie into banishment, for safeguard of their lines. This flight of the Citi-

zens procured their libertie, and the generall good of the City. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to Thebes, entred into confultation, and resoluted to hazard their lines in setting free the Citic of Athens. The very thought of such a practice had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventie men, or thereabout, were the first vndertakers, who with their Captaine Thrasphalus tooke Phyla, a place of strength in the Territoric of 30 Athens. No fooner did the thirtie heare of their exploit, than fecke meanes to preuent further danger; affembling the three thouland, and their Lacedamonian guald, with which force they attempted Phyla, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too firong to be taken by affault, they intended to beliege it; which purpose came to nought by meanes of snow that fell, and other stormie

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weather against which they had not made prouision. Retiring therefore to the Ci tie, which about all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard and two companies of Horse, to wearie out them which lay in Phyla, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of Thrafybulus were encreased from seventy to feuen hundred, which aduentured to giue charge vpon thologuards, of whom they cut off aboue an hundred & twenty. These small, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in Phyla, who now with a thousand mengot entrance into Piraus, the suburbe of Athens, lying on the Port. Before their comming, the thirtie had resolved to fortifie the Towne of Eleusine, to their owne vse, whereinto they might make an eafie retrait, and faue themselves from any sudden perill. It 10 may well feeme strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of government had brought them into such danger, they were so farre from seeking to obtaine mens good wil, that contrariwife, to affure themselves of Eleusine, they got al of the place who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, and wickedly (though vnder forme of iustice) murthered them all. But, Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter, the mischiefes which they had alreadie done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of fafetic, than by extending their crueltie vnto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When Thra-Tybulus and his fellowes, who as yet were termed conspirates, had taken the Pireus. then were the three thousand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to affanic 20 it: but in this enterprise Thrasybulus had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom although there were flaine to the number of seventie, onely yet the victory feemed the greater, because Criticas, & one other of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of Critics, and the flout defence of Piraus, together with some exhortations yfed by Thrafybulus to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirtie were deposed. Neuerthelesse there were so many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet forme of gouernement could be established. For Embassadors were sent to Sparta, who craving aide against Thrasybulus, and his followers, had fauourable audience, and a power sent to their affishance, both by Land 30 and Sea, under the conduct of Lyfander, and his Brother; whom Paufanias the Spartan King did follow, railing an Armie of the Cities confederate with the Lacedamoneans. And here appeared first the icalousie, wherein some people held the State of Sparta. The Bactians, and Corinthians, who in the late warres had been the most bitter enemies to Athens, refused to follow Pausanias in this expedition; alleaging that it flood not with their othes, to make warre against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing, indeede, lest the Lacedemonians should annexe the Territorie of Athens to their owne Demaines. It is not to bee doubted, that Paufanias tooke this answere in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to crosse the proceedings 40 of Lylander, whom he enuied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of Thrafybulus his party, made a shew of warre, finally wrought such meanes, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and fuch others, as were like to give cause of tumult, being sent to Sparta. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, having with drawne themselves to Eleusine, were shortly after found to attempt some innountion; wherevoon the whole City rising against them, took their Captaines, as they were comming to Parlie, and flew them: which done, to avoide further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made and carefully observed the Citie returned to her former quietnesse.

CHAP.

# CHAP. X. Of the expedition of Cyrvs the younger.

of the Historie of the World.

ò. I.

The grounds of C x R V S his attempt against his brother.



CHAP.10. S.1.

HE matters of Greece now standing upon such termes, that no one Estate durit oppose it selfe against that of Lacademon; young Cyrus, brother to Astaxernes, King of Persia, having in his fathers life time very carefully profecuted the warre against Athens, did fend his mesfengers to Sparta, requesting that their love might appeare no leffe to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous warre against the Athenians. To this request, being generall, the Laccdamonians gaue a futable answere, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto Cyrus all feruice that hee

should require of him. If Cyrus had plainely discouered himselfe, and the Lacedamonians bent their whole power to his affiftance, very like it is, that either the Kingdome of Persia should have been the recompense of his deserts, or that he perishing in battaile, as after he did, the subversion of that Empire had forth with ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew vnto the Greekes the waies, which vnder the Macedomian Enfigues, the victorious foot fteps of their posteritie should measure, and ope-30 ning vnto them the riches, and withall the weakenesse of the Persian, to kindle in them both defire and hope of that conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mightie Kingdome, whose houre was not vet come. The love which Parylatis, the Oucene-Mother of Perfiz bare vnto Cyrus her yonger fonne, being feconded by the carnest fauour of the people, and ready defires of many principall men, had moued this yong Prince, in his fathers old age, to aspireaster the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as bath before beene shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; hee found his elder brother Artaxerxes established so furely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not fase to attempt any meanes of displanting him, by whose disfauour, himself might 40 easily lose the place of a Viceroy, which he held in Asia the lesse, and hardly bee able to maintaine his owne life. The neerest neighbour to Cyrus of all the Kings Deputies in the lower Asia, was Tissaphernes, a man compounded of cowardise, trecherie craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied Cyrus to his Father, vling by the way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queene Pary fatis had obtained the inheritance of that mightie Empire. And it was very true, that Pary fatis had vfed the best of her endeuour to that purpose, alleaging that (which in former ages had bin much availeable to Xerxes, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) Artaxerxes was borne whilest his father was a private man, but Cyrus, when he was 50 acrowned King. All which not fufficing; when the most that could bee obtained for Cyrus, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in Lydia, and the parts adjoyning: then did this Tiffaphernes discover his nature, and accuse his friend Cyrus to the new King Artaverses, of a dangerous treafon intended against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true or false, very

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eafily beleeued, Cyrus was arrefted, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and sent back into his owne Prouince.

٥. II.

The preparations of Cyrvs, and his first entrie into the Warre.

He forme of gouernement which the Persian Lieutenants vsed in their several Provinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made Warre and Peace, as they thought it meete, not onely for the Kings 10 behoofe, but for their owne reputation; vsually indeede with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the nore cally tolerated, because their owne heads were held only at the Kings plea-

Kings enemies, yet fometimes one with another: which was the more casily tolerated, because their owne heads were held only at the Kings pleafure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, what soeuer it were, or they could coniccture it to be. Cyrus therefore being settled in Lydia, began to consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers loue, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his owne people, and that good neighbourhood of the Lacedamonians, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should 20 long sitidle, as waighting till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprise somewhat whilest yet his Mother lined, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first beganne to quarrell with Tiffaphernes, and seized vpon many Townes of his iurisdiction, annexing them to his owne Pronince; which displeased not Artaxerxes at all, who (besides that hee was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by Cyrus the accustomable Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in private quarrels. But Tiffaphernes, whose base conditions were hated, & cowardife despised, although he durst not adventure to take armes against Cyrus, yet perceiuing that the Milesians were about to give vp them- 30 selues into the hands of that yong Prince, as many other townes of the Ionians had done, thought by terrour to preserve his reputation, and keepe the Towne in his owne hands. Wherefore he flew many, and many he banished, who flying to Cyrus, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no small part of his desire. In leuying Souldiers he vsed great policie; for he took not only the men of his owne Province, or of the Countries adioyning, whose lives were readie at his will 3 but fecretly he furnished some Gracian Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in Thrace, others in Thessalie, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them ready to crosse the Seas, at the first call of Cyrus, till which time they had se- 40 cret instructions to prolong their seuerall warres, that the Souldiers might bee held in continuall exercise, and readic in armes vpon the sudden. Cyrus having sent a power of men to beliege Miletus, forthwith summoned these bands of the Greekes, who very readily came ouer to his affistance, being thirtcene thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of Artaxerxes. With this Armie, and that which he had leuied before, hee could very easily have forced Miletus, and chased away Tissaphernes out of Asia the lesse: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be imploied in the accomplishment of higher designes. Pretending therefore that the Pisidians, a people of Asia the lesse, not subject to the Persian, had inuaded his Terri- to torie, heraifed the fiege of Miletus, and with all speed marched Eastward, leaving Tissaphernes much amazed, who had no leifure to reioyce that Cyrus had left him to himselfe, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was never levied against the Rouers of Pisidia, but rather against the great King his Master. For which

caule taking a band of five hundred horse, hee posted away to carrie tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

ð. III.

How Cyrvs tooke his iourney into the higher Asia, and came up close to his Brother.

He tumult which his comming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen Statira, against Pary (atis, the Queene-Mother, whom the called the Author and occasioner of the warre. But whilest the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger hastned vpon him very fast. For Cyrus made great marches, having his numbers much increased, by the repaire of his Countrimen, though most strengthned by the accesse of seue hundred Greeks, and of other source hundred of the same Nation, who revolted vnto him from the King. How terribie the Greekes were to the Barbarians, he found by triall in a Muster, which (to please the Queene of Cilicia, who had brought him aide) he made in Phrygia; where the Greekes by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the rest of his Armie, which 20 contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiuing that this was but a braucric) fled a-maine, the victuallers and baggagers for faking their cabbins, and running all away for very feare. This was to Cyrus a joyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed by men of the fame temper. and the more vnlikely to make relistance, because they were prest to the warre against their will and dispositions, whereas his Armie was drawne a-long by meere affection and good will. Neuerthelesse he found it a very hard matter to perswade the Greekes to passe the River of Euphrates. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with conceit of the tedious returne, Therefore he was driven, being yet in Cilicia, to feeke excuses, telling them, that Abrocomas, one of 30 the Kings principall Captaines, and his owne great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to affist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to Euphrates, where some of the Greekes considering, That whoso passed the River first, should have the most thankes, and might safely returneif the rest should refuse to follow them, they entred the Foords, whereby were all finally perswaded to doe as some had begunne, and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seeke out Artaxernes, wheresoever he was to be found. The King in the meane time having raifed an army of nine hundred thou fand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to aduenture them in triall of a plaine battaile. Abrocomas, who with three hundred thousand men, had vnder-taken to 40 make good the Straights of Syria, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to seeme impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the Kings forces, not daring to look Cyrus in the face, who despairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the Lacedemonian fleete, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Armie. I doe not finde that this cowardise of Abrocomas, or of his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Campe, till fine daies were past after the battaile, received either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himselfe, were all made of the same metall.

Therefore Artaxerxes was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of 50 his Kingdom, untill by Teribazus, one of his Captaines, he was persuaded not to abandon so many goodly Provinces to the Enemie, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharpe disputation of Titleto a Kingdome is most availeable) would have growne superior in reputation. By such advice, the King resolved upon meeting with his brother, who now began to be a se-

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cure, being fully perswaded, that Artaxerxes would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the King hauing cast vpa Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foot broad, and eighteene soote deepe, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be farre distant from his enemies.

#### ۵. IIII.

## The battaile betweene CyRVS and ARTAXERXES.

He Armie of Cyrus hauing ouercome many difficulties of cuil waies, and scarcitic of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiuing this great scare of Artaxerxes, & being patt this trench, marched carelelly in great disorder, hauing bestowed their Armes in Carts, and vpon Beafts of carriage; when on the sudden one of their Vaunt-currors, brought newes of the Kings approch. Hereupon with great tumuit they armed themselves, and had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the River Euphrates, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was after noone. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the seete of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their neere 20 approch how well they were marshalled, comming on very orderly, in silence, whereas it had beene expected, that rushing violently with loude clamours, they should have spent all their force vpon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in distent, being all embattailed in one bodie and square, that Cyrus taking his place (as was the Persian maner) in the middest of his owne, did not with the corner, and vtmost point therof, reach to the halfe breadth of Artaxerxes his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number exceeding nine times that of Cyrus: then did the Greekes begin to distrust their owne manhood, which was not accustomed to make proofe of it self, vpon such exceffine oddes. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should bee so easily 30 chased. Neuerthelesse, it quickly appeared, that these Persians, having learned (contrary to their custome) to giue charge vpon their enemies with silence; had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the Greekes, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and fithes (whereof Artaxerxes had two hundred, and Cyrus not twentie) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his encmies gaue so much confidence to Cyrus, and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certaintly, the Title had beene assured 40 vnto him that day, had not he fought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that Artaxerxes, who found that part of the field which lay before him voide, was about to encompasse the Greeks, and to set vpon them in the reare, he advanced with fixe hundred Horse, and gaue so valiant a charge vpon a squadron of fixe thousand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, flaying the Captaine thereof, Artager fes, with his owne hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole companie of sixe hundred, very sew excepted, began to follow the chase, leaving Cyrus too ill attended, who perceiving where the King stood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leave the field, could not containe himselfe, but said; I fee the man: and presently with a small handfull of 50 men about him ranne vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the breft. Hauing given this stroke, which was his last, he received immediately the fatall blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a dart, throwne by a base-fellow, where with assonied,

he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was unpossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safety; not caring afterwards for their owne lines, when once they perceived that Cyrus their Master was flaine. Artaxerxes caused the head and right hand of his brother to bee forthwith fricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling youn the name of Cyrus, and deliring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troupes, & vtterly difmaied fuch Persian Captaines, as were now, even in their owne eies, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of Cyrus was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence Astaxerxes, making all speede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the Greekes, which was about three miles from the place where Cyrus fell. There hee met with Tiffaphernes, who having made way through the battaile of the Greekes, was readie now to joyne with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which Artaxerxes brought with him of his brothers death, beene sufficient to counternaile all disasters received; the exploit of Tissaphernes in breaking through the Greekes would have veelded little comfort. For Tiffaphernes had not flaine any one man of the Greekes, but contrariwife, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great flaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the squadron of the 20 Greekes. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the Greekes, as Masters of the field, gave chase to all that came in their fight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these Greekes, intending to set vpon them in reare. But these good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approch, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being purfued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a brauerie, than with purpose to attempt vpon these bold-fellowes any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom he would seeme to have slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this 30 reputation he thought that he might now preserve wel enough, by shewing a manly looke, halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaied on the top of a Speare. This ensigne might have encouraged his people, had not some of the Greekes espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discouering their approch, fled vpon the spurre; so that none remained in the place of battaile, sauc only the Greeke, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no newes of Cyrus, but thinking that hee was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to returne to 40 their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings comming had given them no leifure to dine.

#### δ. V.

The hard estate of the Greekes after the sight; and how ARTAXERXES
in vaine fought to have made them yeeld
wnto him.

T was now about the fetting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little, or nothing being left, that might serve for sood: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their wearie bodies with sleepe. In the meane season Artaxerxes returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived

perceined that the basenesse of his people, and weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainely discouered to the Greekes: which gaue him affurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shamefull demeanor of his Armie, should line to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signoric. Wherefore hee resolued, to trie all meanes, whereby hee might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carrie tidings of that which he had seene: to which purpose hee sent them a braue message the next morning; Charging them to deliuer vp their Armes, and come to his Gate, to awaite there voon his Mercie. It seemes that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that 10 thought. For the Greekes being aduertised that morning from Ariaus, a principall Comander under Cyrus, that his Master being slaine, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into Ionia, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would joyne with him, but resoluing to stay no longer: they sent an-Swere back to Arians, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst relist them, they would place Arians himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would joyne with them, and pursue the victorie. Before they received any reply to this answere, the Messengers of Artaxerxes arrived at the Campe, whose crrand seemed to the Captaines very insolent: One told them that it was not for the 20 Vanquishers to yeeld their Weapons; another, that he would die ere hee yeelded to such a motion; athird asked, whether the King, as having the victoric, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie hee meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question Phalinus a Gracian, waiting upon Tillaphernes, answered; That the King having slaine Cyrus, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdome, in the middest whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted frength to kill if they would hold up their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to 30 be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told Phalinus, that having nothing left, but their Armes & Valour, whilest they kept their Armes, their Valour would be scruiceable, but should they yeeld them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat Phalinus laughed, saying; This yongman did seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes, and his Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemes that Phalinus being a Courtier, and imploied in a businesse of importance, thought himself too prosound a Statesman, to be checkt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisdome hereinfailed him. For what soeuer he himselse was (of whom no more is knowne than 40 that he brought an vnhonest message to his owne Countrimen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, & Liues, to the mercilesse Barbarians) this yong Scholler by him despised, was that great Xenophon, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprised by treacherie of the Persians, being a private Gentleman, and having neuer seene the warres before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought safe into Greece, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than Phalinus could propound. Some there were who promifed to be faithfull to the King, as they had beene to Cyrus, offering their service in Agypt, where they thought Artaxerxes might have vie of them. But the finall answere was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the Kinggood as Friends, nor defend 50 themselues from him as Enemies. Hereupon Phalinus deliuered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilest they abode where they the were, denouncing Warre if they stirred thence, Whereunto hee required their answere. Clearchus the Generall told him, they liked it. How (faith Phalinus) must I vnderCHAP.10.S.6. of the Historie of the World.

fland you? as choosing peace if we stay, otherwise warre, said Clearchus. But whether warre or peace? quoth this politique Embassadour. To whom Clearchus (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wifer than he came. All that day the Greekes were saine to seede vpontheir Horses, Asses, and other Beass, which they rolled with arrowes, darts, and woodden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

#### è. VI.

How the Greekes beganne to returne home-wards.

T night they tooke their way towards Arians, to whom they came at mid night; being forfaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horse, all Thracians, who fled ouer the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces, for had they been kindly vsed, it may well bee thought that some

of them should have accompanied Tissaphernes, and served as Stales to draw in the rest. Ariem being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke upon seeking the King-20 dome for himselfe, with such affishance as might have given it unto Cyrus, was very well pleased to make couenant with them for mutuall affishance unto the last: Wherunto both parts having sworne, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should bee somewhat longer, yet safer and sitter to relieue them with vistuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coasted them, lodged in certaine Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which Clearchus made directly, because hee would not seeme by declining them to shew seare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath con-

30 sidered their former behauiour; Nor strange, that the Gracians being wearie and hungrie, and lying among enemies in an vnknowne Countrie, should be very fearefull; but it is almost past beliefe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to doe, should make the Persians slic out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Armes, he should craue peace of them. The next day very early, came messengers from Arraxernes, desiring free accesses for Embassiadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars doe best open the qualitie of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to runne ouer the general passages of those times, than to dwel among circumstances.

4º But furely it is a point very remarkeable, That when Clearchus had willed the Meffengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, because the Greekes (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; Artaxeries dissembling the indignitie, was contented sweetly to swallow downe this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plentie of victuals to relieue them.

d. VII.

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table

d. VII

How T is saphernes, under colour of peace, betraied all the Captaines of the Greekes.



Ither to the Greekes, relying vpon their owne vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought the selicities into any straights or termes of disaduantage. But now came vnto them the subtile Fox Tissaphernes, who circumuenting the chiefe Commanders by fine sleights, did mischicuously entrappethem, to the extreme danger of the Armie, 10

He told them, that his Province, lying neere vnto Greece, had caused him greatly to desire, that their delinerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrimen at home, would not be vnthankefull for fuch a benefit. Herewithall hee forgot not to rehearfe the great feruice that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of Cyrus his intent, and having not only brought him a good frength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the Greekes, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chase to the Barbarians that flood on the part of Cyrus. All this (quoth hee) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you fafe into Greece; in which fuite 20 I have good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answere to him, who hath willed me to aske you, for what cause yee haue borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to give gentlewords, which Tiffaphernes relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he faid) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for what they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to affoord them an open Market. Hereunto both parties having sworne, the League was concluded, and Tiffaphernes returning to the King to take leave, and end all bufineste, came vnto them againe after twentie daics, and then they fet forward. This 30 interim oftwenty dales, which Tiffaphernes did spend at the Court, ministred great occasion of miltrust to his new Confederates. For belides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breede doubt; the Brethren, and Kindred of Arieus, repairing daily to him, and other Persians to his Souldiers, did work him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that hee daily grew more strange to the Greekes, than formerly he had beene. This caused many to aduise Clearchus, rather to paffe forward as well as he might, than to relie vpon couenants, and fit ftill whileft the King laied mares to entrap them. But he on the contrarie per swaded them, to rest contented whilest they were well, and not to cast themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting 40 withall their owne wants, and the Kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually gluen and taken, wherewith hee faw no reason why the chemic should have clogged himselfe if hee meant milebiefe, having power enough to doe them harme by a faire and open Warrei

Tissaphernes was a very honourable Man (if honour may bee valued by greatnesse and place in Court) which caused his Oath to bee the more esteemed; for as
much as no inforcement, or base respect, was like to have drawne it from him.
But his falshood was such, both in substance and in successive may fitly expound
that saying, which proceeded from the sountaine of Trust, I hate a rich man alyar.
Alye may finde excuse when it growes out of search for that passion hath his originals from weakenesse. But when Power, which is a Charaster of the Almightie,
shall be made the supporter of vntruth, the salshood is most abominable; for the
offender, like proud Lucifer, advancing his owne strength against the divine Iustice,
doth commit that sinne with an high hand, which commonly producech same

table effects, and is followed with fure vengeance. It was not long ere Tiffaphernes found meanes to destroy all the Captaines, whom hee subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall Clearchus himselfe the meane to draw in all the reft. The businesse was contriued thus: Having travailed some dates together in fuch wife, that the Persians did not encampe with the Greekes, who were very jealous of the great familiaritie, appearing betweene Tiffaphernes, and Arieus; Clearchus thought it convenient to roote out of Tiffaphernes his braines all causes of distrust. whereof many had growne in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, he rehearfed the oath of Confederacie, which had past betweene them, shewing how religiously he meant to keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the Greekes did receive by the helpe of Tiffaphernes, he promifed that their love should appeare to him not unfruitful, if he would make vie of their service against the Mysians or Pissdians, who were accustomed to infest his Province, or against the Agyptians, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he defired him, that whereas al divine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspition, whereby might grow fudden inconvenience to either of them, vpon no just ground. The faithleffe Perfian was very much delighted with this speech, which ministred faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told Clemehus, that all this was by him 20 wifely confidered, wishing him further to call to minde how many waies hee could have vsed to bring them to confusion, without perill to himselfe, especially by burning the Countrie, through which they were to passe, whereby they must needes have perished by meere famine. For which cause hee said that it had beene great folly to feeke by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were alreadic in his hands; But the truth was, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their fafetie, not onely for those ends which Clearchus had recounted. of pleasures that might redound to himselfe, and the King, by their assistance: but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what Cyrus had mist. Finally, he inuited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured 30 of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captaines with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, Tiffaphernes likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by fecret information fought to raise diffension between them. Clearchus himselfe being thus deceived, with great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the camp of Tislaphernes, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers as it had beene to some common Faire. But being there arrived, Clearchus with other the flue principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a figne was given, vpon which they within were apprehended, and the refidue flaine. Forthwith certaine bands of Per-40 fian Horse-men scoured the field, killing as many Greekes as they met, and riding vp to the very Campe of the Gracians, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely wounded, informed them of all that had beene done. Hercupon the Greekes took Armes in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have affailed their Campe. Anon they might perceive the Embassadours of Tissaphernes, among whom were his owne brother, and Arieus; followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principall men in the Armie, faying, that they brought a meffage from the King, which Arieus deliuered to this effect. That Clearchus having broken his faith, and the league made, was justly rewarded with death; that Menon and Proxenus, two other of the fine Co-50 ronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to furrender their Armes, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his feruant Cyrus. When some altercation had followed upon this message, Xenophon told the Embassadours, that if Clearchus had in such fort offen-

ded, it was well that he was in such fort punished; but he willed them to fend back

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP. 10: \$.7.

Menon and Proxenus, whom they had lo greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the Greekes might be aduited how to answere the Persian. Hereunto the Embassadours knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. Clearchus, and the other foure were sent to Artaxerxes, by whose commandement their heads were striken off. I hold it not amisse to preuent the order of time, annexing to this persidiousnesse of Tiffaphernes, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province wasted by the Greekes, against whom receiving from his Master convenient aide of men and money, hee did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perjurie (to which he failed not to haue recourse) auailing him; finally, the King was jealous of to his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompense of his treacherie, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not doe, he was thought vpon priuate ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flye from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let vs returne to the prosperitie, wherein hee triumphed without great cause, having betrayed braver men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischiese vpon the whole Armie.

#### Q. VIII.

How XENOPHON heartened the Greekes, and in despisht of TISSA-PHERNES went off (afely.

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R cat was the heaninesse of the Souldiers, being now destitute of Leaders, and no lesse their searc of the cuill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not how to auoide. Among the rest, Xenophon, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe fadnesse of the whole Armie to be such as hindred them from taking

any course of preuenting the danger at hand, began to admise the vnder-Officers of Proxenus his companies, whose familiar friend he had beene, to bethinke them- 30 felues of fome meane, whereby their fafetie might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: fetting before their eyes what socuer might serue to give them hope, and aboue al perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous

Hereupon they defired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment; and fo together with him, the same night calling vp such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeede in the places of those who were flaine, or taken. This being done, and order fet downe for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the loffe of Tiffaphernes his affiftance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than 40 he had beene wont to fell them; To which purpose they intended to take vp their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceede, marching towards the heads of those great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made vpon them by Tiffaphernes, whom they, scruing alon foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they received by the Persian Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the Greekes could reach. For this cause did Xenor hon prouide slings, wherewith he ouer-reached the enemy; and finding some Horses sit for service, that were imployed among the carriages, he fet men vpon them; training likewise his Archers to shoote compasse, who had beene accustomed to the point blanke. By these 50 meanes did hee beare off the Persians who assailed him; and sometimes gave them chace with that band of fiftie Horse, which being well backt, with a firme bodie of footmen, and seconded with rroupes of the light-armed-shot and slingers, compelled the enemie to lie a-loofe. Tiffaphernes not daring to come to handie gripes with

these resolute men, did possesse the tops of Mountaines, and places of advantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through all fuch difficulties, he betooke himselfe to that course, which was indeede the surest, of burning the Countrie. With great forrow did the Greekes behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some adulfed to defend the Countrie, as granted by the enemie himselfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the Persians might be ashamed to doe that which were the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsaile was, that being neere vnto the Carduchi, a people enemie to the Persian, they should 10 enter into their Countrie passing over some high Mountaines which lay betweene them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them, if Tissapherneshad begunne sooner to cut off their victuals, rather then to seeke to force, or to circumuent them by his fine wit.

#### ø. IX.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in passing through the Land of the Carduchi.

Ntring vpon the Land of the Carduchi, they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselues against the huge Armies of the Persian, were no way inferiour to the Greekes in daring, but only in the Art of warre. They were verie light of foot,

skilfull Archers; and vsed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrie were of much vse against these poore trauailers, afflicting them in seven daies which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Betweene the Territorie of the carduchi, and the parts of Armemis confining them, ranne Centrites a great River, vpon which the Greekes refreshed 30 themselves one day, rejoyeing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would proue easie. But the next morning they saw certainetroupes of Horse, that lay to forbid their passage. These were leavied by the Kings Deputies in those parts; Tiffaphernes and his Companies having taken their way towards Ionia. The River was broade and deepe, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite bankes. To increase these dangers the Carduchi following vpon them, lay on the side of a Mountaine, within lesse than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discouer a Foord, by which the greater number of them passing ouer, did easily chase away the Subjects of the Persian, and then sending backe the most expedite 40 men, gaue fuccour to the Reare-ward, against which the Carduchi being slightly armed, could not on plaine ground make refistance hand to hand. These Carduchi sceme to have inhabited the Mountaines of Niphates, which are not farre from the Spring of Tygris; though Ptolomie place them far more to the East vpon the River of Cyrus in Media, wherein he differs much from Xenophon, whose relation being grounded vpon his owne knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the River Centrites (as of many other Rivers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by Xenophon) I will not labour to make a coniecture, which may endure the scueritie of a Critick. For Ptolomie, and the whole Nation of Geographers, adde small light to this expedition: only of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into Tieris, not

50 much aboue Artafigarta springing out of Niphates, and running by the Towne of Sardena in Gordene, a Province of Armenia the Great, wherein the Greekes having passed Centrites did arrive.

How TERIBAZVS Gouernour of Armenia, feeking to entrap the Greekes with termes of fained peace, was disappointed and Chamefully beaten.

He Armie finding in Armenia good provision, marched without any disturbance about listic or three icore mines to the mean of the Tigris, and passing ouer them, travialed as farre further without redisturbance about fiftie or threescore miles to the heads of the River filtance, till they were encountred by Teribazus at the River Teleboa, 10

which Xenophon commends as a goodly water, though small; but Ptolomie and others omit it. Teribazus gouerned that Countrie for the Persian, and was in great fauour with Artaxerxes, whole Court may sceme to have beene a Schoole where the Art of falshood was taught as wildome. He desired peace of the Greeks, which was made vpon this condition; that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As foone as he had made this league, he leavied an Armie, & besetting the Straights of certaine Mountaines which they were to passe, hoped wel to make such benefit of their security, as might giue him the commendation of being no lesse crastily dishonest than Tissaphernes. Yet his cunning failed of successe. For a great snow fell, which caused the Greekes 20 to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. Teribazus also made many fires, and some of his men wandred about seeking reliefe. By the fires he was discovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was reucaled. Hecreupon the Greekes, taking this captine with them for a guide, fought him out; and comming vpon his Campe, did so affright him, that before the whole Armie could arrive there, the shout which was raised by the Vaunt-currors, chased him away. They tooke his Pauilion, wherein (besides many slaues, that were Artificers of voluptuousnesse) verie rich furniture was lest by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Armic went northward, and passing Euprates, not far below the springs thereof, travailed with much 30 difficulty through deepe fnow, being followed aloofe by the enemy, who durft not approach them, but did cut off such as they found stragling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Countrie, through which they marched, had their wintring houses vnder ground, wherein was found great plentie of victuals, and of cattaile, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient case after the miserable journey, which had confumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond flaues, and taking away (belides other Horses and Cattaile) some Colts that were bred vp for the great King.

The passage of the Armie to Trabizonde, through the Countries bordering upon the River of Phasis, and other ob-Cure Nations.

O without impediment they came to the River Phass, neere where-vnto the people called Phasiani Tankhi and Ch. L. I. Nations io yned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the Greekes were to passe, made countenance of warre: but some companies being sent by night to seize vpon a place of c-

quall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to Aic, encry one retyring to the defence of his owne. The first vpon whose Countrie

the Greekes did enter were the Taochi, who convaying all their provision of victuals into ftrong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great flore of cattaile were taken; the people, to avoide captinitie, threw themselves head-long downe the rocks, the very women throwing downe first their owne children, and then casting themselues vpon them. Here was taken a great bootic of Cattaile, which served to feed them, travailing through the land of the Chalybes, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The Chalybes were a very front Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the Greekes hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting 10 off their heads, which they carried away, finging and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions living; who were glad, when after feuen daies iourney they efeaped from those continuall skirmishes, where with they had been vexed by these Barbarians, Hence travailing through a good corne-Countrie, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the Seythini, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord wherof, and of the Region adioyning, vsed them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discouer the Euxine-Sea. From Gymnias (which was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies, defiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five daies march, they came to a Mountaine called Teches, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called Mo-30 Schiei, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the Macrones, (with whom by meanes of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place had Trabifords beene fold into Greece, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of Colches, Colonie of the wherein stands the Citie of \* Trabifond, called then Trapezus, a Colonie of the Greekes, Situate Greekes. The Colchi entertaining them with hostilitie, were requited with the like; in the bottome for the Armie haning now good leifure to repose themselves among their friends Sea. the Trapezuntians, did spoile the Countrie thirtie daies together, for bearing onely the Borderers vpon Trabizonde, at the Citizens request.

d. XII.

How the Armie beganne at Trabizond to prouide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of Sinope, and there prosequited the same purpose.



Auing now found an Hauen Towne, the Souldiers were desirous to take (hipping, and change their tedious Land-iournies into an easie Nauigation. To which purpose Cherisophus a Lacedemonian, one of Natigation. 10 winer purpose certifying a factorism of Anaxibias the the principall Commanders, promifed by meanes of Anaxibias the Lacedamonian Admirall, who was his friend, that he would prouide

Vessels to embarkethem. Hauing thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to vie them for their nauigation. Lest all this prouision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Armie, Xenophon perswaded the Cities adioyning to cleare the waies, and make an easic passage for them by Land, whereunto the Souldiers were vtterly vnwilling to giue care, being desirous to returne by Sea, but the Countrie fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to Xensphons request. Two ships they borrowed of the Trapezuntians, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them failed directly into Greece, for faking their Companions, who had putthem in trust to bring ships into the Port of Trabifonde: the other tooke Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were staied to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals beganne to faile, by reason that all the Land of the Colchi, neere vnto the Campe was alreadic quite wasted, they were faine to embarke their sickmen, with Lill 2

a Mesynaci a

b Calvora a Port Towne in the fame Region.

c Senene a Porr-Towne in Leucolyria,

Colonie of the Mylefians.

the women, children, and fuch of the baggage as might belt be foured, in those few thips which they had already prouided. The rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to Cerafus, a Greeke Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the Armie being multered, was found to confift of eight thousand and six hundred men From hence they passed through the Countrie of the a Mosynaci, who were divided into tus Cappadocieus factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to ioyne with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was b Cotyora, a Greeke Townelikewise, and a Colonie of the Sinopians, as Trapezus and Cerasus were; but the entertainement which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market affoorded to 10 them, nor the fick-men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) beltowed those which were sicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their owne hands the custody of the Gates. Prouision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territoric of the Paphlagonians, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were vnwelcome to sinope, whence Embassadours were fent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatning to joyne with the Paphlagonians, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by Xenophon, That mecre necessitie had enforced the Armie to teach those of cotrora good manners in so bad a methode : letting them know, that he feared not to deale 20 with them and the Paphlagonian at once; though perhaps the Paphlagonian would be glad to take Sinope it felfe, to which, if cause were given, they would lend affistance. Vpon this answere the Embassadors grew better adulfed, promising all friendship that the State of Sinope could shew, and commanding the Towns of Cotyora to relieue the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promifed to affift them with shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would prone, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as Thermodon, Iris, Halys, and Parthenius, which croffed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceived, that the Citie of Sinope would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It 20 was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to embarke energy one man of them, then would they not put from the shore.

#### d. XIII.

Of diffension which arose in the Armie; and how it was embarked.



Itherto the danger oftenemics, and mileries of weather & wants, had kept the companie in firme vnitie; which now beganne to dissolue 40 and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of Greece, warming their heads with private respects to their severall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were fent as Agents from the Campe, remained at Sinope;

Xenophon considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunitie of the coast wheron they lay, thought it would be an honorable worke to build a Citie in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissance, and of the great repaire of the Greekes into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countrie, divining of his successe by the entrailes of beasts. The Sooth-sayer whom hee imployed had received a great reward of Cyrus, for coniecturing aright, that Ar- 50 taxerxes would not give battaile in ten daies: hee therefore, having preserved his money carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpole of Xenophon was disulged, which was interpreted according to the diversitie of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the

greater part rejecting it. They of Sinope and Heracles, being informed of this confultation, were fore afraide, left the poucrtie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should give successe to the project. Which to prevent, they promifed to supply the Armie with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captaines, who thereupon vnder-tooke to give the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set faile for Greece. One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into Treas; another offered to leade them into Cherronesus. Xenophon who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions and professed openly that hee would have to them to let forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that should for sake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their journies end. Silanus the Sooth-layer, who had vttered Xenophons purpose, was heereby flaied from outrunning his fellowes, and driven to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived, that thips were prepared fufficient for their Nauigation, but that the money promifed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of Sinope, and Heracles, knowing that the Atmie was now resolved for the voiage, & that Aenophon, whom they scared, had perswaded them to this resolution; thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Nauy 20 whilest they were in good readinesse to depart, but to keepe the money to themselues. The Captaines therefore who being disappointed by these Townes, found themselues in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their hastic offers, & fignifying as much to Xenophon, praied him to make proposition to the Armic, of taking the ships, and sayling to Phasis, where they might seize vpon Lands, & plant themselves in such wife as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to worke the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becomming publike, bred a suspition of Xenophon, as if he had wonne the rest of the Captaine to his purpose, and meant now to carrie the Armie quite another 30 way from their owne home. Wherefore affembling the Companies, he gaue them fatisfaction, and withail complained of some disorders which he caused them to redreffe. A generall inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of Cyrus; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadours from Corylas, Lord of the Paphlagonians, who sending presents desired peace of the Greekes: the Embassadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been fought, for that the Greekes having now their fleet in a readinesse, did soone weigh Anchors, and set saile for Harmene the Port of Sinope, whither Cherisophus came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admirall Anaxibius, who promised to give the Armie pay as soone, as they came 49 into the parts of Greece.

#### ¿. XIIII.

Another great diffension and distraction of the Armie. How the muti-, ners were beaten by the Barbarians, and refcued by XENOPHON.



Hencerer that they approched to Greece, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not returne home emptic-handed. Wherefore trufting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, hee might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determi-1.111 2

ned to make Xenophon fole Commander of all, in whose fauour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the Lacedamonians, who were lealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who for fooke the Armie at Trabizond, flying with one of their two thips or moved by fome tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill successe to his gouernment, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laied vpon Cherisophus a Lacedamonian. It seemes that Xenophon, considering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntarie Army, wanting pay, did wiscly in veelding to fuch tokens as forbad him to accept it:especially, knowing so well their defire, which was by right or by wrong to get wealth wherefocuer it might bee to found, without all regard of Friend or of Foc. Cherisophus had beene Generall but fixe or feuen daies, when he was deposed, for having been vn willing to robbe the Towne of Heraclea which had fent presents to the Campe, and beene very beneficiall vnto them in lending thips for their transportation. Two daies they had failed by the coast of Asa, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at Heraclea, where consulting how to take their way on wards, whether by Land or Sea, one feditious man began to put them in minde of feeking to get fomewhat for themselves; telling them that all their provision would be spent in three daies, and that being now come out of the enemies Countrie, victuals and other necessaries could not bee had without 20 money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the Towne of Heraclea, giving the Citizens to understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called Cyzicens, which summe amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound starling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the fumme raised to tenne thousand Cyzicens at least: which to require, they thought Cherisophus, as being Generall, the fittest man; others had more defire to fend Xenophon: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Lest therefore either of these should faile in managing the businesse which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudencie and leffe discretion were sent, who in such wife deliuered their insolent mes- 20 fage; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their cauenous purpose, they fel to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betraied them: and being for the more part of them Arcadians, and Achaens, they for sooke immediately Cherisophus and Xenophon, choosing new Leaders out of their owne number. Aboue foure thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captaines, failed into the Port of Calphas, which is in the mid-way betweene Heraclea and Bizantium, with purpose to assaile the Bythinians on the suddaine. With Cheriforhus there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one 40 thousand and source hundred were armed weightily: Xenophon had two thousand foor, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and fortie horse, which smal band had done good feruice alreadie, and could not have beene spared now. Cherisophus had agreed with Cleander Governour of Bizantium, to meet him at the mouth of the River Calphas, whither Cleander promited to bring some Gallies to convey him ouer into Greece; for which cause he tooke his way thither by Land, leaving to xenopbon such shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed ypon the Confines of Heraclea, and Thracia Afiatica, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Countrie to the Propont. The Mutiners, who had landed at Calpas by night, with purpose to take spoiles in Bythinia, divided themselves into ten Compa- 50 nies, euery Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, fine or sixe miles from the Sea, in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and fo was that part of the countrie surprised on the suddaine, & sacked all at one time.

The place of Rendeuous was an high pecce of ground, where some of them arriued finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaping, the rest were all put to the fword. For the Thracians which had flipt at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raife the Countrie, and finding the Greekes loden with bootie, tooke the aduantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the Thraceans had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retrait from these Areadians, & Acheans: who wanting the affiltance of horse. to and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to fland meerely vpon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received. the Darts and Arrowes of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to craue parly. What foeuer the articles of composition were, the Thracians yeelded to all; but pledges for affurance they would give none, without which the Greekes well knew, that all promifes of fuch people, especially fo incenfed, were nothing worth. In the meane time Xenophon holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Travailers, whether they knew ought of any Gracian Armie, passing along those parts; and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly 20 throwne themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horse-men hee sent before to discouer, and to scowre the waies; the light-armed foot-men tooke the hill-tops on either hand, all of them fetting fire on what soener they found combustible, whereby the whole Countrie seemed to be on a light-flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that some huge Armie had approched. That night he encamped on a Hill, within fine mile of the Arcadians, encreasing fill the number of his fires, which hee caused hastily to be quenched soone after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainely that hee would have fallen vpon them in the darke, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early the next mor-30 ning Xenophon comming thither in very good order, to have given battaile, found that his deuice, to affright the Thracians, had taken full effect; but hee maruailed that the Greekes were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquirie, that they removed at breake of day, and perceived by fignes that they had taken the way to the Port of Capas, in which journey hee ouertooke them. They embraced Him. and His, with great joy: Confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that hee should have come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were afraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened a way, to ouertake him, and joyne with him. So they arrived at the Hauen of Calpas, where it was decreed, That who locuer from thenceforth made a-40 ny motion to disioyne the Armie, should suffer death.

à. XV.

Of divers pieces of service done by X en of H on; and how the Armie returned into Greece. The occasions of the Ware betweene the Lacedamonians and the Persian.



He Hauen of Calpas lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient sea for a great Citie. All which commodities, that might have allu ed the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant,

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caused them to haste away, fearing lest Xenophon should sinde some device to have settled himselse and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to live at home, neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow Cyrus in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him: the poorer fort were luch as left the Parents, Wives, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to returne. But whether it were so that Xenophon found advantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrailes, did indeede forbid their departure: follong they were inforced to abide in the place till victualls failed, neither would to the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Countrie, untill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. Cherisophus was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the Heracleans, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more prouision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of Cherisophus, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood necre at hand; in which enterprise he found ill successe, the whole Countrie lying in waite to entrap him, and an Armie of Horse being sent by Pharnabazus the Satrapa, or Vice-roy of Phrygia, to the assistance of these Bythiman Thracians, which troupes falling vpon the Greekes that were scat- 20 tered abroade in seeking bootie, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certaine Mountaine thereby. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to Xenephen, heled forth a part of the Armieto therefcue of those that survived, and brought them safe to the Campe; vpon which the Bythinians made an offer that night, and breaking a Corps du garde, flew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemie, together with the present condition of the Armic, so disheartened and vnfurnished of necessaries, caused the Greekes to remoue their Campe to a place of more strength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of fuch as were least able to indure travaile, Xenophon with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to burie those which were lately slaine, and to 30 abate the pride of the Thracians, and their Affistants. In this journey his demeanour was very Honourable. For having given buriall to the dead, the Enemie was discouered, lying on the tops of the Hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backes a wood scarce passeable) hee marched directly, telling his men plainely, that hee had rather follow the enemie with halfe the number, than turne his back to them with twice as many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Barbarian, hee would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the campe, yet what should they doe there, wanting victualls to sustaine 40 them in the place, and ships, to carrie them away? wherefore hee willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than an other day fasting; and norto regard the vneasie returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish vnto the Énemie a faire and casie way, by which hee might flie from them. These persuasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both Persians and Bythinians being chased out of the field, abandoned the Countrie forthwith, remouing their Families, and leaving all that could not fodainely becconveighed away, to the discretion of the Greekes, who at good leisure gathered the harvest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the fide of Afia. For they were not only suffered quietly 50 to enjoy the spoile of the Countrie, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of Xenophon to plant a Colonic on the Port of Calpas, Embassadours were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and

make offer of their best affistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to stay. Wherfore entring further into Bythinia, they tooke a great bootie, which they carried away to Chrysopolis, a Citic neere vnto Chalcedon, where they sold it. Pharnabazus, Lieutenant in Phrygia to Artaxerxes, did greatly feare, left their long stay in that Countrie might breede in them a defire to visite his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he fent to the Lacedamonian Admirall, entreating him with much inflance and large promifes to wast them ouer into Europe; to whom Anaxibius the Admirall condescending. promifed to give the Souldiers pay, as foon as they arrived at Bizantium. So were to they carried out of Asia at the intreatic of the Persian, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Armes into his hands, and so to yeeld their lives to his discretion. How discourteoully they were intreated by Anaxibins, and how to requite his injurious dealings. they seized vpon Bizantium, which by Xenophons persuasion they forbare to sacke. I hold it superfluous to relate. For the relidue of their doings appertaine little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discover the secrets of Asa, and stirre vp the Greekes to thinke vpon greater enterprises, than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewiseit was the only remarkable action which the time affoorded. For the Roman warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of Italie; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Lacedamonians ruling infolently, but without diflurbance. True it is, that the seedes of the Warre shortly following, which the Lasedamonians made vpon Artaxerxes, were already fowne, before thele companies returned out of the high Countries of Asia. For the Townes of Ionia, which had fided with yong Cyrus against Tiffaphernes, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell, which they thought fafer, than to fall into the hands of Tiffaphernes, who was now appointed Licutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to Cyrus. Wherefore the Ionians belought the Lacedamonians to fend them aide, whereby to recouer 30 their libertie; and obtained their

of the Historie of the World.

request.

For a power was sent ouer, under conduct of Thimbro
a Spartan, who bestowed his men in such
Townes as had already revolted, to
secure the Cities and their Fields,
but not to make any offensive Warre.

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## CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whilest they were managed by the Lacedamonians.

How the Lacedamonians tooke courage by example of X ENOPHONS Armie, to make Warre upon ARTAXERXES.



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T seemes that the Lacedamonians did well perceive in how ill part Artaxerxes tooke their fauour shewed unto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open warre against him, thinking it sufficient 20 to take all care that no advantage might flip, which could serue to strengthen their estate, by finding the Persian worke beyond the Sea. But when Xenophons Armie had reuealed the basenesse of those effeminate Asiatiques, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselues had gotten, vpon termes of extreme difaduantage; then was all Greece filled with defire of

vndertaking vpon this huge vnweldie Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Sufa, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to Babylon, and further, finding no power that was able 30 to give them resistance, in all that long journey of foure and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty fine furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about foure thousand two hundred foure score and one, a very painefull march of one yeere and three moneths. Neuerthelesse the civill distraction wherewith Greece was miserably torne, and especially that hot fire of the Theban Warre, which, kindled with Persian gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew backe out of Asia the power of the Lacedamonians, to the defence of their owne estate; leauing it questionable whether Agesilaus, hauing both the same, and farre greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeeres, which he spent in Asia, his deedes procured more commenda- 40 tion of magnanimitie and faire behauiour, than of flout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly so cuer it pleased Xenophon, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countries lying neere the Sea, carry no proportion to Xenophons owne journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retrait of Conon the Briton with fix thousand men from Aquileia, to his owne Countrie, through all the breadth of Italie, and length of France, in despite of the Emperor Theodofius, being rather like it than equall. But of Agefilaus and his warres in Asia and Greece, we shall speake more in due place. 50

The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.

HIMBRO receiving Xenophons men, beganne to take in Townes, and to entertaine all fuch as were willing to repolt from the Persian, who were many, and some of them such, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who seeme to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live vnder the government of Tissaphernes,

10 whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Master did love him. The managing of the warre begunne by Thimbro, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to Dercyllidas a Spartan, who behaued himselfe as a good man of Warre, and a wife Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of Alia was divided betweene Pharnabazus and Tillaphernes, who did ill agree, Pharnabazus being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chiefe command in those warres against the Greekes; Dercyllidas who did beare a private hatred to Pharnabazus (knowing well that Tissaphernes was of a mischieuous nature, and would not be forry to see his Corrivall throughly beaten, though to the Kings loffe) made an appointment with Tiffaphernes, and forth-20 with entred Adis, which was under the jurisdiction of Pharnabazus, which Pro-

nince, in few daies, he brought into his owne power. That Countrie of Folis had about the same time suffered a violent alteration. which gave easie successe to the attempts of Dercyllidas. Zenis a Dardanian had beene Deputie to Pharnabazus in those parts; after whose death his wife Mania procured his Office, wherein thee behaued herfelfe fo well, that thee not only was beloued of the people vnder her gouernement: but enlarged her Territorie, by the conquest ofcertaine Townes adjoyning; and fundry times gaue affistance to Pharnabazus in his warres against the Mysians and Persians. For sheehad in pay some Companies of Greekes, whose valour by her good vsage did her great service. But somewhat be-30 fore the arrivall of Dercyllidas in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called Midias, whom sheetrusted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to stifle her, and kill her sonne of seuenteene yeeres old; which done, he seized vpon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have beene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers, that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to Pharnabazus, desiring him to make him Gouernour in the place of Mania. His presents were not only rejected by Pharnabazus, but revenge of his foule treason threatned, whereby the wicked villaine was driven into tearmes of almost vtter desperation. In the meane time came Dercyllidas, to whom the Townes of Mania, that held against Midias; 40 did quickly open their Gates. One only Towne flood out foure daics (against the will of the Citizens, who were couctous of libertie) the Gouernour striuing in vaine to have kept it to the vse of Pharnabazus. Now remained only two Cities Gergethe and Seepsis, which the Traitour held, who scaring all men, as being loued of none, sent Embassadours to Dercyllidas, desiring leave to speake with him, and pledges for his securitie: vpon the deliuerie of which hee issued out of Scepsis, and comming into the Campe, made offer to joyne with the Greekes vpon such condition ons as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainely told by Dercyllidas, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at libertie. And presently vpon these words they marched toward Scepsis. When Midias perceived that it 50 was in vaine to firiue against the Armie, and the Townessmen, who were all of one minde; hee quietly went along with Dercyllidas; who remaining but a few houres in the Citie, did a facrifice to Minerua, and then leading away the Garrison of Midias; heleft the Citie free, and departed toward Gergethe. Midie did not for lake his Companie, but followed him, carneftly intreating that hee might be suffered to retaine Gergethe: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened, for (quoth Dercyllidas) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to Minerua. The Traitor not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercinaries to open the Gates, whereby Dercyllidas, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serue under his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of Mania were seized vpon, as belonging to one that had beene subject to Pharnabazus, who was enemie to the Greekes: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World hee might finde any place to hide his detefted head. Dercytlidas, having in eight daiestaken nine Cities, purposed for the case of his Confederates to winter in Bythinia, to which end hee tooke to Truce with Pharnabazus, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter; and the Sommer ensuing, the Truce being recontinued held; in which time, besides the wasting of Bythinia, the neck of Land joyning Cherronea to the Maine, was fortified. being foure or fine miles in breadth, by which meanes eleuen Townes with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild Thractans and made fit and able to victuall the Campe. Likewise the Citie of Atarne was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with prouision. After this, Dercyllidas had command from Sparta, to divert the warre into Caria, where was the seate of Tissaphernes; for that hereby it was thought not vncasse to recouer all the Townes of Ionia: Pharax the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yeerely Office) 20 being appointed to joyne with him. Though it was manifest that This aphernes had neglected Pharnabazus in time of necessity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For Pharnabazus having respect to the Kings service, came to asfift his private enemie Tiffaphernes, & so passing into Carea, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these Persians were desirous to keepe the warre from their owne dores, so was Dercyllidas willing to free his Confederates the Ionians from the spoile and danger of the warre, by transferring it into Carta. For which cause he passed the River of Meander, and not looking to have bin so soone encountered, marched carelessy through the Countrie: when on the very sodaine 30 the whole Armie of Tiffaphernes and Pharnabazus was discourred, confishing of Perfians, Carians, and some Mercinarie Greekes, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battaile. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in advantage of ground: for the Persian had a great multitude of Horse, the Greeke very few and seeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the Ionians, together with the Ilanders and others, of fuch places as bordered voon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainely discouer by their lookes, that they meant not to be more bold than wife. Only Dercyllidas with his Peloponnesians regarding their honor, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs have brought 40 them to destruction, if the counsaile of Pharnabazus had beene followed, who perceining the opportunitie of so great a victorie, was not willing to let it slip. But Tissaphernes, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of relistance was made, beganne to confider what strange defence the Souldiers of Xenophon had shewed, and thinking that all the Greekes were of the like resolution, held it the wifest way to craue parly; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made, to last vntill Tiffaphernes might receive answere from the King, and Dercyllidas from Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treatie, which were on the one part, that all the Greekes in Alia might enjoy their owne libertie and lawes, but contrariwise on the other side, that the Lacedemonians should depart Asia, and leave the 50 Townes to the Kings pleasure. This Treatie was of none effect; only it served to free the Greekes from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto Tissaphernes, who defired to avoide the warre by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to sinish by triall of a battaile.

ð. III.

How the Lacedamonians tooke reuenge upon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the State of Sparta.

Nthe meane feafon the Lacedamonians, who found none able to withfrand them in Greece, beganne to call the Eleans to accompt for some disgraces received by them during the late warres, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such pettic injuries. These Eleans being Presidents of the Olympiaque games, had set a fine vpon the Citic of Sparta, for Non-paiment of which, they forbade them to come to the folemnitie; and publiquely whipt one of them, that was a man of note, for prefuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred Agis King of Sparta, from doing facrifice to Iupiter; and in all points vied great contempt toward the Spartans, who now had no businesse that could hinder them from taking reuenge; and therefore fent a peremptoric message to the Eleans, commanding them to set at libertie the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the vsuall pretence which they made the ground of all their warres: though little they cared for the libertie of fuch Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vassals of the Lacedamonians. In their late warres with Athens, the strong oppolition which they found, caused this goodly Title of libertie to worke verice flowly: but having now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gave present successe to their desires. Two yeeres together they sent an Armie into the Countrie of the Eleans: the first yeere an earthquake (held in those times a prodigious figne, and which did alwaies forbid the profecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeere, all the Townes of the Eleans did hastily reuolt, and the Citie it selfe was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their libertie, and to have her owne walls throwne 30 downe. Only the Presidentship of the Olympian games was lest vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming vie modefly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greekes were affiliant to the Lacedamonians, excepting the Corinthians and Bastians, whose aide having been of as much importance in the late Peloponnesian Warre, as the force of Spartait selfe, they could not smoother their dislike of their vnequall division following the victoric; which gaue to Sparta the command of al Greece, to Thebes, and Corinth, only fecuritie against Athens, but such a securitie as was worse than the danger. For when the equallereatnesse of two mightie Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutral Common-weales to adhere to 40 either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortall hatred profecuted the warre to extremitie, leaving the one Citie naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both, it was then (if not necessarie to obey the greatnesse which themselves had made yet) foolish and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuerthelesse, it was not the purpose of the Spartans to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victorie or composition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

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§. IIII.

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The passage of AGESILAVS into Alia. His warre with TISSAPHERNES. How Tissapher nes was put to death, and the warre diverted into another Province, through perswasion and gifts of TITHRAVSTES bis successor. How carlesse the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.



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GESIL AVS newly made king of Sparta; was defirous to haue the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected vpon those 10 of Asia; and therefore procuring a great Armie to loyne with that of Dercyllidas, he tooke his way in great pompe to Aulis in Baotia, a Hauen, lying opposite to the Iland of Eubaa, in which place Agamemnon

(leading the power of all Greece to the warre against Trey, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of Agamemnon hee meant also to do sacrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Countrie, would not permit, but faying that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers, they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for Agestlaus to entangle himselfe and his Countrie in any new warre; there- 20 fore waiting better opportunitie of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumelie, and followed his maine intendment. Having landed his men at Ephefu, he was entertained by Tiffaphernes with a Treatie of peace, wherein Agefilaus peremptorily requiring that the Persian should restore to liberty all the Greek Townes in Asia, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answere to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make truce. Truce was therfore made, which Tiffaphernes had fought, onely to winne time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and money from Artaxerxes; whilest Agestlaws was busie in setling the Estates of his confederate Cities on that side of the Sca. The end of this long vacation from warre was at the comming down of these for-30 ces which Artaxerxes had fent: at what time Agefilaus received a plain message from Tissaphernes, that either he must forth-with depart out of Asia, or make good his aboade by firong hand. Agefilaus returning word, that hee was glad to heare that his enemics had by periurie descrued vengeance from Heauen, prepared to inuade them; and fending word to all the Townes which lay betweene him, and Caria, that they should prouide victuals and other necessaries for his Armie, did easily make Tissaphernes beleeve, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein Tissaphernes Saphernes dwelt, and which was vnfit for Horse, in which part of his forces the Perfiam had most confidence. Therefore Tiffaphernes bestowing all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plaines of Maander, hoping thereby to 40 ftoppe the passage of a heavie foot-Armic, not suffering them to passe into that Countrie which was fittest for their service. But the Greekes left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke great spoile without resistance, till such time as the Horse men of Pharnabazus met him, who in a small skirmish having the better of the Greekes, were the occasion that Agesilaus returned to Ephefus. Although in this last fight onely twelve men were lost, yet Agesilaus perceiuing by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the masterie of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which meanes having enabled himselfe, whilest winter lasted hee entred vpon the Countrie of Tiffaphernes, as soone as the season of co the yeere would permit, and not onely tooke a great bootie, but finding the Horse-men of Tissaphernes in the plaine of Meander, without assistance of their infanterie, hee gaue them battaile, and had a great victorie, taking their Campe in which hee found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heavie vpon Tistaphernes

Tissaphernes, who either upon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battaile. or following some other bulinesse, was then at Sardes. For which cause his Master having him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much defired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts Tithraustes a Persian, to cut off the head of Tillaphernes, and succeede him in the gouernment. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by periurie he could advance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouer-weening of his owne wisdome, even in that part of cunning, wherein he thought himro selfemost perfect, for supposing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation hee should one way or other circumuent the Greekes, and make them weary of Alia; he did not seeke to finish the warre, and according to his Masters wish, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might finde some opportunitie of making fuch end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it feemes that he much mistooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would hee much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found fuch meanes whereby the danger it sefe might have been avoided: as not louing to have warre, whilest by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well 20 by the course which Tethraustes tooke at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he fent Embassadours to Agesilaw, in very friendly fort, letting him know, that the man who had beene Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the Greekes enjoy their owne lawes and libertie, vpon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie be forthwith dismissed. The answere to this proposition, was by Agesilaus referred to the Councell of Sparta; in the meane season he was content to transferre the warre into the Prouince of Pharnabazus, at the request of Tithraustes, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

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This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offensive and on the defen-30 fine part. For Agesilaus having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbeare his seuerall Provinces, at the entreatie of the Lieutenants: and those Lieutenants being emploied by the King to maintaine his Eflates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily bee taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Prouinces, which were subject likewise to the same Crowne of Persia, so long as their own government could be preserved free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the Persian side, I can ascribe to nothing so descruedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuches, Concubines, and Ministers of pleasure, were able by partial construction to countenance, or dis-49 grace, the actions of fuch as had the managing of things abroade; and to that foo-

lift manner of the Kings (which was so vsuall that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Provinciall Governour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Countrie given in charge vnto each of them received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as every one was desirous to make his owne Territorie veeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was carefull to affift his borderers, if loffeor danger might thereby grow to himfelfeand his; but fate fill as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not beene vneasie to recompence the spoile of one Countrie, by conquering another, or defending a third from farre greater miseries.

CHAP. II. S. 14.

à. V

The Warre and Treatic betweene AGESILAVS and PHARNABAZVS.

GESILAVS having thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Countrie without resistance. Hee tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious then profita-

ble. For he did not winne Cities and Places of strength, which might have encreafed his power, and given affurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him some that were disontented and flood vpon bad termes with the great King, whom he loft againe as eafily, by meanes of some slight iniuric done to them by his vnder-Captaines. Pharnabazus did not enclose himselfe in any Towne for seare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as necre as he could fafely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not vncasie to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of Sparta, in the times of their most necessitie, had beene so great, that when hee (obtaining parlie) 20 did set before their eies his bountie towards them, and his loue (which had beene fuch, that besides many other hazards of his person, he had for the rescue of their fleet when it was driven to runne a-shore at Abydus, adventured to ride into the Sea as farre as he could finde any ground, and fight on horse-backe against the Athenians) together with his faith which had neuer beene violated in word or deede: they knew not how to excuse their ingratinde, otherwise then by telling him, That having warre with his Master, they were inforced, against their will, to offend him. Agesilaus did make a faire offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them; they would maintaine him against the Persian, and establish him free Prince of the Countrie wherein hee was at that time onely Deputie to Artaxerxes. But 39 Pharnabazus told him plainely, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make warre against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemie; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey an other, he would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Armie should no longer abide in Phrygia, nor againe returne into it, whilest emploiment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by Agesilaus, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appeale Pharnabazus, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessarie bufinesse elsewhere; but because his Countrie would yeeld great bootie; and for the hire of thirtie Talents. By this meanes the Lacedemonians changed an honourable 40 Friend into a hot Enemie, who afterwards requited their vnthankefulnesse with full reuenge.

V I.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were byred with gold from the Persian.

N the meane while Tithraustes, perceiving that Agestiaus meant nothing less them to returne into Greece, and let Artamermes rest quietly 50 in Asia, tooke a wise course whereby the Citic of Sparta was not only driven to looke to her owne, and give over her great hopes of subverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had beene gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained vnto the narrow bounds of her

her owne Territorie. Hee sent into Greece fiftie talents of silver, to be imploved in railing warre against the Lacedamonians; which treasure was, by the subtile practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed, among the principall men of the Thebans, Argines, & Corinthians, that all those Estates having formerly borne fecret hate to that of Sparta, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open war. And lest this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercife, begin to faint, and vanish away in idle wordes, occasion was found out to thrust the Lacedamonians into Armes, that they themselves might seeme Authours of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the 10 Thebans had in former time laid claime; but the Phocians either having the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it adjudged vnto them, and received veerly money for it. This money the Locrians were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Phocians not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recourring agreat deale more than their owne; which the Thebans (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an inuation made vpon Phocis, wasting that Countrie in the manner of open warre. Such were the beginnings of professed hostilitie betweene Thebes and Sparta, and the first breaking out of their close enmitie, that had long time, though hardly been concealed. For when the Phocian Embaffadours came to Sparta, complaining of the 20 violence done by the Thebans, and requesting succour, they had very fauourable audience, and readie consent to their suite; it being the manner of the Lacedamonians, to deferre the acknowledgement of injuries received, vntil occasion of reuenge were offered, and then to discover their indignation in cold bloud. At this time they had very good opportunitie to worke their owne wills, hauing no other war to disturbe them in Greece, and hearing out of Asia no newes, that could offend or trouble them. Whereforethey fent Ly fander to raise all the Countries about Phocis, and with such forces as he could leavie, to attend the comming of Paufanias King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath beene shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesus. Lysander did as he was appointed, and being of great 30 reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to revolt from Thebes. Paulanias likewise raised all Peloponnesus, except the Corinthians, (who resused to assist him in that enterprise) meaning to joine with Lysander, and make a speedie end of the war. The confideration of fo great a danger, approching fo swiftly, caused the Thebans to fecke what helpe they could abroade, for a fmuch as their owne strength was farre too little to make relistance against such mightie preparations. It was not viknown to them, that many followers of the Lacedemonians were otherwise affected in heart than they durst vtter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little auaileable, confidering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should doe as little hurt as they could: by which manner of terginer sation, the 40 Corinthians did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the Spartans, to the no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it was thought the fafell course, to procure the affistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side. which would cause many others to follow the example, & make their partie strong. To this end they sent Embassadours to Athens, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendship lately shewne in their refusall of assisting Pausanias, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants, against the good Citizens of Athens. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour fake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of Athens to 50 her former Estate and Dignitie. Thrasybulus and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirtie, had been well entertained at Thebes, procured now the Citie to make a large requitall of the courtesie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of Athens should not only resule to aide the Lacedamonians in this Warre; but that it should affist the Thebans, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest Pausanias lay

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fill, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates; Lyfander being desirous to doe somewhat that might advance the businesse in hand, came to Haliartus, where, though Paulanias did not meet him, as had beene appointed, yet he attempted the Towne. and was flaine in fight by the Thebans, who came hattily to the rescue. As this vi-Ctorie did encourage the Thebans, so the comming of Pausanias with his great Army did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were foone reuiued by the strong succour which was brought from Athens, in consideration of which, and of the lace battaile, Paufanias durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition departed out of their Territorie, for which, either cowardile or indifcretion, he was at his re- 10 turne to Sparta condemned as a Traitour, and driven to flie into Tegea, where hee ended his daies in banishment.

How AGESILAVS was called out of Asia to helpe his Countrie. A victorie of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian, afifted by PHARNABAZVS, ouercomes the Lacedemonian fleet; recouers the masterie of the Seas ; and rebuilds the walls of Athens.

His good fuccesse, and the confederacie made with Athens, gaue such reputation to the Thebans, that the Argiues, Corinthians, Eubeans, Locarians, and Acarnanes, did forthwith fide with them, & railing a strong Armie, determined to give battaile to the Lacedamonians as necre as they might, to their owne dores; Considering that the force of Spartait selfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of Sparta perceiuing the danger, sent for Agesilaus, who readily obeied them, and promising his friends in Asia to returne speedily to their affiltance, paffed the Straights of Hellespont into Europe. In the meane time the Cities of the new league had given battaile to the Lacedemonians, and the remainder of 20 their Associates, but with il successe. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the Argines and Thebans returning from the chale in some disorder were broken and defeated by the Lacedamonians, who meeting them in good order, wonne from them the Honour which they had gotten, by forcing the left wing of the Lacedamonians, and made the victoric of that day entirely their owne. The report of this battaile meeting Agesilaus at Amphibolis, were by him sent ouer into Asia, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had since his departure seene the Spartan fleet beaten, and Lysander the Admirall flaine. The fame man, whose endeuour had brought the Athenians into order, by advancing the Sea-forces of the Lacedamonians with money, and all manner of 40 fupplies, was now the occasion that the power of Athens grew strong at Sca, when the Citie was despoiled of her old reputation, and scarsly able to mainetaine an Armie by Land for her owne defence. Pharnabazus considering how much it imported the King his Master, to haue the Greeks divided into such factions, as might vtterly disable them from vndertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himselfe, during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not need any more, to seeke peace by entreatie and commoration of old benefits, at their hands, who vn-prouoked had fold his love for thirtie Talents. To which purpose he furnished Conon the Athenian with eight ships, who had escaped, when the flect of Athens was surprised by Lylander at Agos. Potamos; giving him the command of a great Nauic, 50 wherewith he requited the losse received at Agos-Potamos, by repaying the Lacedemonians with the like destruction of their fleet at Cnidus. After this victorie Conon failed to Athens, bringing with him, partly as the liberalitie of Pharnabazus, partly as the fruit of his victorie, so strong a Nauie, and so much gold, as encouraged the

Athenians to rebuild their walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouring the Signiorie which they had loft.

VIII.

Of fundrie small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedamonians lose all in Asia: The Athenians recouer some part of their old Dominion.

Euerthelesse the Lacedamonians, by many victories at Land, maintained for some yeeres the honour of their estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For Agestlaus obtained the better with his shorfe-menfrom the Theffalians, who were accounted the best riders in Greece: He wasted Bwetra, and fought a great battaile at Coronea against the Thebans, and their Allies, whome he overthrew; and by his Marshall Gylis

forraged the Countrie of Locris: which done, he returned home.

The gains of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the Thebans did in the battailes of Corones vanquish the Orchomenians, who stood opposite vnto them, and retired vnbroken to Mount 20 Helicon, opening way perforce when Agesilaus charged them in the returne from the pursuit, Likewise Gylis was flaine with a great part of his Armie by the Locrians, and some other exploits by the Lacedemonians performed against the Corinthians, were repayed with equall damage received in the parts adioyning; many Townes being easily taken, and as easily recourred. The varietie of which enter-feates was fuch, that the Thebans themselves were drawne, by the losse of the hauen of Corinth, to fue for peace, but could not get audience, till fuch time as the newes came of a great victorie obtained by Iphicrates, Generall of the Athenian-forces at Lechaum; wherevoon the Theban Embassadours being sent for, and willed to doe their mesfage, required only in scorne, to have a safe conduct given them, that they might 30 enter into Corinth. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only by incursions, wherin the Acheans, confederates of Sparta, felt most losse, their whole state being endangered by the Acarnanians, who held with the contrarie side, vntill Agefilans repaied these inuaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did so afflict the Acarnanes, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of most consequence, vpon which the successe of all depended. For when the Townes of Asia perceived, that the Lacedamonians were not only intangled in an hard war at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, having lost their fleet at Cnidus; they soone gave eare to Pharnabazus, who promifed to allow that they should vsed their own lawes, if they would expell 40 the Spartan Gouernours. Onely the Citie of Abidus did fland firme, wherein Dercylcing the Ile of Lesbos to their ancient acknowledgement of Athens.

lidas lay, who did his best to containe all the Townes about Hellespont, in the alliance of the Lacedamonians; which he could not doe, because the Athenian flect vnder Thrasybulus tooke in Byzantium, Chalcedon, and other places thereabout, redu-

d. IX.

The base conditions offered unto the Persian by the Laced amonians. Of sundrie fights and other passages in the warre. The peace of ANTALCIDAS.

Bout this time the Spartans beganne to perceive how vneasse a thing it would bee, to maintaine the warre again and a second a second and a second an would bee, to maintaine the warre against men as good as themselues, affifted with the treasures of Persia: wherefore they craued peace of Artaxerxes, most basely offering, not only to renounce the Greekes inhabiting

few or none escaped. For which cause Timotheus did passe away much part of his time in the Isle of Lesbos; Iphicrates in Thrace; and Chabrias now did carrie away into Cyprus a greater force than his Countrie well could have spared, with which he returned not when the businesse in Cyprus came to an end, but sought new aduentures in £gypt, whereby arose neither thankes to himselfe, nor profit to his Citie. though honour both to him and it. The Athenians being thus careleffe of things at hand, had a notable blow given vnto them, shortly after that Chabrias was gone to Cyprus, euen within their owne Hauen. For Teleutias, a Lacedamonian, being made Governour of Agina, conceived a strong hope of surprising the Navie of Athens. 10 as it lay in Pirem; thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twentic lying in harbour, whose Mariners were afleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tauernes. Wherefore he failed by night vnto the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, hee found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, & few or none left abourd to make relistance; by which meanes hee tooke many ships laden with marchandizes, many fither-men, paffengers, and other Veffels, also three or foure Gallies, having funke or broken, and made unferuiceable, as many of the rest as the time would fuffer. About this time Pharnabazus, the Lieutenant of Phrygia, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in marriage, with whom heelined about the 20 Court; and many Officers that fauoured the Lacedamonians were placed in the lower Asia; by whose affishance, the fleet of Sparta grew victorious about Hellespont; in such wife, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themselves procured by Antalcidas, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giving freedome to all the Cities of Greece, and dividing the Countrie into as many severall States as there were pettic Boroughs in it. Thus Artaxerxes having bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become arbitrator & decider of Controuerfies betweene the Greekes, disposing of their businesse in such wise as stood best with his owne good. The renor of Artaxerxes his decree was, That all Asia and Cyprus should be his owne; the 30 Iles of Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scirus be subject to Athens; all other Greeke Townes, as well the little as the great, be fet at libertic; and that who focuer should refuse this peace, vpon them the approvers of it should make warre, the King affishing them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so discouraged by their loffes at Sea; the Lacedemontans by revolt of their Confederates, and the necessitie of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the warre, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the Thebans) did consent vnto these Articles. This was called the peace of Antalcidas: whereof the Lacedamonians taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compell the Argines to depart out of Corinth (which under pretence of defen-40 ding they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the Thebans to leave Baotia free, of which Province Thebes had alwaics held the gouernment: the Thebans themselues being also comprehended under the name of the Baotians; but caused the Mantineans to throw downe their owne Citic, and to dwell in Villages: alleaging that they had formerly beene accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeede to chastise them, as having beene ill affected to Sparta in the late Warre. By these courses the Lacedamonians did hope that all the small Townes in Greece would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities having lost all their dependants, would be vnable to make opposition.

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CHAP.11. S.9.

ð. X

The wrare which the Lacedamonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason 3 and Olynthus by famin.



Hilest these warres, which ended without either victorie or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citie of Olynthus in Thrace was growne so mighty, that shee did not only command her Neighbour-Townes, but was become terrible to places farre remoued, and to Sparta it selfe. Great part of Macedonia, together with to

Pella, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the Olynthians, who following the viual pretence of the Lacedamonians, to fet at libertie the places over which King Amyntas did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselues. The Citizens of Acanthus and of Apollonia, being neerest vnto the danger of these incroching neighbours, acquainted the Laceda. monians with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the Olynthians would bee too ftrong for al Greece, if some continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted, wherefore they requested affishance, but in such termes as did sound of compulsion; protesting that either they must warre vpon Olynthus, or become fubiect vnto her, and fight in her defence. Hecreupon was made a hastic leavie of 20 men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to bee seconded by a greater Armie. Whilest these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Armie following them, surprised the Cittadell of Thebes, which was betraied into the hands of Phabidas the Lacedamanian, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the flauerie of their Countrie. The Thebans were ill affected to Sparta, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made betweene them; which caused the Lacedamonians to doubt whether this act of Phabidas were more worthy of reward or of punishment; In conclusion, profit so farre ouer weighed honestie, that the decde was approued, many principall Citizens of Thebes condemned to death, ma- 30 ny driven into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the government of the Citie: by whole authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the Thebans were compelled to serue the Lacedemonians, in all, and more than all that they could require. This accesse of power having strengthned the Lacedamonians, caused them to entertaine the greater forces about Olynthus, which (notwithstanding the losse of one great battaile, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it felfe to their obedience.

#### ò. XI.

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How the Thebans recouered their libertie, driving out the Lacedamonian Garrifon.



Fter this Olynthian Warre, which endured almost three yeeres, it seemed that no Estate in Greece was able to make head against that of Sparta: but it was not long ere the Thebans found meanes to shake off their yoke, and gaue both example and meanes to others to doe the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Scribe

of the Theban Magistrates, comming to Athens, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrie was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for seare of it 50 were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was layd betweene these two, that soone found very good successed, being managed thus. Seuen of the banished men for sooke Athens privily, and entred by night into the fields of Thebes; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the cuening to the Gates like husband-men re-

turned from worke, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of Charon, whom Phyllidas the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following, a solemne fealt being then held in the Citie, Phyllidas promised the Gouernours, who were infolent and luttfull men, that hee would conveigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Haning cheared them with such hope, and plentie of good wine, hee told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came, that hee could not make good his promife, vnleffe they would dimiffe their followers, because the Gentlewomen. who attended without a Chamber, would not endure, that any of the fernants to should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours loofe behaviour, flew them al vpon the fodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then prefently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where faining themselves to come to the Gouernours vpon businesse, they got admittance, and slew those which were of the Lacedamonian faction. By the like denice they brake into the prison; flew the Gagler: and fet at libertic fuch as they thought meete, and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the Proclamation, thought the Rebels to bec 20 stronger than indeed they were : the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practice to discouer such, as would be forward vpon occasion of revolting. But as foone as day-light reuealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes & beffeed the Castle, sending hastily to Athens for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide vnto the Townes adjoyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the refene. were defeated on the way by the horse-men of Thebes. On the other side the banished Thebans did not only make speede to affist their Countrimen, but procured fome Athenians to joyne with them, and thereby came so strong into the Citic, that the Castle was yeelded, more through seare than any necessitie, ypon codition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the to Captaine at his returne to Sparta was put to death. When the newes of the doings at Thebes, and the successe arrived at Sparta, an Armie was raised forth with, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that Citic, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had beene taken from the Lacedamonians, and not a Towne perfidiously vsurped by them, restored to her owne libertic, Cleambrotus, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, who having wearied his followers, with a toilefome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harme done; leaving Sphodrias, with part of his Armic, at Thefpies, to infelt the Thebans; who doing them fome displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt vpon the Hauen of

omedipleatures, made large amends by a foothtracterible vipon the Flatter

Athens, which failing to take, hee wasted the Countrie adjoyning, and
draue away Cattaile, causing by this outrage the Athenian to
enter with all their power into the Warre, out of which
they were before very carefully seeking
how to with-draw themselues.

Снар.

20

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile of Leuctra to the battaile of Mantinæa.

How Thebes and Athenriogned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatnesse.





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H E Lacedamonians were men of great resolution, and of much gravitie in all their proceedings, but one difhonorable rule they held, That all respects with standing the commoditie of Sparta were to be neglected: the practice of which doctrine; even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate, but when it was put in execution by insufficient ouerweening men, it feldome failed to bring vpon them in 20 stead of profit vnjustly expected, both shame & losse. And foit befel them in these enterprises of Phabidas, vpon the Castle of Thebes, and Sphodrias vpon the Pi-

raus. For how socuer Agesilaus did spoile the Countrie about Thebes, in which hee spenttwo Summers, yetthe diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who by the good

fuccesse of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The Athenians likewise beganne to looke abroade, sailing to the He of Coreyra, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and having in some fights at Sea preuailed, began as in the Peloponnesian warre, to surround Peloponnesia with a Nauie; afflicting so the Lacedamonians, that had not the Thebans by their insolencie wearied 30 their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had beene very likely that the end of this warre, should have soone come to a good end, which neverthelesse, being prosequuted by the Thebans (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the City of Sparta as much dejected as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the Athenians perceiuing how Thebes encroched every day vpon her weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had beene dependants upon Athens, and finding themselues, whilest engaged in such a warre, vnable to relieue their complaining friends, resolued to settle the affaires of Greece, by renewing that forme of peace which Antalcidas had brought from the Persian. Wherefore they sent Messengers to Thebes, peremptorily fignifying, That it was their intent to finish the Warre; to 40 which purpose they willed the Thebans to send Embassadours along with them to Sparta; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treatic of peace, which came to passe, being so wrought by the couragious wisdome of Epaminondas, who vnderstood farre better than his Countrimen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the Lacedamonians and Athenians did soone agree; but when the Thebans offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the Baotians; Agesilaus required them to sweare in their owne name, and to leave the Bxotians free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto Epaminondas made answere, That the Citie of Sparta should give example to Thebes by fetting the Laconians free; for that the Signorie of Bacotia did by as good right ap- 50 pertaine to the Thebans, as that of Laconia to the Spartans. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: For Agefilaus bearing a vehement hatred vnto those of Thebes, by whom he was drawne back out of Asia into Greece, & disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieue by the Persian Warre, did

now very passionately vige that point of setting the Baotians at libertie, and finding it as oblinately refused, he dasht the name of the Thebans out of the league. At the lame time Cleombrotus the other King of Sparta lay in Phocis, who received command from the Gouernours of Sparta forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the Thebans with all his power, which he did, and was there flaine at Leuctra, and with him the flowre of his Armie. This battaile of Lengtra being one of the most famous that euer were fought betweene the Greekes, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it selfe, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of Sparta, but especially, for that after this battaile (betweene 10 which and the conclusion of the generall peace there passed but twentie daies) the Lacedamonians were neuer able to recouer the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted farre and neere; whereas contrariwise the Thebans, whose preatest ambition had in former times confined it selfe vnto the little Region of Baotia, did now begin to vindertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such wise, that soone after they brought an Armie of threescore and ten thousand strong vnto the Gates of Sparta. So much doe the afflictions of an hard warre, valiantly indured, advance the affaires of the diffressed, and guide them into the way of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and eafe had through luxurie, rechleffeneffe, and many other vices or vani-

of the Historie of the World.

è. II.

How the Athenians tooke upon them to maintaine the peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising. EPAMINONDAS inuadeth and wasteth the Territorie of Lacedamon.



20 ties, made ruftie and effeminate.

CHAP.12. S. 2.

He Athenians, refuling to take advantage of this overthrow fallen voon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the Lacedamonians: did neuerthelesse finely give them to vnderstand, that their Dominion was expired; and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking vpon themselues the maintenance of the peace lately concluded,

which Agesilaus (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarels that mightarise) had left unperfect, they affembled the Deputies of al the Estates confederated at Aibens; where the generall libertie of all Townes, as well small as great, was ratified, under the stile Of the Athenians, and their Associates. Hereupon began fresh garboiles. The Mantingans, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their owner pleasure, did (as it were) in despight of the Spartans, who had enforced them to raze their towne, reedificit, & allie themselves with such of the Arcadians as stood worst affected to Sparta. The Arcadians, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were 40 distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondencie with the Lacedamonians; some to weaken & keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The Lacedemonians durst not give impeachment to the Mantineans; nor take vpon them to correct their ill-willers among the Arcadians, till fuch time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraine helpe. Then was an Armie sent from Sparta, as it were in defence of the people of Tegea, against the Mantineans, but indeed against them both. Agefilaus had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The Thebans had by this time subdued the Phocians & were become head of the Locrians, Acarnanians, Eubæans, & many others; with the power of which Countries they entred Feloponne [w in fauor of the Areadians, who had, vpon expectatio of their com-50 ming abstained from giving battaile to Agesilaus. The Armie of the Spartans being dismissed, and Epaminondas joyned with the Arcadians; the Region of Laconia years inuaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almost fixe hundred yeeres were spent, since the Dorians, under the posteritie of Hercules, had seized upon Laconia, in all which time the found of an

enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrie: Ten yeeres were not fully past, fince all Greece was at the deuotion of the Spartans: but now the Region which neither Xernes with his huge Armie could once looke voon, nor the mightie forces of Athens, and other Enemie-States had dared to fet foot on, fauing by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the women of Spartawere ashamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the Lacedamonians did not issue out of Sparta to fight, but fought how to preserve the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their Heilotes or Slaues as were willing to beare Armes in defence of the State, and somwhat pittifully entreated the Athenians to give them succour. From Corinth and fome Townes of Peloponnesus they received speedic assistance; the Athensans came 10 forward more flowly, so that Epaminonaus returned without battaile, having rebuilded the Citie of Mellene, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the Lacedamonians many Ages before had chased away into other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

The composition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre against the Thebans; who againe inuade and spoile Pelopennesus. The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

His journietherefore vtterly defaced the reputation of the Spartans, 20 in fuch wife, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raised, nor any maner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from Sparta, and from an the Chies which with it, vnto Athens, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the with it, vnto Athens, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the Congressis by Land. This had

Athenians, requesting that they themselves might be Generalls by Land. This had beene a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be imploied at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of Athens, were to have served under the Lacedamonians. Wherefore it was 30 agreed that the authority should be divided by time, the Athenians ruling five daies, the Lacedemonians other five, & so successively that each of them should have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessitie be very flowly advanced, where confultation, refolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second inualion of Pelopenness, wherein the Thebans found their enemies so vnable to impeach them, that having fortified Ishmus from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against xerxes, they were driuen out of their strength by Epaminondas, who forraged the Countrie without resistance. But as the Articles of this league betweene Athens and Sparta did, by diui- 40 ding the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the Arcadians confidering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like maner share the gouernement, with their friends the Thebans; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by encrealing whose greatnes they should strengthen their own yoke. Herevpon they began to demeane themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbours, and suspected of the Thebans in an ill time. For a motion of 50 generall peace having been made (which tooke not effect, because the City of Meffene was not abandoned to the Lacedamonians) the next enterprise of the Spartans and their friends was vpon these Arcadians, who relying too much vpon their owne worth, were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleafing to their Confederates as to their Enemies.

#### à. IIII.

CHAP. 12. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greekes to the Perlian; with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse iffue of the Embassages.

He Thebans especially rejoyced at the Arcadians misfortune, confidering, that, without their aide, the fuccesse of all enterprises proued so ill, whereas they themselves had by their owne power accomplished very well what focuer they tooke in hand, and were become not only

very well what locuer they tooke in hand, and were become not only victorious ouer the Lecedemonians, but patrons ouer the Thessalians, and Moderators of the great quarrels that had rifen in Macedonia, where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them bell, they carried Philip the Sonne of Amyntas, and Father of Alexander the Great, as an Hostage vnto Thebes. Having therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of al Greece, they sought meanes of alliance with the Persian King, to whom they sent Embassadour the great and famous Captaine Pelopidas, whose reputation drew Artaxernes to grant vnto the Thebans all that they 20 delired; whereof two especiall points were, That Messer should remaine free from the Lacedemenians, and that the Atherians should for beare to fend their ships of Warre to Seasonly the later of these two was somwhat qualified with reference to further aduice. The other States of Greece did also fend their Embaffadours at the lame time, of whom few or noncreceived much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a fure partie in Greece, did vpon many waightie considerations resolue, to binde the Thebans firmely vnto him; justly expecting, that their greatnesse should bee on that fide his owne securitie. The Athenians had beene ancient enemies to his Crowne, and, having turned the profit of their victories vpon the Persian to the purchase of a 30 great Estate in Greece, maintained their Signoric in such puissant manner, that (sundriegricuous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible warre. wherein the Lacedemonians being followed by most of the Greeks, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aide by Darius Nothus, were notable to vanquish thorn, till their owne indifcretion brought them on their knees. The Lacedemonians being victorious ouer Athens, had no fooner ellablished their Dominion at home, than they undertooke the conquest of Asia from which though, by the commotion raifed in Greece with Persian gold, they were called backe, yet having renewed their power, and settled things in Greece, it was not vnlikely, that they should vpon the next advantage have purfued the same enterprise, had not they been empeached 40 by this Theban Warre. But the Thebans contrariwise had alwaies discouered a good affection to the Crowne of Persia. They had sided with Xerxes in his inuasion of Greece; with Darius and the Lacedemonians against Athens: And finally, having offered much contumely to Agessiaus when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of sparta. Besides all these their good desernings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore vnlikely to looke abroade; whereunto if perchance they should have any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good hauen townes, which they could not feize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore Artaxernes did wholly condescend vnto the 50 requests of Pelopidas, as farre forth as he might without giving open defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molested by that Nation in the lower Afra. The ill meanes which the Greeks had to disturbe Artaxerxes, was very beneficiall to the Estate of Persia shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the

affaires of Greece beene so composed, that any one Citie might without empeach-

ment of the rest have transported an Armie, to assist the revolting Satrape, or Vice-

roies of Caria, Phrygia, Lydia, Mylia, Lycia, Pifidia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Syria, and Phanicia,

humane reason can hardly find the meanes, by which the Empire could have been

δ. V.

of the Historie of the World.

How all Greece was divided, betweene the Athenians and Lacedemonians, on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

CHAP. 12, S.5.

He condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus. Athens and Sparta, which informer times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatnesse drawne all her followers

into a cruell intestine warre, by which the whole Countrie, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoune their forces against the Thebans, who fought to make themselues Lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, and Achaians, followed the partie of these ancient gouerning Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in diflike of those, who by strong hand were readie to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not suddenly aspire without some injurie and much enuie. The Citie of Thebes abounding with men, whom necessitie had made warlike, and many victories in few yeeres had filled with great spirits, & being so mightie in dependants. that shee had reduced all the continent of Greece without Peleponne sus (the Region of Attica, and very little part belide excepted) under fuch acknowledgement, as wan-20 ted not much of meere Valallage, did hope to bring all Peloponnesus to the like obedience, wherein alreadie shee had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of Argos, and of Arcadia. The Argines had been alwaies bad Neighbours to the Spartans, to whom they thought the infelues in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, having beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of looling all: which caused them to suspect and enuie nothing more than the greatnesse and honor of sparta, taking truce with her when shee was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them, but firmely joyning with her enemies when soeuer they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the Argines were, in hatred of Sparta, sure friends of Thebes, so the Arcadians, trans-30 ported with a great opinion of their owne worthines, had formerly renounced and prouoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the Lacedemonians, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the Thebans. In which regard it was thought convenient by Epaminondas, and the State of Thebes, to fend an Armie into Peloponnesus, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And furely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the Thebans, they had made peace with Athens; which was very strange, and seemed no leffe to the Athenians themselves, who holding a firme league with Sparta at the same time when the Arcadians treated with them, did neuerthelesse accept this new 40 Confederacie, not relinquishing the old, because they found that, how socuer these Arcadians were enemies to the Lacedemonians, they should hereby be drawne somewhat further from their alliance with Thebes, which without them was vnlikely to inuade Peloponnessus with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any meanes stay, the comming of Epaminond is 3 who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of corinth, which lav vponthe Isthmus, and had beene aduerse to Thebes, was now, by miseries of this gricuous warre, driven to become Neutrall)tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the Arcadians, to visit Peloponnesus with an Armie, consisting of all the power of Thebes. A great tumult had risen in Arcadia about consecrated money, which many principall men 50 among them had laied hands on, under pretence of imploying it to publique vses. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occasion, such, as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their handes, procured the Captaine of some Theban Souldiers, lying in Tegea, to take prisoners many of their Countrimen, as people desirous of innouation. This was done: but the vp-roare Nnnn 3

preserved from that ruine, which the duine Coucel had deferred vnto the daies of Alexander. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting a firme bodie of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discussed and vanished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate Asiatiques weried quickly with the trauailes and dangers incident to warre, for faking the common caufe, and each man friging to bee the first, that by treason to his company should both redeeme the former treason to his Prince, & purchase withal his own promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; both for that it was like a fuddaine storme, rashly commenced, idlely followed, and foolishly laied downe, having made a great noise without effect, and having small reference to any other a-Ction regardable; as also because in the whole raigne of Artaxerxes, from the warre

14.8

of Cyrus, to the inuation of Egypt, I finde nothing (this infurrection, and a fruit leffe journey against the Cadusians excepted) worthy of any metion; much lesse of digreffion from the course of the businesse in Greece. All, or the most of his time, passed a- 20 way so quietly, that he enjoied the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could affoord vnto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domesticall; growing out of the hatred which Paryfatis the Queen-Mother bare vnto his wife Statira, and to fuch as had bin the great tell enemies to her fonne Cyrus, or gloried in his death : vpon whom, when by poifon and mischieuous practices shee had satisfied her seminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth she wholly applied her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd defire of marrying his own Daughter, & filling him with the perswasion, which Princes, not endued with an especiall grace, doe readily entertaine, That his owne will was the supreme law of his subject, and the rule by which all things were 30

> But such foundations of eternitic laied by mortall men in this transitory world, like the Tower of Babel, are either shaken from heaven, or made vaine and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raifed to full heighth, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the Thebans, and other Estates of Greece 40 that had sent Embassadours to the Persian. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should be fet at libertie, and the Thebans made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all controuerfies that might arife, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being folemnely published at Thebes, in the prefence of Embaffadours, drawne thither from all parts of Greece; when an oath was

to be measured, and adjudged to be good or cuill. In this imaginarie happinesse Pe-

lopidas, and the other Embaffadours of Greece, both found and left him, but left him

by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the coclusion of his

Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne advantage, did sceme to promise,

if not the perpetuitie, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the

least )a ful security of danger from Greece, whence only could any danger be seared.

required for observation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatoric anfwere was made by the Embaffadors, who faid, that they were fent to heare the articles; not to sweare vnto them. Hereby the Thebans were driven to send vnto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the Corinthians had bold- 50 ly refused it, saying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with Artaxerxes gaue neither addition nor confirmation of great-

nesse, but left them as it found them to relie vpon their owne swords.

thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the Areadians, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a doe scarse pacified. When complaint of the Gaptaines proceedings came to Thebes, Epaminondas turned all the blame vpon them, who had made the peace with Athens, letting them know. that he would be shortly among them, to judge of their sidelitie, by the affistance which they should give him, in that warre, which he intended to make in Peloponne. fus. These Lordly wordes did greatly amaze the Arcadians; who needing not the aide of so mightie a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to bee made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before fought meanes to settle the affaires of their Countrie, by drawing things to 10 fome good conclusion of peace, did now forth-with fend to Athens for helpe, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadours to Sparta, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of Peloponnesus, now readie to be inuaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the Lacedamonians. who feared nothing more than the comming of Epaminondas, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best prouisions, would bee no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had been accustomed ynto such a supremacie, as they would in no wife communi. cate with the powerfull Citie of Athens, till other hope of securing their owne Eflate could not be thought vpon) did now veriegently yeeld to the Areadians, that 20 the command of the Armie in chiefe, should be given, for the time, to that Citie, in whose Territorie it lay.

#### Q. VI. A terrible inuation of Peloponnefus by EPAMINONDAS.



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Ertaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a verie firme consent, and vniforme care of the common safetie. For befide the great forces raifed out of the other parts of Greece, the Ar- 30 giues, and Messenians, prepared with all their strength to ioyne with Epaminondas; who having lien a while at Nemea, to intercept the A-

thenians, received there intelligence, that the Armic comming from Athens would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to Tegea, which Citie, and the most of all Arcadia besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attept of the Thebans, would be upon such of the Arcadians as had revolted; which caused the Lacedamonian Captaines to fortifie Mantinea with all diligence, and to fend for Agesilaus to Sparta, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men, which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide Epaminondas there. But Epaminondas held fo good espiallypon his Enemies, 40 that had not an vnknowne fellow brought hastie advertisement of his purpose to Agesilaus, who was then well onward in the way to Mantinea, the Citie of Sparta had suddenly been taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the Thebans march, who had furely carried the Citie, notwith standing any defence that could have beene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that Agesilaus in all flying hafte got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arrival of the Lacedamonians and their friends, as it cut offall hope from Epaminondas of taking Sparta, foir presented him with a faire advantage vpon Mantinea. It was the time of Haruest, which made it very likely, that the Mantineans, finding the warre to be carried 50 from their walls into another quarter, would vie the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their corne, and turning out their cattellinto their fields, whilest no enemie was neere that might empeach them. Wherefore hee turned away from Sparta to Mantinea, sending his horse-men before him, to seize upon all that might

be found without the Citie. The Mantineans (according to the expectation of Epaminondas) were scattered abroad in the Countrie; farre more intent upon their haruest-businesse, than vpon the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselues out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being vnable to recouer the Towne, were in a desperate case; and the Towneit selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should have taken all their provision of victuals with so many of the people, as had not ouer-dearely beene redeemed, by that Cities returning to focietie with Thebes, But at the same time, the Athenians comming to the succour of their Confederates. so whom they thought to have found at Mantinea, were very earnessly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any couragious aduenture to deliuer those who otherwise were given as lost. The Thebans were knowne at that time to bee the best Souldiers of all the Greekes, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwaies beene given to the The Salians, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations: yet the regard of honour so wrought vpon the Athenians, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no necessitie of her owne, but onely in defire of relieuing her distressed friends, they issued forth of Mantinea, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meat, and giving a lu-20 stie charge vpon the enemie, who as brauely received them, after a long and hote fight, they remained masters of the field, giving by this victorie a safe and easie retrait to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the Baotians arrived in the place soone after this battaile, whom the Lacedemonians and their Affistants

of the Historie of the World.

#### d. VII.

The great battaile of Mantinaa. The honourable death of EPAMI. N.O N D A s, with his commendation.

were not farre behinde.

CHAP.12. S. 7.

PAMINONDAS, confidering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprising Sparta and Mantinea, hauing failed, the impression of terrour which his name had wrought in the Peloponnessams, would soone vanish, vnlesse by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first grouth, and leaue some

memorable character of his expedition; resolued to give them battaile, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his own Associates, and to leaue the Spartans as weake in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for 40 that battaile, wherein victorie should be rewarded with Lordship of all Greece; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be fuch as promifed the accomplishment of his ownedefire; he made shew of declining the enemie, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, hee might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward firike their fenses with amazement, when hee should come you them vnexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in fo great and fodaine a danger, the enemie ranne to Armes, necessitie enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that daies service vrging them to doe as well as they might. The Theban Armie consisted of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the La-50 cedamonians and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The Mantineans (because the warre was in their Countrie) stood in the right wing, and with them the Lacedamonians: the Athenians had the left wing, the Acheans, Eleans, and others of leffe account, filled the bodie of the Armie. The Thebans stood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposite to the La-

cedamonians, having by them the Arcadians; the Eubeans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Mesenians, and The Saltans with others, compounding the maine battaile; the Argines held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flancks, only a troupe of the Eleans were in reare. Before the footmen could joyne, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the Thebans prevailed. notwithstanding the valiant relistance of the Athenians: who not yeelding to the enemie either in courage or skil, were ouer-laied with numbers, and so beaten vpon by Thessalan slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselues together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the 10 Theban horse to have given them over, and withall discovering some Companies of foot, which had beene fent about by Epaminondas, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane season the battaile of the Athenians had not onely to doe with the Argines, but was hardly pressed by the Theban Horse-men, in such wise that it beganne to open, and was readie to turne backe, when the Elean Iquadron of Horse came vp to the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the Lacedamonians and Thebans meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, so that equal courage and equal losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: 20 vnlesse perhaps the Lacedemonians being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to preuaile, as having borne the first brunt, and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted, and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the Thebans, by practice of a few yeeres, cannot be thought to have gotten a habite so sure and generall. But Epaminondas perceiuing the obstinate stiffenesse of the Enemies to bee such, as neither the badde successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the Baotian Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them give one foote of ground; taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom hee cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure against a squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied 30 with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their rancks, and cleave the whole battaile in despight of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day wonne by the Thebans, who may justly bee said to haue carried the victorie, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, having driven the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alleaged by the Athenians, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the flaughter of those Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their owne flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable onely among the Greekes, and serued meerely for oftentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the 40 Enemie could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the Thebans arrived at the generall immediate end of battaile; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who for sake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and prowesse. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of Epaminondas, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the Lacedamonian esquadron, and forced it to give back in disaray, was furiously charged on the sodaine, by a desperate Company of the Spartans, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, hee neuerthelesse with a fingular courage maintained the fight, vling against the Enemies many of their 50 Darts, which hee drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a Spartan, called Anticrates, hee received so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaning the yron and a peece of the tronchion in his breft. Hereupon hee funke downe, and was soone conneighed out of the fight by his friends; having by his

CHAP. 12. S.&. of the Historie of the World.

fall somewhat animated the Spartans (who faine would have got his bodie) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the Thebans, who raging at this heavie mischance did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the fadnesse of this disaster, than with all the trauaile of the day. Epaminandas being brought into his Tent, was told by the Philicians, That when the head of the Dart should be drawne out of his bodie, bee must needes die. Hearing this, hee called for his shield, which to have lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought vnto him. He bade them tell him which part bad the victorie; answere was made, that the Baotians had wonne the field. Then faid he, it is faire time for mee to die. and withall fent for Iolidas, and Diophantes, two principall men of Warre, that were both flaine; which being told him, He adulted the Thebans to make Peace, whilest with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his bodie; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iffue, by telling them, that the victories of Leuttra and Mamines were two

faire Daughters, in whom his memorie should live.

So died Epaminondes, the worthieft man that ever was bred in that Nation of Greece, and hardly to bee matched in any Age or Countrie: for hee equalled all o-20 thers in the feuerall vertues, which in each of them were fingular. His luffice, and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wisedome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferiour to his Militarie vertue; in enery part whereof hee so excelled, That hee could not properly bee called a Warie, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Provident Captaine; all these Titles, and many other, being due vnto him, which with his notable Discipline, and good Conduct, made a perfect composition of an Heroique Generall. Neither was his private Conversation vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroade. For he was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous; resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular casie, and of much mildnesse: a louer of his People, bearing with mens 30 infirmities, wittie and pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his owne affections, and furnished with all qualities that might winne and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, refted not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gaue vnto Thebes, which had ener-more beene an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoyning, and the highest command in Greece.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battile of Mantinga. The voiage of AGESILAV sinto Egypt. His death, and qualities, with an examination of the comparison made betweene him and POMPEY the Roman.



His battaile of Mantinea was the greatest that had ever beene fought in that Countrie betweene the Naturals; and the last. For at Marathon, and Plates, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the Gracian valour, neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie fo perfect in the begin-

nings of the Peloponnesian Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those

CHAP.12. S. 8.

excepted which were undertaken against forraine enemies, prouing for the most part unfortunate. But in this last fight all Greece was interested, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor cuer contended for victory with greater care of the successe, or more obtlinate resolution. All which not with standing, the iffine being fuch as hath beene related, it was found best for enery particular Effate, that a generall peace should be established, every one retaining what hee prefently had, and none being forced to depend vpon another. The Messenians were by name comprised in this new league; which caused the Lacedemonians not to enter into it. Their itanding out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclution; confidering that Sparta was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and 10 therefore might well bee allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it selse in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of Athens and Sparta it associated leisure to tecke after wealth by forraine emploiment in Agept, whither Agefilaus was fent with some smal forces to assist, or indeed, as a Mercenarie, to serue vnder Tachos King of Egypt in his warre vpon Syria. Chabrias the Athenian, who had before commanded under Acoris King of Agypt, went now as a voluntary, with fuch forces as he could raife, by entreatic, and offer of good pay, to the same seruice. These Agyptian Kings descended from Amyrteus of Sais, who rebelled against Darius Nothis, nating retained the Country, notwithstanding all intestine diffensions, and 20 forraine inualions, during three Generations of their owne race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the Greekes, that by their helpe (casily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not onely to afture themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adioyning, which were held by the Persian. What the issue of this great enterprise might have been, had it not fallen by Domesticall rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it selfe had soone come to nothing, if Agesslaus had not proved a falle Traitor, ioyning with Nettanebus, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebell with that Armic which the money of Tachos had waged. This fallhood Agestlaus excused, as tending to the good of his owne Countrie; though it seeme rather, that hee grudged because the King 30 tooke vpon himselfe the Conduct of the Armie, vsing his service onely as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the Generall. Howfocuer it came to passe, Tachos being shamefully betraied by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the Persian, who vpon his submiffion gaue him gentle entertainement; and Neclanebis (who seemes to have beene the Nephew of Tachos) raigned in his flead. At the same time the Citizens of Mendes had set vp another King, to whom all, or most of the Egyptians yeelded their obedience. But Agesilaus fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed so farre, that hee left Nectanebus in quier possession of the Kingdome, who in recompence of his treason to the former King Tachos, and good service done to himselfe, rewarded him with 40 two hundred and thirtie Talents of silver, with which bootic sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in warre, free from couetousnesse, and not reproched with any blemish of lust; which praises are the lesseadmirable in him, for that the discipline of Sparta was fuch as did endue cucric one of the Citizens (not caried away by the violent freame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. Hee was nevertheleffe very arrogant, peruerfe, vniust and vaine glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obstinately profecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of xenophon had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of Persia should be ouerthrowne; with which conceipt being transpor- 50 ted, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the Thebans, and their Allies, hee did euer after beare such hatred vnto Thebes, as compelled that Estate by meere neceffitie to grow warlike, and able, to the vtter dishonour of Sparta, and the irreparable losse of all her former greatnesse. The commendations given to him by

\*\*Xenophon\*\* his good friend, have caused \*\*Plutareh\*\* to lay his name in the ballance against \*\*Pompey\*\* the Great\*; whose actions (the solemne gravitie of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truely say, That as \*\*Pompey\*\* made great warres vnder sundrie Climates, and in all the Provinces of the \*\*Roman\*\* Empire\*, exceeding in the multitude of imploiments all that were before him; so \*\*Agesslans\*\* had at one time or other, some quarrell with every Towne in \*\*Greece\*\*, had made a Warre in \*\*Assand meddled in the businesse of the \*\*Expytians\*\*, in which variety he went beyond all his \*\*Predecesslours\*\*, yet not winning any Countries, as \*\*Pompey\*\* did many, but obtaining large wages, which \*\*Pompey\*\* neuer tooke. Herein also they are very like; 10 Each of them was the last great Captaine which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrie by his owne Lordly wisfulnesse. We may therefore well say, \*\*Similia magis omnia quam paria\*\*; The resemblance was neerer than the equalitie\*\*. Indeede the freedome of \*\*Rome\*\*\* was lost with \*\*Pompey\*\*, falling into the hands of \*\*Casa\*\*, whom he had enforced to take Armes; yet the \*\*Roman\*\* Empire\*\* flood, the forme of Government only being changed: But the libertie of Greece, or of \*\*Sparta\*\* it selse, was not for-

faited vnto the Thebans, whom Agestan had compelled to enter into a victorious warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of Sparta was presently lost and the freedome of all

Greece

being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much bloud lost, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soone, vpon the death of *Agestlaus*, gine vp the Ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Countrie was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose astions are now on soote,

and more to be regarded than the Contemporarie passages of things, in any

other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertij.

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# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

theraigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the race of Antigonys.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

## CHAP. I.

Of PHILIP, the Father of ALEXANDER the Great, King of Macedon.

Q. 1.
What Kingsraigned in Macedon before PHILIP.



HE Greekes, of whom wee hau calreadie made large discourse, not as as yet wearied with intestine warre, nor made wise by their vaine contention for superioritie, doe still, as in former times, continue the inuasion and vastation of each other.

Against Xerxes, the greatest Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their libertie, with as happie successe, as euer Nation had, and with no lesse honour, than hath euer beene acquired by deeds of Armes. And having had a trial land experience, more than fortunate, a-

gainst those Nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had 50 so often for feited the reputation of their forces, as what so cure could be spared from their owne distraction at home, they transported ouer the Hellesport, as sufficient, to entertaine and busic them with all.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of marke in the world, that they vnder-fall, and perish, by the hands and harmes which they least feare; so fared it at

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.I. S.I.

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this time with the Greeks For of Philip of Macedon (of whom we are now to speake) they had to little regard jasthey grew quenthen more violent in denouring each other, when the falt-growing greatheffe of fucha Weighbour King, should, in regard of their owne fafetics, have lerued them for a strong argument of vnion and accord. But the gloric of their Perfun victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but them (elues, and the rather to value at little the power and purpoles of the Macedonians, because those Kings and States, which fate neerer them than they did, had in the time of Amyntas, the Father of Philip, so much weakned them, and wonne upon them, that they were not (as the Gracians perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover their owne, much 10 leffe to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosophic to consider, That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decaied and broken banks, when great Rivers are once swollen, fast running, and inraged. No, the Greeks did rather imploy themselves, in breaking downe those defences, which stood betweene them and this inundation; than seeke to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Levell of reason they might have found to have lien under it. It was there-Orofint 13.2.12. fore well concluded by OROSIVS: Gracia Ciuitates dum imperare singula cupiunt, imperium comnes perdiderunt; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by strining each of

The Kingdome of Macedon, so called of Macedon, the Sonne of Osiris, or, as o-

ther Authors affirme, of Jupiter and Athra, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth Greece; It hath to the East, the Agean Sca; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the Thracians and Illyrians; and on the South and South-

west, by Theslalie and Epirus.

Their Kings were of the family of Temenus, of the race of Hercules, and by nation Argines; who are lifted as followeth. About some fixe yeeres after the translation of the Affrian Empire, Arbaces then governing Media; Caranus of Argos, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into Macedon, departed thence with many people, and as hee was marching through that Countrie, the weather being raynie 30 and tempestuous, hee espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, hasting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon Caranus, calling to minde, that he had also by another Oracle beene directed, to follow the first troupe of those beasts, that should either lead him, or flye before him; He pursued these Goats to the Cates of Edessa, and being vindiscoursed by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darkpesse of the aire, he entred their Citic without resistance, and pos-Euseb.in chron. fest it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of Cisseus, Caranus became Lord of the rest of Macedon, and held it eight and twentie yeeres. Canus succeeded Caranus, and raigned twelve yeeres. Tyrimas followed Canus, and ruled eight and twentie

Paul Dion.

chuf. Theop.

Antiof 6.

Perdiceas the first, the sonne of Tyrimas, gouerned one and fiftie yeeres: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. Solinus, Plinie, Iustine, Eusebius, Theophilus, Antiochenus, and others affirme, that he appointed a place of buriall for himselfe, and for all the Kings of Macedon his Successiours, at Ega: assuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is faid, that because dlexander the Great failed, therefore the posteritie of the Temenida failed in him:a thing rather deuised after the effect, as I conceive, then foretold by Perdiccas.

Argeus succeeded vnto Perdiceas, and ruled eight and twentie yeeres. Philip the first, his successour, raigned eight and twentie yeeres.

Europus followed Philip, and gouerned fixe and twentie yeeres: n who feinfancie the Illyrians invaded Macedon, and having obtained a great victoric, they purfued the fame to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians, gathering new forces, and refoluing either to recouer their former losse, or to loose at once both

their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not bee beaten (their King present;) or rather they perswaded themselues that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natu- Euseb. Infin. rall Lord, being and Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his fernants) able diminan. The. to defend himselse from destruction The like is reported by Aimoinus, of Clotarius Ant. oc. 11mon. the fonne of Fredegunda.

alcetras succeeded Fropus, and ruled nine and twentie yeares.

Amyntas the first succeeded Alectas, and raigned fiftie yeeres; Heelined at such to time as Darius Hyllafes, after his enprosperous returne out of Seythia, sent Megabazus with an Armic into Europe, who in Xerxes name required Aminias to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadours, as you have heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the Macedonian Ladies, flaine by the direction of Alexander, who was the sonne of Her, Euf, Iufling. Amyntas, and his Successiour.

Alexander, surnamed the rich, the sonne of Amyntas, governed Macedon three and fortie yeeres. He did not only appeale the wrath of Megabazus, for the flaughter of the Persian Embassadours, by giving Gyzea his Sister, to Bubares of the bloud of Persia, but by that match he grew so great in Xerxes grace, as he obtained all that 20 Region betweenethe Mountaines of Olympus and Hemus, to be vnited to the Kingdome of Macedon. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the Greekes. For Nerwes being returned into Asia, and Mirdonius made Generall of the Persian Armie; Mexander acquainted the Greekes with all his intents and purposes against Her. 1.8. them. He had three lonnes, Perdiceas, Alcetas, and Philip.

Perdicens the fecond, the forme of Alexander, lived in the time of the Peloponnefian Juft. of Warregand raigned in all eight and twentie yeeres. The Warres which hee made were not much remarkeable: the Storie of them is found here and there by peices, in Thueydides, his first fixe bookes. Hee left behind him two fonnes; Perdiceas, who was very yong, and Archelaus who was base borne.

Perdices the third, being delivered to the custodic and care of Archelaus, was at seven vecres of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excufing this fact to Cleopatra the Mother of the young King, faid, That the child in fol- plat.in Gorg. lowing a Goose haltily, fell thereinto by misaduenture. But Archelius staied not Arif. Polis. here : for having thus dispatched his brother, hee slew both his Vnele Alcetas the sonne of Alexander the Rich, and Alexander the sonne of this Alcetas, his Cosen Germaine, and enjoyed the Kingdome of Macedon himselfe foure and twentie yeeres.

This Archelaus, of whom both Plate and Ariftotle make mention, though hee made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet hee performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is faid, That he fought by all meanes to draw Socrates 40. vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured Eurypides the Tragadian. He had two fonnes, Archelaus and Orefles.

Arabelaus the second succeeded his Father, and having raigned seven yeeres, hee

was flaine in hunting, either by chance or of purpose, by Crataus.

Onesses his younger sonne was committed to the education of Eropus, of the roial blond of Macedon, and had the same measure which Archelaus had measured to his Pupils for From murdered him and vourped the Kingdome, which he held some fixe yeeres: the fame who denied paffage to Agestlaus King of Sparta, who defired after His returne from the Afian expedition, to passe by the way of Macedon into

This V furper left three sonnes, Pansanias, Argeus, and Alexander. Pausanias suc- Died Polyan. ceeded his father From, and having raigned one yeere, hee was driven out by A. Plut in Demet. mynt as the sonne of Philip, the sonne of the first Perdices, the sonne of Alexander the Rich; which Philip was then preserved, when Archelaus the Bastard slew his brother Perdieras, his Vnele Aleetas, and his fonne Alexander. This Amontas raigned

raigned (though very virguictly) foure and twentie yeeres; for he was not only infelled by Paulanias, affifted by the Thracians, and by his brother Argaus; incouraged by the Illyrians; and by the faid Argaus, for two yeeres dispossed of Macedon: but on the other side, the Olynthians, his Neighbours neere the Agaan Sea, made themselues for a while Masters of Pella, the chiefe Citic of Macedon.

Amintas the second had by his Wife Eurydice, the Illyrian, three Sonnes; Alexander the second, Perdiceas the third, and Philip the second, Father of Alexander the Great; and one Daughter called Euryone or Exione: He had also by his second Wife Grees, three Sonnes; Archelaus, Argaus, and Menelaus, afterward flaine by their brother Philip: He had more by a Concubine, Ptolomie, furnamed Alorites, of the 10

Citie Alorus, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the second raigned not much about one yeere, in which time hee was inuaded by Paulanias, the sonne of Eropus, but defended by Iphicrates the Athenian, while he was at that time about Amphipolis. Hee was also constrained (for the payment of a great summe of money) to leave his yongest brother Philip in Holtage with the Illyrians, who had subjected his Father Amyntas to the payment of tribute. After this, Alexander, being invited by the Alexande against Alexander the Tyrans of Pheres in Thessalie, having redeemed his brother Philip; to draw the Thebans to his affistance, entred into confederacie with Pelopidas, being at that time in the same Countrie, with whom he also left Philip with diversother principall persons for the 20 gage of his promises to Pelopidas. But Eurydice his Mother falling in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter Euryone or Exione, practized the death of Alexander her sonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which Ptolomie Alorites did put in execution: by meanes whereof hee held Macedon for three yeeres, but was soone after slaine by Perdicas the brother of Diod. 15.6 16. Alexander. Diodor hath it otherwiscof Philips being made pledge; and sayth, That Amyntas his Father delivered him for hostage to the Illyrians, by whom he was conucied to Thebes, there to be kept : others report that Philip (while his Father was yet liuing) was first ingaged to the Thehans, and delivered for hostage a second time by Alexander his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had flaine Alorites his base-brother, gouerned Macedon fine yeeres, and was then flaine in a battaile against the Illyrians, according to Diodorus; but Iustine affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of Eurydice his Mother, as Alexander did.

ð. II.

The beginning of PHILIPS raigne; and how he deliuered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

Diod.J.16.

Iuft.1.7.



HILLP the second, the yongest sonne of Amyntas by Eurydice, having beene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernment of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which her had under Epaminondas, making an escape from Thebes, returned into Macedon, in the first yeere of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was after the

building of Rome three hundred fourfcore and thirteene yeeres: and finding the many enemics and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was invironed, hee tooke on him, not as King (for Perdiceas left asonne, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition soone ouergrew his modestie, and hee was easily perswaded by the people to accept both the Title of King, and withall the absolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to fay the truth, The necessitie of the State of Macedonat that time required a King both prudent and active. For, belides the incursions of the Illyrian and Pannonians, the King of Thrace did fet vp in opposition Pausanias; the Athenians, Argaus;

sonnes of the late Vsurper Fropus: each of these labouring to place in Aucedon a King of their owne Election. These heavie burdens when Philip could not well beare, he bought off the weightieft by money, and by faire promites viloded himselfe of so many of the rest, as he ranne under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother Perdiceas had his death accompanied with four e thousand Macedonians, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the Pannonians were delitroying all before them in Macedon, and that the Athenians with a fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under Mantias, did beat voon him on all sides and quarters of his Countrie: Yet after he had practifed the men of warre of Pannonia; and corrupted them with gifte; and had also bought the King of Thrace from Pansanias, he forthwith made head against the Athenians his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he preuented their recourse of simphipolis, a Citie on the frontier of Macedon and did then purfue Argens the sonne of Aropus fet against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retrait from Ages, that he forced him to abide the battaile: which Argans loft, having the greatest part of his Armie slaine in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained unbroken, tooke the advantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present turne of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquithers life and libertie to returne into 20 Attica. Whereupon a peace was concluded betweene him and the Athenians for that present, and for this elementic he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the Greekes.

ð. III.

The good successe which PHILIP had in many enterprises.

Ow had Philip leifure to looke Northward, and to attend the Illyrians and Paonians, his irreconciliable enemies and borderers: both which he inuaded with so prosperous successe, as hee slew Bardillis, King of the Illyrians, with seven thousand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the Illyrians held in Micedon: and withall,

vpon the death of the King of Pannonia, he pierst that Countrie, and after a maine victorie obtained, hee enforst them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards Larts/a,vpon the River Peneus in Thessalze, of which Towne hee soone made himselfe matter; and thereby he got good footing in that Countrie, whereof he made vse in time following. Now although hee resolued either to subdue the Thessalians, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Countrie were the 40 best, and most feared in that part of Europe, yet he thought it most for his safetie to close up the entrances out of Thrace, least while hee inuaded Thessalie and Greece towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdrawhim, or ouer-runne Macedon as in former times. He therefore attempted Amphipolis, seated on the famous River of Strimon, which parteth Thrace from Macedon. and wonneit. Healforecourred Pydna; and (to the North of Amphipolis) the Citie of Crenides ( sometime Datus ) and called it after his owne name Philipps: to the people whereof St. Paul afterward directed one of his Epiftles. This place, wherein Philippi stood, is very rich in Mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of Philips affaires, he drew yeerely a thousand talents, which make sixe hun-50 dred thousand French Crownes.

And that hee might with the more case disburden the Thracian-shores of the Athenian Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of Amphipolis. he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies the Olynthians, whom the better to fasten vnto him, he gaue them the Citic of Pydna with the Territorie, mea-

ning nothing lesse than that they should enjoy it, or their owne Estate, many

Now that he might by degrees winne ground vpon the Greeks, he tooke the faire occasion to deliver the Citie of Pheres in The [alie, from the tyrannie Lycophron and Tiliphonus. Who, after they had conspired with Thebe the wife of Alexander, who vsurped vpon the libertie of that State, they themselves ( Alexander being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that Alexander did, till by the affiftance of Philip they were beaten out, and Pheres reftored to her former libertie. Which act of Philip did for ever after fasten the Thessals vnto him, and, to his exceeding great aduantage, bind them to his service.

#### **3.** IIII.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew PHILIP into Greece.



Bout this time, to wit, in the second veere of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, eight yeeres after the battaile of Mantinea, and about the eighth yeere of Artaxerxes Ochia, beganne that Warre, called Sacred. Now, as all occasions concurre towards the execution of eternal prouidence, and of every great alteration in the World there is some 20

preceeding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this reuengefull hatred by the Thebans, Theffalians, and Locrians, conceived against the Phocians, not only teach Philip how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the Greekes themselues beating downe their owne defences, to give him an casie passage, and beating themselves, to give him victorie without perill, left nothing unperformed towards their owne flauerie, fauing the title and imposition. Of this Warre the Thebans (made over-proude by their victorie at Leuctres ) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the amphyetiones, or of the general Eflates of Greece, in which, at that time, they swaied most, they caused both the Lacedamonians and Phocians to be condemned in greater fummes of money than they could 30 well beare; the one for furpfiling the Castle of Cadmea in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of Delphos. The Phocians being resoluted not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on and incouraged by the Lacedamonians: and for refufall were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accurfed to all their Neighbout-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to invade, and deftroy them at their pleafures.

The Phocians perswaded thereunto by Philomelus, a Captaine of their owne, cast the same dice of hazard that Casar after many Ages following did; but had not the fame chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngracious quarrell, of which there was left no 40 hope of composition, they resolved to sacke the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a pecce of Apollo's ground, they had so much offended their neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than alreadie was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevaile against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was tenne thousand talents, which in those daies served them to wage a great many men, and fuch was their successe in the beginning of the warre, as they wonne three great battailes against the Thebans, Thessalans, and Locrians, but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader Philomelus cast himselfe head-long over the Rockes.

In the meane while the Cities of Chersonesus, both to defend themselves against their bad-Neighbour Philip, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselves to the Athenians. Philip prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the fiege of Methone lost one of his eyes. It is faid, That hee

that flot him, did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: After PHILIPPO; After to PHILIP; for so hee was called Par Vision.

that gaue him the wound. This Citic he enened with the foile.

The Tyrant Lycophron before mentioned, while Philip was builed on the border of Thrace, and the Theffalians ingaged in the holy warre, entied Theffalie with new forces, being athited by Onomarchies, Commander of the Phocian Armie, in place of Philomeliss. For hereby the thecians hoped to to entertaine the The flatians at home, as they should not find leisure to invade them. Hercupon was Philip the second time called into Thessalie, but both the Thessalians, and Macedonians, (Platip being present) were veterly ouerthrowne by Gnomarchus; and great numbers of both Nations lott. From The ffalie, Ono marchus drew speedily towards Bactiz, and with the same victorious Armie brake the forces of the Fastians, and tooke from them their Citie of Coronea. But i belip imparient of his late misaduenture, after he hadre-enforced his Armie, returned with all speed into Theilalie, there to find against he honour which he lately loft : and was the second time incountred by Cnomarthus, who brought into the field twentie thousand foot, and fine hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed notator Onomarchus was by Philip surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie ouerturned, fix thouland flaine, and three thouland taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by Philip. Those that fled, were in part received by the Athenian Gallies, which failed alongst the coast, commanded by Chares, but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein denoured ere they recovered them. Lycophron was now againe driven out of Theff lie, and Pheres made free as before.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious practices of PHILIP.

Rom hence Philip resolued to inuade Phocis it selfe, but the Athenians did not fauour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the helpe of the Lucedamonians they retrencht his passage at the Straits of Thermopylis. Whereupon hee returned into Macedon, and after the caking of Micyberne, Torone, and other Townes, hee quarrelled with

the Olynchians, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the Olymbians were very strong, and had enermore both braued and beaten the Mace lemins. It is faid, that Philip having put to death Archelaus his halfe brother (for Amontas had three sonnes by Eurydice the Mother of Philip, and three other sonnes by Gyg.ea: but Philips elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himselfealso of the rest) the two yonger held themselves 40 within Olynthus; and that the receiving of them by the Olynthians was the cause of the warre, infine affirmeth. But just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, for to Infide. this King all bings were lawfull that might any way seruc his turne; all his affections, and pattions, how divers foeuer in other men, were in Lis ambition fwallowed vp, and thereinto connected. For hee neither forbare the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie; he effected no place strong where his Asse loaden with gold might enter, Nor any Citic or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could loose the sense of other mens forrow and subjection. And because hee thought it vaine to practise the winning of olynthus, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their owne 50 walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the advantage of a well compounded and trained Armie, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere hee fate downe before the Citie it felfe: which done, he bought Euthicrates and Lasthenes from their people, and from the service of their Countrie and Common weale, by whose treason he entred the Towne, flew his brothers therein, fackt it, and fold the Inhabitants for flaves by

the drum. By the spoile of this place he greatly inriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities with all, which he daily did. For so was hee aduled by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, That hee should make his assaults with silver speares: Whereupon Horace well and truly said.

Mer.Carme Od. 16. Portas vir M.sedo, & Subrait amulos, Regesmuneribus.

By gifts the Macedon clane Gates a-funder, And Kings enuying his estate brought vnder.

And it is true that he wonne more by corruption and fraude, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greece his fecret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by Philip the second of Spaine: ) So when in the contention between the Competitors for the Kingdome of Thrace, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietie and Iustice, but with a powerful Armie and having beaten and slaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

# Q. VI. How Philip ended the Phocian Warre.

HE warre fill continuing betweene the *Phocians*, and the Affociates of the holy warre, the *Bæotians*, finding themselues vnable to sublish without some present aide, sent vnto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure them-

felues; but yet to inable them to continue the ware, and to waste the strength of 30 Greece. They also sent to Artaxerxes Ochus for supply of treasure, who lent them thirtic talents, which makes a hundred & sources thousand Crownes: but when with these supplies they had still the wort in all their attempts against the Phoesans, who held from them three of their strongest Cities within Bacotia it selfe, They then belought Philip of Macedon that he would affish them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territorie, and in all things obey his Commandements in that Warre.

Now had Philip what he longed for; for he knew himselfe in state to give the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedie pace towards Baotia, where being arrived, Phallecus who commanded the 40 Phosian Armic, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into Pelsponnesus, leaving the Phocians to the mercie of the Conquerour, and for conclusion he had the glorie of that warre called Sacred, which the Gracians with so many mutual slaughters had continued for ten yeeres, and, besides the glorie, hee possess himselfe of orchomene, Coronea and Corsia, in the Countrie of the Bacteans, who invited him to bee victorious ouer themselues. Hee brought the Phocians into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabite, referring to himselfe the veerely tribute of threefcore talents, which make fixe and thirtie thousand French Crownes. He also hereby (besides the fame of pictic for service of the Gods) obtai- 50 ned the same double voice in the Councell of the AmphyEtiones, which the Phocians had, with the superintendencie of the Pythian games, for feited by the Corinthians, by being partakers in the Phocian facriledge. 3. VII.

VII.

How PHILIP with ill successe attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.



10

HILLP, after his triumphant returne into Macedon, by the Lieutenant of his Armic Parmenio, flaughtered many thousands of the Myrians, and Dardanians, and brought the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of all their revenues. But his next enterprise against the Perinthians staid his furie. Perinthus was a Citic of Thrace, seated vpon

Propontis, in the mid-way betweene Seftos and Byzantium, a place of great strength, and a people resoluted to defend their libertic against Philip, where the Athenians incouraged and affilted them. Philip fate downe before it with a puilfant Armie, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious affaults, built many ouer-topping and commanding Towers about it. But hee was repel'd with equall violence. For whereas Philip thought by his continuall affaults to wearie them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the Persian with men and money, and succoured from Byzantium which stood vpon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieved from Athens, Chio, and Rhodes, by the conduction 20 of Phocion, with what societ was wanting to their necessitie. But because those of Byz intium, by reason of their neighbour-hood, and the easie passage by water, gaue them often and readie helpe; Philip removed with the one halfe of his Armie and belieg'd it, leaving fifteene thousand foot before Perinthus, to force it if they could; but to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vnder-take divers enterprises at one time ) and returned into Macedon with no lesse dishonour than losse; whereupon he made an Ouerture of peace with the Athenians, and greatly defired it, to which though Phocion perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions, Yet Demosthenes with his eloquence prenaited in the refusall. In the meane while Philip 30 having digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten Marchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne Alexander, led them into Scythya; but hee was also vnprosperous in this enterprise: For the Triballi, a people of Masia set on him in his returne, wounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

#### à. VIII.

How Philip ouerthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Charonaa, was chosen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of Philip.

Mong these Northern Nations (part of which hee suppress, and part quieted) hee spent some eight yeeres; and in the ninth yeere, after the end of the holy warre, he was to his great advantage invited againe by the Gracians to their assistance. For the Citizens of Amphiss having disobeyed the decree of the Amphissiones, in which Philip had a double voice, and who by reason that the Thebans and Losrius gaue countenance and aide to the Amphissiones, the rest were not of themselves able to constraine them, they besought Philip to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that Philip was not long in resoluing you this enterprise; been edded no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other dissance than a mastring power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armic forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirtie thousand soot, and two thousand horse; and with as much expedition

expedition as could be made, he entred Phocis, wanne Platea, and brought into Subication all that Region.

The rest, and especially the Athenians, although they had good cause to seare that agreat part of this storme would fall on themselucs, yet were they disswaded by Demosthenes from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as Philip offered. and rather made choise (having drawne the Thebans to joyne with them) to leave the injoying of their cltates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of Philip. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them deare. It is true that he could farre more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, then make them to be such as they were. Hee might 10 repeate vnto them (with wordes mouing passion) the wonders they wrought at Marathon, but hee could not transforme the Macedonians into Persians, nor draw from the dead, a Militades, an Ariftides, a Themistocles, or a Cimon, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that cuer Nation did. A Phocien they had, but by the strength of a contrarie faction hee was at this time in difgrace, and not imployed: in so much as when the Armies of Philip and the Confederates incountred, although somethousand of the Athenians abid the killing, and the like number well-neere of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of worthie men on that fide to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choise Captains of the Macedonians, incouraged by a King of 20 a growing fortune, as it gaue to Philip to thining a victoric that Alexander by the light thereof found his way (in despight of all the Nations interjacent ) into Persia, Inder, and Egypt; foit cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the Gracian plorie : Yea their libertic (faith Eurtius) with their large Dominion wonne with fo many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for ener lost.

Now this admifed King (neuer pathonate to his difaduantage) to the end hee might obtaine the Soueraignetic ouer all Greece, and be acknowledged for their Captaine-Generall against the Persians, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let goe those Athenians that were taken at this battaile of Cheronea, as he also 30 forbare to attempt any thing against their Citie : but in Thebes (which lately by the vertue of Epaminondess triumphed over the rest) hee lodged a Garrison of Macedomians. And being foone after (according vnto the long defire which he had nourished of this Sourraignetie) by the generall States at Corinth, stiled the first Commander of all the Gracians, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Armie of great strength, and vnder the commandement of Attalus and Parmenie, transported the same ouer the Hellespont into Asia, to begin the Warre. Of his enterprise against Persia hee sought the successe from the Oracle at Delphos, from whence he received such another convertible riddle, as Crassus did when he attempted Cyrus, and was in like fort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discerne and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so did Philips ambitious desire to inuade Persia abuse his judgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatned, he understood to be deliuered of his enemie, whom he intended presently to inuade. Before his purposed departure into Asia; hee prepared for the marriage of his Daughter Cleopatra with Alexander King of Epirus, to which feast and passimes thereat appointed, hee inuited all his Friends, and Allies, with the principall persons of the Gracian Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich presents; but this was indeed the feast of his Funerall. For having refused to doe justice to one Pausanias a Gentleman of his Guard; whom Aitales (greatly favoured by Philip) had first made drunke, and then 50 left to be carnally abused by divers base persons, This Pausanias grew into so great detestation of the Kings partialitie in so foule a fact, as when Philip was passing towards'the Theater, he drew a fword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had lived fixe and fortic yeeres, and raigned five and twentie.

Infline reports it that Olympias incouraged Paul anias to murder the King her huf- Juffig. band, which after his death flee boldly anowed, by the honour flee did vnto Pau-Canage in crowning his idead bodic, in confecrating his sword vnto Apollo, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

.XI . 6 Chapter Chapter with and a

what good foundations of Alexanders greatneffe were laied by PHilir. Of his laudable qualities, and iffue.

Ow although he were then taken from the World, when he had ma-fired all opposition on that side the Sea, and had seene the fruits of his hopes and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse and perfection, yet he was herein happy that hee lived to see his sonne alexander at mans estate, and had him selfe been an eie-witnesse of his resolution,

and tingular valour in this last battaile. The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laied so soundly for him, with fo plaine a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more easie to Alexander, though more glorious than 20 the beginnings were vnto Philip, though lesse famous. For besides the recourse of Macedon it felfe, in competition betweene him and the sonnes of Aropm, the one affilled by the Thracians, the other by the Athemans, and belides the regayning of many places possess by the Illyrians, the crushing of all those Northren Kings his Neighbours, the ouerthrow of Olynthus, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Citiestaken, of great strength and ancient freedome. and the subjection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and wonne vponthem; Hee left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many choise Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and judgement in the warre, were no lesse wor-30 thie of Crownes, than himselfe was that ware a Crowne: For it was said of Parmenie (whom Alexander, vngratefullto fo great vertue, impioully murdered) That Parmenio had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King. but the King, without Parmenjo neuer did any thing worthic of renowne; as for the rest of his Captaines, though content to obay the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after Alexanders death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to them felues.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature, and his excellent Education had inriched him with vertues. For besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his 40 Affections, he had this fauour of Pietie, that he rather laboured to fatis fie those that were grieued, than to suppresse them, Whereof (among many other) wee finde a good example in his dealing with Arcadion, and Nicanor; whom, when for their cuill speech of Philip, his familiars perswaded him to putto death; Hee answered them, That first it ought to bee considered, whether the fault were in them that gaue him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in every mans owne power to bee well spoken off; and this was shortly proued, for after Philip had relieued their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon hee told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that he was a better Philition for cuill speech than they were.

His Epistles to Alexander his sonne are remembred by Cicero, and Gellius; and cic. of a. by Dion: and Chrysostome exceedingly commended. His Stratagems aregathered Gelligates by Polyanus and Frontinus, his wife fayings by Plutarch, And albeit hee held Macedon as in his owne right, all the time of his raigne, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof: for Amyntas the sonne of his Brother Perdiceas (of whom he had the protection

protection during his infancie) had the right. This Amyntas hee married to his Daughter Cyna, who had by him a Daughter called Eurydice, who was married to Philips base sonne Aridaus, her Vncle by the mothers-side: both which Olympias. Philips first Wife, and Mother to Alexander the Great, put to death; Aridais by extreme torments: Eurydice shee strangled

Philip had by this Olympias, the Daughter of Neoptolemus, King of the Molo Sians. (of the race of Achilles) Alexander the Great, and Cleopatra. Cleopatra was married to her Vncle Alexander, King of Epirus, and was after her Brother Alexanders death

flaine at Sardis, by the commandement of Antigonus.

By Andata, an Illyrean, his second wife, hee had Cyna, married as is shewed 10

By Nicasipolis, the Sifter of Iason, Tyrant of Pheres, hee had Thessalinica, whom Cassander; after he had taken Pidna, married, but shee was afterward by her Father-

in-law Antipater put to death.

By Cleonatra, the Neece of Attalus, he had Caranus, whom others call Philip him. Athen. 1.3, e.2. Olympias, the Mother of Alexander the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a conper Pan. Others lay this murder on Alexander himselfe. By the same Cleopatra hee had likewise a Daughter, called Europa, whom Olympias also murdered at the Mothers breft.

By Phila and Meda he had no iffue.

Hee had also two Concubines, Arsinee, whom, after hee had gotten with child, hee married to an obscure man, called Lagus, who bare Ptolomie, King of Egypt, called the sonne of Lague, but esteemed the sonne of Philip: by Philinna, his second Concubine, a publike Dancer, He had Arideus, of whom wee shall have much occasion to speake hereafter. 1919 1919

## CHAP. II.

# Of ALEXANDER the Great:

A briefe rehearfall of ALEXANDERS doings, before hee inuaded Asia.



EXANDER, afterward called the Great, succeeded vnto Philip his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and inriched in all forts of Learning and good Arts. Hee began his raigne ouer the Macedonians foure hundred and scuenteene yeeres after Rome built, and after his owne birth twentie yeeres. The strange dreames of Philip his Father, and that one of the gods, in the shape of a Snake, begat him on Olympias his Mother, 50 I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of Diana (a worke the most magnificent of the World) was

burnt vpon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three feuerall victories, obtayned by the Macedonians, it was very

remarkeable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous. and foreshewing the great things by Alexander afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom Philip had oppress, beganne to confult about the recourrie of their former libertie, and to aduenture it by force of Armes, Alexanders yong-yeeres gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those, who could better resolute o die, than to live slamilly. But Alexander gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might focedily have endangered the health of his estate. For after reuenge taken voon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew vpon his Tombe; and the celebrato tion of his Funeralls, hee first fattened vnto him his owne Nation, by freeing them from all exactions, and bodily flauerie, other than their feruice in his warres; and vfed fuch Kingly aufteritie towards those that contemned his yong yeeres, and such clemencie to the rest that perswaded themselves of the crueltie of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, He made a prefent journey into Peloponnelus. and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Counsell of the States of Greece, he was according to the great defire of his heart, elected Captaine-Generall against the Pertians, vpon which war Philip his Father had not only resolved. (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported under the leading of Parmenio, and Attalus, a part of his Armie, to recouer some places on

20 Alia-fide for the fate descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the Persian occupied all Alexanders affections; those faire markes of riches, Honour, and large Dominion, hee now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginations were either grieuous or hatefull. But a contrary winde arifeth; for hee receiveth advertisement that the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedamonians, had united themselves against him, and, by affistance from the Persian, hoped for the recourse of their former freedome. Hereto they were perswaded by Demosthenes, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of Persia; the device he vsed was more subtile than profitable, for hee caused it to be bruted that Alexander was flaine in a battaile against the Triballes, & brought into the affem-30 bly a Companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, That himselfe was present and wounded in the battaile. There is indeede a certaine Doctrine of Policie (as Policie is now a-daies defined by falshood and knauerie) that deuised rumours and lies, if they serue the turne, but for a day or two, are greatly availeable. It is true that common people are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarums in the Warres; but in all that I have observed, I have found the successe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as those that finde themselves at one time abused by such like brutes, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports, and in occasions perilous, summoned to assemble; so doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of such trumperie, and for them feare vpon necessarie occasions to en-40 tertaine the truth it felfe. This labour vnlooked for, and losse of time, was not only very grieuous to Alexander, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate Persians, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous Grecians, of whose affistance he thought himselfe affored, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot indure to strine against the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which hee purposeth to recover: and it no lesse becomment the worthick men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewaile

Hee therefore made such expedition towards these Revolters, as that himselfe. with the Armie that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. 10 Hereupon all stagger, and the Athenians, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacific the King, and to be received againe into his grace. Alexander was not long in resoluting; for the Persians perswaded him to pardon the Gracians. Wise men are not easily drawne from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King euer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himfelfe in many enterprifes at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And having now quicted his borderers towards the South, he refolued to affure those Nations which lay on the North-side of Macedon, to wit, the Tracians, Triballes, Peones, Getes, Agrians, and other faluage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessours, but even Philip his Father: with all which, after divers ouerthrowes given them, hee made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet find the way out of Europe. There is nothing more naturall to man than libertie; the Greekes had enjoyed it ouer-long, and loft it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the to yoke once againe. The Thebans, who had in their Citadella Garrison of a thousand Macedons, attempt to force it; Alexander hasteth to their succour, and presents himfelfe with thirty thousand foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand horse, before the Citie, and gaue the Inhabitants some daies to resolue, being euen heart-sicke with the defire of passing into Asia. So vnwilling, indeede, he was to draw bloud of the Gracians, by whom hee hoped to serve himselfe elsewhere, that hee offered the Thebans: remission, if they would only deliner into his hands Phanix and Prothytes, the flirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, oppoling the mounting fortune of Alexander, (which bare all relistance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sca) in flead of fuch an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, deman- 20 ded Philotas and Antipater to bee deliucred vnto them; as if Thebes alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of Macedon, and many other Prouinces could either haue euened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacie. For while the Thebans oppose the Armie assailant, they are charged at the back by the Macedonian Garrison, their Citie taken and razed to the ground, fixe thousand flaine, and thirty thousand sold for flaues, at the price of fourehundred and fortie talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other Gra-

Many Arguments were weed by Cleadar one of the prisoners, to perswade Alexander to forbeare the destruction of Thebes, He prayed the King to believe that they 30 were rather misseled by giving hasty credit to salfer eports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of Alexanders death, they rebelled but against his Successour. He also besought the King to remember, that his father Philip had his education in that Citic, yeat hat his Ancestor Hereules was borne therein: but all perswassons were fruitlesse; the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of Pindarus the Poet, and spared, and set at libertic Timoclea, the sister of Theagenes, who died in desence of the libertic of Greece against his Father Philip. This Noblewoman being taken by a Thracian, and by him rauished, hee threatned to take her life vnsesse has would consesse her treasures; the led the Thracian to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and when the Thracian stooped to looke into the Well, she suddainly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the Athenians had received into their Citie so many of the Thebans, as had escaped and sed vnto them for succour, Alexander would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second revolt, and their Captainess yet in the end it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprise of Persia, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Captaines, wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good Leaders of the Gracians betooke 50 themselves to the service of the Persian, whom after a few daies he invadeth.

ð. I I.

How ALEXANDER passing into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the River of Granicus.



Hen all was now quieted at home, Alexander, committing to the trust of Antipater both Greece and Macedon, in the first of the Spring did passe the Hellespont, and being readie to dis-imbarke, he threw a Dart towards the Asian shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waste in their owne Territorie, or to

burne, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possess. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirtie thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old Souldiers, necre vnto Troy, where he offered a solemne facrifice vpon Achilles Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom Philip his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his owne as he suspected. Hee also tooke with him many of his tributarie Princes, of whose sidelitie he doubted; thinking by vniustcrueltie to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing very well with the justice of God; for all that he had planted, who soone after withered, and rooted vp; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his own, and all manner of consusion followed his dead bodie to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of Alexanders landing on Asia fide was brought to Darim, hee so much scorned the Armie of Macedon, and had so contemptible an opinion of Alexander himselfe, as having stiled him his scruant on a letter which hee wrote vnto him, reprehending his disloyaltie and audacitie (for Darim intitled himselfe King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the gods) hee gaue order withall to his Lieute-30 nants of the lesser Asia, that they should take Alexander aline, whip him with rods, and then contay him to his presence: that they should sinke his shipe, and send the Macedons taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into Athoria, or some o-

ther vnhealthfull part of Affrica. In this fort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse, multitude which he commanded, dispose of the alreadic-vanquished Macedonians; But the il destinies of men bearethem to the ground, by what strong confidence soeuer armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, then any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men vtterly vnacquainted with dan-49 gers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevaile against those of lesse courage than themselves, menthat tooke more care how to embroder with gold and filuer their vpper garments, as if they attended the inuafion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselues with yron and steele against the sharpe pikes, swords and darts of the hardie Macedonians; I say, befides all these, euen the opinion they had of their owne numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled every of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The Macedonians as they came to fight, and therby to enrich themselues with the gold and 30 iewels of Persia, both which they needed, so the Persians, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to constraine them in affembling themselues for his seruice; but their owne feares and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power over them, they only then obeied, when their rebellion against fo seruile a passion did instly and Pppp 2

violently require it. For faith V EGETIVS: Quema: modum bene exercitatus miles pralium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam (ciendum est in pugna v (um amplius prodesse auam vires : As the well practifed Souldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one feares it: for we must under stand, that in fight it more availes to have beene accustomed unto the like than only to have rude strength. What maner of men the Persians were, Alexander discourred in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that writ his Storie. That it was hard to judge, whether his daring to vndertake the Conquest of an Empire fo wel peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of Granick, which severeth the Territoric of Trov from Propontis, the Persians sought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and 10 banke of the river to defend, which Alexander was forced (asit were) to clime vo vnto, and scale from the Level of the water; Great resistance (faith Curtims) was made by the Persians, yet in the end Alexander preuailed. Butit seemes to mee, that the victorie then gotten was exceeding easie, and that the twentie thousand Persian foot-men, faid to be flaine, were rather kil'd in the back, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by relisting. For had those twentie thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horse-men, or after Plutareh, two thousand and fiue hundred horse-men. died with their faces towards the Macedonians, Alexander could not have bought their lines at so small a rate, as with the losse of four and thirtie of all forts of his owne. And if it were also true, that Plutarch doth report, how Alexander encoun- 20 tred two of the Persian Commanders, Spithridates and Rha saces, and that the Persian horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those Gracians in Darius his pay, holding themselues in one bodie vpon a piece of ground of aduantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance having beene made, yet of Alexanders Armie there fell but twelve Foote-men, aud two and twentie Horse-

#### ð. III. A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granick.

He winning of this passage did greatly encourage the Macedonians, and brought such terror vpon all those of the lesser Asia, as hee obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all inualions, where the Nations inuaded have once 🍇 beene beaten vpon a great aduantage of the place, as in defence of Ri-

uers, Streights, and Mountaines, they will foone have perswaded themselves, that fuch an enemie vpon equal termes and even ground, can hardly be relifted. It was 40 therefore Machianels counsell, that he which resolueth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the natural difficultie of the waies. One passage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Countrie bedistracted, and yet lightly, some one place will be found that is defended very weakely. How often have the Alpes given way to Armies, breaking into Italie? Yea, where shall we finde that ever they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they such, as (to speake briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they give no securitie to those that lie behinde them: for 50 they are of too large extent. The Townes of Lumbardie perswaded themselves that they might enioy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the Switzers had undertaken to hinder Francis the French King from descending into the Duchie of Milan: but whilest these Patrons of Milan, whom their owne dwelling in those Mountaines

Mountaines had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custodie of the Alpes; Francis appeared in Lumbardie, to so much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the leffe they had expected his arrivall. What thall we say of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such fort, as they leave but one gate open? The Straights, or (as they were called) the gates of Taurus in Cilicia, and those of Thermopyla, have seldome beene attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how feldome (if ever) have they been attempted in vaine ? Xerxes and long after him, the Romans, forced the entrance of Thermapyle; Cyrus the yonger, and after him Alexander, found the Gates of Cilicia wide 10 open; how strongly soeuer they had beene locked & barred, yet were those countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the backe-fide. The defence of Riuers how hard a thing it is, we finde examples in all histories that beare good witnesse. The deepest have many Foords; the swiftest and broadest may bee passed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficultie to make a bridge. He that hath mon enow to defend all the length of his owne banke, hathalfo enow to beat his enemic; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his losse, than by ftriuing in vaine to hinder the paffage, as a matter tending to his owne disaduantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, hauing their meanes of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too 20 good for them. Certainely, if a River were sufficient defence against an Armie, the Isle of Mons, now called Anglesey, which is divided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea; had beene fafe enough against the Romans, inuading it under conduct of Iulius Agricola. But he wanting, and not meaning to fpend the time in making veffels to transport his forces, did affay the foords. Whereby hee so amazed the ence mies attending for ships and such like prouision by Sea, that surely beleeuing nothing could bee hard or inuincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Yet the Britaines were men flout enough; the Persians very dastards.

of the Historie of the World.

It was therefore wisely done of Alexander, to passe the River of Granick in sace 30 of the enemic; not marching higher to feeke an easier way, nor labouring to conucy his men ouer it by some safer meanes. For having beaten them vpon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no leffe of their reputation, than of their firength, leauing no hope of fuccour to the partakers and followers of fuch vnable Pro-

30

CHAP.2. S.2.

Soone after this victoric he recourred Sardis, Ephe/us, the Cities of the Trallians and Magnesia, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrie, he receyued with great grace, suffring them to be governed by their ownelawes. For he observed it well; Nouum Imperium inchoantibus viilis clementia fama; It is commodious unto such as lay the foundations of a new Souer aignety. 49 to have the fame of being mercifull. He then by Parmenio wanne Miletin, and by force mastred Halicarnassius, which because it relisted obsinatly he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into Caria, where Ada the Queene, who had beene cast out of all that shee held (except the Citie of Alunda) by Darius his Lieutenants, presented her selfe vnto him, and adopted him her sonne and successor; which Alexander accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdome to her disposing. Hee then entred into Lycia, and Pamphilia, and obtained al the Sea-coasts, and subjecting vnto him Pifidia, he directed himfelfe towards Darius (who was faid to be aduanced towards him with a maruellous Armie) by the way of Phrygia: For all the Prouince of Matheleffe, bordering vpon the Sca, his first victorie layed under his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernment and fetling of Lycia, and Pamphilia, the sent Cleander to raise some new Companies in Peloponnesus, and marching towards the North, he entred Celenas feated on the River Meander, which was abandoned vnto him, the Castle onely holding out, which also after fortie daies was given vp: for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from Darius. From Celenas he past

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on through Phrygia towards the Euxine Sea, till hee came to a City called Gordium. the Regall-leate, in former times, of King Midas. In this City it was that he found the Gordian-knot, which when he knew not how to vndoe, hee cut it a funder with his fword. For there was an ancient prophecie did promife to him that could untie it, the Lordship of all Asia; whereupon Alexander, not respecting the maner how, fo it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the prophesie, by hewing it in

But before he turned from this part of Asia the leffe towards the East, hee tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the Persians out of the Ilands of Lesbos, Scio, and Coos, the charge whereof hee committed vnto two of his Cap. 10 taines, giuing them such order as he thought to be most couenient for that service; and delinering unto them fiftie Talents to defray the charge; and with all out of his first spoilegotten, hee sent threescore talents more to Antipater his Lieutenant in Greece and Macedon, From Celenas he remoued to Ancira, now called Anguori, standing on the same River of Sangarius, which runneth through Gordium: there hee mustred his Armie, and then entred Paphlagonia, whose people submitted themsclues vnto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where he left Catus Gouernour

with one Regiment of Macedonians lately arrived.

Heere he understood of the death of Memnon, Darius Lieutenant, which hartned him greatly to passe on towards him, for of this only Captaine hee had more re- 20 spect than of all the multitude by Darius affembled, and of all the Commanders he had belides. For so much bath the spirit of someone man excelled, as it hath vndertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contriued victories beyond ail hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearefull passions of his owne followers into magnanimitie, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits have beene stirred vp in sundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to cstablish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Perfons and States, to the same certaine ends, which the infinit Spirit of the Vniuer sall, 20 piercing, mouing, and gouerning all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this King did were maruellous, and would hardly haue beene undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to haue inuaded the leffer A-Gaitislike enough that he would have contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not have discovered the River of India, as this man did. The swift course of victory, wher with he ranne ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may justly be imputed vnto this, that he was neuer encountred by an equall spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, then Desart places, and the meere length of tedious journies could make, were like the Colossus of Rhodes, not so much to bee admired for the workemanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainely the things performed by Xenophon, discouer as braue a spirit as Alexanders, and working no leffe exquisitely, though the effects were leffe materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But hee that would finde the exact patterne of a noble Commander, must looke vpon such as Epaminondas, that encountring worthy Captains, and those better followed than themselues, haue by their singular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and ftill preuailed ouer those, that would not have yeelded one foot to any other. Such as these are, doe seldome live to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to master the equal forces of one hardie and well-ordered State, than to tread downe and vtterly subdue a multitude of servile Nations, com- 50 pounding the body of a groffe vn weildie Empire. Wherefore these Parus Potentes. men that with little haue done much vpo enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the **fubstance** 

fubstance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring fo seldome, that I can finde no instance of both in one, saue onely that

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braue Roman Cafar.

CHAP.2. 8.2.

Hauing thus farre digressed, it is now time that wee returne vnto our Easterne Conqueror; who is trauailing hastily towards Cilicia, with a desire to recouer the Streights thereof before Darius should arrive there. But first making a dispatch into Greece, he fent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the Persians Targets which he had recourred in his first battaile; vpon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victorie. Herein he well aduised himselfe: to for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaineth in the Warres. as hee doth of the spoiles, shall never be long followed by those of the better fort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often fatisfie themselves with the purchase of glorie; as the weake in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and silver.

The Gouernour of Cilicia hearing of Alexander comming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defencible; and withall, as Curtius noteth, hee beganne ouer-late to prife and put in execution the Counfell of Memnon: who in the beginning of the Warresadvised him to waste all the prouifions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, and alwaies to 20 giue ground to the Inuader, till hee found some such notableaduantage as might affuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an inuading Army is best broken, by delaies, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and fometimes too much, fometimes repoling themselues in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. These and the like suddainealterations bring many diseases vpon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if Darius had kept the Macedonians but a while from meat and sleepe, and refusing to give or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the Rarthians afterward did the Romans, hee might perchance have faued his owne life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest incouragements given by Alexander to the Macedonians, in the third and last fa-30 tall battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of Persia at once.

Xerxes, when hee inuaded Greece and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost onely his men; but Darius being inuaded by the Greekes, and fighting at home, by beeing beaten, lost his Kingdome; Pericles, though the Lacedomonians burnt all in Attica to the Gates of Athens, yet could not be drawne to hazard a battaile: for the inuaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Because wee reade Histories to informe our vnderstanding by the examples therein found, wee will giue some instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their own countries, to charge an inuading Armic. The Romans, by fighting with Hannibal, were

brought to the brinke of their destruction.

40 Pompey was well aduised for a while, when hee gaue Cafar ground, but when by the importunitie of his Captaines he adventured to fight at Pharfalia, hee lost the battaile, lost the freedome of Rome, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of Naples, would needs fight a battaile with the French to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those

Counsels which promise suretie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of France made frustrate the mighty preparation of Charles the Fift, when he inuaded Prouence, by wasting the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of Alus wearie the French in Naples, and dissolue the boisterous Armic of the Prince of Orenge in the low-Countries.

The Leigers, contrarie to the advice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the Bourgonisms, invading their Countrie, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and flay their advantage; but they loft eight and twenty thousand vpon the place. Philip of Valois fet vpon King Edwardat Cressie, and King Iohn (when the English were well neare tired our, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit

have beene walled to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great fury, neere Poitiers, to joyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe these two French Kings found. Charles the Fift of France made another kinde of Fabian-Wartare; and though the English burnt and waited many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbeare blowes, and followed his advice which told him. That the English could neuer get his inheritance by smoke; and it is reported by Bellay and Herrault, that King Edward was wont to lay of this Charles, that hee wanne from him the Duchie of Guien without cuer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed vnto such as either cannot see what is for their good, to or know not how to put in execution any found aduice: The course which Memnon had propounded, must in all appearance of reason have brought the Macedonian to a great perplexitie, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of Cilicia, doubting whether it were more shamefull to returne; or dangerous to proceede. For had Cappadocia and Paphlagonia beene wasted whilest Alexander was farre off; and the Streights of Cilicia beene defended by Arlenes, Gouernor of that Province, with the best of his forces: hunger would not have suffered the enemie, to stay the triall of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not have beene maintained, yet might Cilicia, at better leifure have beene fo throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should have beene broken, by see- 20

king out miseries with painefull trauaile.

But Arsenes leaving a small number to defend the Streights, took the best of his Armie with him, to waste, & spoile the Countrie; or rather, as may seeme, to finde himselfe some worke, by pretence of which he might honestly runne further away from Alexander. Hee should rather have adventured his person in custodie of the Streights, whereby hee might perhaps have faued the Province; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would have been conveighed into strong Townes. So should his Armie, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainement within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men haue had the leffe worke in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the 30 matter as he did, hee gaue the Cilicians cause to wish for Alexanders comming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that Ar senes made all haste to joyne himselfe with Darius, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the desence, beganne to grow circumspect, and to thinke that furely their Generall, who gaue as lost the Countrie behinde their backs, had exposed themselues vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else, but to dull the Macedonian swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie ( which honour they faw that Arfenes himselfe could well forbeare) they speedily followed the foote-steps of their Generall, gleaning after his Haruest, 40 Thus Alexander without labour got both the entrance of Cilicia, abandoned by the cowardifeof his Enemies, and the whole Province that had beene alienated from the Persian side by their indiscretion.

d. IIII.

d. IIII.

Of the unwarlike Armie leuied by DARIVS against ALEXANDER. The unaduised courses which DARIVS tooke in this expedition. He is vanquished at Iss; where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made prisoners. Of some things following the battaile of Iffus,

N the meane season Darius approched; who (as Curtius reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred & ninetic thoufand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; Instine musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; Plutarch

at fixe hundred thousand.

The manner of his comming on, as Curtius describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to fet out his glorie and riches, than to prouide for his owne fafety, perswading himselfe, as it seemed, to beat Alexander with pompe and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire which the Persians worshipped, attended by their Priess, and after them three hundred and threefcore and fine yong-men, answering the num-20 ber of the daies of the yeere, couered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of Inpiter drawne with white Horses, with their Riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the Sunne: Next after these followed ten sumptuous Chariots, inlaied and garnisht with siluer and gold, and then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelve severall Nations, which the better to avoide confusion, did hardly understand each others language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them; in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of foote marched, with the Persians called immortall, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: and these were armed with chaines of gold, and their coates 30 with the same metall imbrodered, whereof the sleenes were garnished with pearle, baites, either to catch the hungrie Macedonians withall, or to perswade them that it were great incivilitie to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said: Sumptuose inductus miles, se virtute superiorem alijs non existimet, sum in pralijs oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur; Let no man thinke that hee exceedeth those in valour, whom hee exceedeth in gay garments, for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparell they put on. that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the Roman Papyrius that this advice was borrowed, who when he fought against the Samnites in that fatall battaile, wherein they all sware either to prevaile or die, thirtie thousand of them having ap-40 parelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers, bade the Roman Souldiers to lay aside all feare: Non enim cristas valnera facere, & per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum: For these plumed crests would wound no bodie, and the Roman pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.

To fecond this Court-like company, fifteene thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breede the more terrour) and these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came Darius himselfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the Macedonians did not serve, but they served their turnes of these, by 50 changing their maffie-bodies into thinne portable and current coine. The head of this Chariot was fet with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, couered with an open-winged-Eagle of the fame metall: The hinder part being raifed high wheron Darius fate, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with filuer, and their

beads guilt; which they meant not to imbrew in the Maceaoman bloud, for feare of marring their beautie. He had for the proper Guard of his person two hundred of the bloud Royall, bloud too Royall & precious to be spilt by any valorous aduenture, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdie sellowes, like the Switzers, would have done him more service and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led source hundred spare horses for the King, which if hee had meant to have vsed, he would have marshalled somewhat neerer him.

Now followed the Reareward, the same being led by Sifygambis the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawnein glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-back, with fifteen Wagons of the Kings children, 10 and the wives of the Nobilitie, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses, and Eunuchs, most sumptuously apparelled. By which it should seeme that Darius thought that the Macedonians had beene Comedians or Tumblers; for this troupe was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battailes. Betweene these and a company of slight-armed slaues, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proued, to pay the Macedonians. In this fort came this Maygame-King into the field, incombred with a most vinecessarie traine of Strumpets. attended with troupes of divers Nations, speaking divers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and for the most part so esseminate, & so rich 20 in gold and in garments, as the same could not but have incouraged the nakedest Nation of the world against them. We finde it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimitie, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and what soeuer else hath been wont to moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in comparison of spoile and riches. The rich ships are boorded vpon all disaduantages, the rich Townes are suriously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly inuaded. Our Engish Nations have attempted many places in the Indies, and runne vpon the Sp ineards head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistolets, which had they been put to it vpon the like disaduantages in Ireland, or in any poore Countrie, they would have turned their Peeces and Pikes against 30 their Commanders, contesting that they had beene brought without reason to the Butcherie and flaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plentie is wont to shunne perill, and men that haue well to liue, doe rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. Car ou il ny arien a gaigner, que des coups volontiers il ny va pas; No man makes halle to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.

Now if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his South-faiers, hee would have fatisfied himfelfe by the out-fides of the Persians, and neuer haue looked into the intrales of Beafts for successe. For leaving the descrip- 40 tion of this second battaile (which is indeede no-where well described, neither for the confusion and hastic running away of the Asians could it be) we have enough by the flaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the Macedonians, to informe vs what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threescore thousand Persian footmen were flaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen: Or (as Curtius saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horse men, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of Alexanders Armie there miscatried but two hundred and sourescore of all sorts, of which numbers Arianus and other Historians cut offalmost the one halfe: I doe verily beleeue, that this smal number rather died with the over-travaile and paines- 50 taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the Persian Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had had any fauour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers; they would neuer haue fold so good cheape, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daugisters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honor beene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings safetie and his clate at lesse. Darius by this time found it true, that Charidemus a banished Grecian of Athens had told him, when hee made a view of his Armie about Babylon, to wit, That the multitude which bee had affembled of divers. Nations, tichly attired, but poorely armed, would bee found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would devour; than to the Macedonians, whom they meant to affaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in grosse square to affaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in grosse square square to affaile their Phallanx, well covered with Armour for defence, and surnished with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make so little accompt of his delicate Persians, louing their case and their palat, being withall ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertaine (hauing so great aboundance of treasure to doe it withall) a sufficient number of the same Grecians, and so to encounter the Macedonians with men of equall courage, hee would repent him over-late, as taught by the miserable successed in the to follow.

But this discourse was so unpleasing to Darius (who had been accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore Greesan should be presently slaine: who while hee was a fundring in the Tormentors hand, yield this speech to the King, That Alexander, against whom hee had given this good counsell, should assuredly readened by death, and lay deserved punishment upon Darius for despising his aduice.

It was the saying of a Wise man: Desperata eius Principis salus est, cuius aures ita sormata sunt, ut aspera qua utilia, nec quicquam nisi iucundum accipiat; That Princes safetie is in a desperate case, who se eares iudge all that is prositable to bee too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is uppleasant.

For libertie in counfell is the life and effence of counfell; Libertas confily eft cius vita, & effentia qua crepta confilium euanefeit.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the Aduice given him by the Gracian Souldiers that served him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: but had they beene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men beene able to have opposed the furic of Alexander, without any affistance of the Persian foot-men. For when Darius was overthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those Gracians, under their Captaine Amyntas, held firme, and marched away in order in despight of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what brave retraits have beene made by them, though the rest of the Armie in which they have served, hath beene broken.

At the battaile of Rauenne, where the Imperialls were beaten by the French, a fquadron of Spaniards, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndifmayeth, charged, as holding the victorie not intire by their escape, here was ouer-turned and flaine in the place. For it is truely said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers feare them not, That, Neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus insum quantumuis dissiplie aggrediuntur; They goe about the businesse it selse, how hard sower it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the missing ouer them heads may bring; and as truely of those that know the warres but by heare-say. Quod valentes sum of premalentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedurt; They have abilitie enough, and to spare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeede comes, they get them gone.

These Grecians also that made the retract, adulted Darius to retire his Armie into the plaine of Mesopotamia, to the end that Alexander being entred into those large stelds and great Champions, he might have invironed the Macedonians on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to divide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he

mign

might have fought many battailes, and have brought no greater numbers at once then might haue beene well marshalled and conducted. But this counsell was so contrarie to the cowardly affections of the Persians, as they perswaded Darius to inuirone the Gracians which gaue the aduice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wisedome of God doth not worke alwaies by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking understanding from the Gouernours, so as they can neither give nor discerne of Counsels, For Darius that would needs fight with Alexander vpon a straightned piece of ground. neere vnto the Citie of 1/100, where he could bring no more hands to fight than Alexander could, (who by the aduice of Parmenio flaied there, as in a place of best ad- 10 uantage) was veterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the Gracians his followers had perswaded him to leave in Babylon, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, lewels, and Honour: It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to Alexanders presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Iewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though Darius Wife was a most beautifull Ladie, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet Alexander mastred his affections towards them all: onely it is reported out of Aristobulus the Historian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant Memnon, her Hulband lately dead, who was taken fly- 20 ing from Damascus by Parmenio, at which time the Daughters of Ochus, who raigned before Darius, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobilitie of Persia in effect,

amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

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After this ouerthrow given vnto Darius, all Phanicis (the Citie of Tyre excepted)

was yeelded to Alexander, of which Parmenio was made Gouernour.

Aradus, Zidon, and Biblos, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one 30 Strato was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him so fast that it troade on his heeles; for Anigonus, Alexanders Lieutenant in Asia the lesse, ouerthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonuss, and others lately revolted; Aristodemus, Darius Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the Macedonians newly leavied; the Lacedamonians that warred against Antipater were beaten; foure thousand of those Greeks which made the retrait at the last battaile, for saking both the partie of Darius and of Alexander, and led by Amyntas into Agypt, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdomes.

Alexander, to honour Epheftion, whom he loued most, gaue him power to dispose 40 of the Kingdome of Zidon. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustaine his life, being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Begger and a King in

one and the same houre.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to Alexander, he wisht that he could beare his prosperitie with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his adversitie; but ill done of Alexander, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire; for it was a signe that he did but accompanie, and could not governe his felicitic.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from Darius, importing the ransome of his Wise, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouch safing, in his direction, to sile Alexander King. It is true, that the Romans, after that they had received an overthrow by Pyrrhus, returned

CHAP.2. S.5.6. of the Historie of the World,

returned him a more formefull answere vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of Darius had already cast lease, the one a resoluted well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and essentiate. Alexander disdained the offers of Darius, and sent him word that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of Darius himselfe.

### δ. V.

# How ALEXANDER besieged and wanne the Citie of Tyre.

LEXANDER comming neere to the Citic of Tyre, received from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he tooke very thankefully, returning them answere, That he desired to offer a sacrifice to Hersules, the Protector of their

Citie, from whom he was descended. But the Tyrians like not his companie within their Walls, but tel him that the Temple of Hercules was seated in the old City adioyning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, Alexander resoluted to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the land whereon it was built, was eight hundred surlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old Tyre, and timber sufficient from Lybanus, he filled the passage of the Sea betweene the Iland and the Maine, which being more then once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon astorme of winde, sometime by the Tyrians fired, and sometime torne assunder, yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arrived (during the siege) from Cyprus, he ouercame ald ifficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seuen months in that attempt. The Tyrians in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by Alexander, perswading them to render the Citie, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of time and men, hee put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those, that escaped the first surie, to be hanged on Crosseon the

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Sea-shore, and referred for slaves (saith Diodore) thirteene thousand; Arrianus reckonsthem at thirtie thousand. Many more had died, had not the Zidonians, that serued Alexander, connected great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citic.

Infin. 1. 18.

Happy it was for Apollo that the Towne was taken, for one of the Tyrians having dreamt, that this god meant to for fake the Citic, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of Hercules; but Alexander like a gracious Prince loofened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprise and a difficult but great things are made greater. For Nabuchedonosor had taken it before, and filled up the channell, that lay

40 betweene the fland and the Maine.

The government of this Territorie he gave to Philotas, the Sonne of Parmenio; Cilicia, he committed to Socrates, and Andromachus Lieutenant under Parmenio; Esphellion had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde Alexander at Gaza towards £gypt.

# è. VI.

How DARIVS offered conditions of peace to ALEXANDER. ALEXANDER winnes Gaza; and deales graciously with the lowes.



N the meane while Darius sends againe to Alexander, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laieth the losse of the last battaile to the straightnesse of the place the hoped to terrific him, by the atning to encompasse him in the plaine Countries, he hids, him consider, how impossible it was to passe the Rivers of Euphrates.

Qqqq

might have fought many battailes, and have brought no greater numbers at once then might haue beene well marshalled and conducted. But this counsell was so contrarie to the cowardly affections of the Persians, as they perswaded Darius to inuirone the Gracians which gaue the aduice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wisedome of God doth not worke alwaies by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking understanding from the Gouernours, so as they can neither give nor discerne of Counsels, For Darius that would needs fight with Alexander vpon a straightned piece of ground, neere vnto the Citie of Iffis, where he could bring no more hands to fight than Alexander could, (who by the aduice of Parmenio staied there, as in a place of best ad- 10 nantage) was veterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the Gracians his followers had perswaded him to leave in Babylon, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, lewels, and Honour: It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to Alexanders presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Iewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though Darius Wife was a most beautifull Ladie, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet Alexander mastred his affections towards them all: onely it is reported out of Aristobulus the Historian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant Memnon, her Husband lately dead, who was taken fly- 20 ing from Damascus by Parmenio, at which time the Daughters of Ochus, who raigned before Darius, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobilitie of Persia in effect, fell into captiuitie; at which time also Darius Treasure (not lost at Issus) was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

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was yeelded to Alexander, of which Parmenio was made Gouernour.

Aradus, Zidon, and Biblos, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one 30 Strate was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him so fast that it troade on his heeles , for Antigonus, Alexanders Lieutenant in Asia the leffe, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and others lately revolted; Aristodemus, Darius Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the Macedonians newly leavied; the Lacedamonians that warred against Antipater were beaten; foure thousand of those Greeks which made the retrait at the last battaile, for saking both the partie of Darius and of Alexander, and led by Amyntas into Agypt, to hold it for themselves, were buried there, for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdomes.

Alexander, to honour Ephestion, whom he loued most, gaue him power to dispose 40 of the Kingdome of Zidon. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustaine his life, being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Begger and a King in

one and the same houre.

It was a good defire of this new King, when speaking to Alexander, he wisht that he could beare his prosperitie with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his adversitie; but ill done of Alexander, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a figne that he did but accompanie, and could not governe his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from Darius, impor- 50 ting theranfome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but fuch as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouch fafing, in his direction, to stile Alexander King. It is true, that the Romans, after that they had received an overthrow by Pyrrhus,

returned him a more scornefull answere upon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of Darius had already cast leafe, the one a resolued well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. Alexander disdained the offers of Darius, and fent him word that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of Da-

# How ALEXANDER believed and wanne the Citie of Tyre.

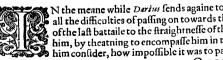
LEXAND BR comming neere to the Citic of Tyre, received from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he tooke very thankefully, returning them answere, That he desired to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was descended. But the Tyrians like not his companie within their Walls, but tel him that the Temple of Hercules was feated in the old City adioyning, now abandoned and defolate. To be short, Alexander resoluted to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the 20 Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, having great flore of stone from the old Tyre, and timber sufficient from Lybanus, he filled the passage of the Sea betweene the Iland and the Maine, which being more then once carried away by the strength of the Sca vpon astorme of winde, sometime by the Tyrians fired, and sometime torne asunder, yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arrived (during the fiege) from Cyprus, he ouercame al difficulties and preuailed, after he had spent seuen months in that attempt. The Tyrians in the beginning of the fiege had barbaroufly drowned the messengers fent by Alexander, perswading them to render the Citic, in respect whereof, and of the great loffe of time and men, hee put eight thousand to the sword, and caused 30 two thousand of those, that escaped the first surie, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaves (faith Diodore) thirteene thousand; Arrianus rec- Arrinol. kons them at thirtie thousand. Many more had died, had not the Zidonians, that ser-

ued Alexander, conneied great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citic. 14sin. 1. 18s Happy it was for Apollo that the Towne was taken, for one of the Tyrians having dreamt, that this god meant to for fake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of Hercules ; but Alexander like a gracious Prince loosened

Itis true, that it was a notable enterprise and a difficult but great things are made greater. For Nabuchodonofor had taken it before, and filled up the channell, that lay 40 betweene the Iland and the Maine.

The government of this Territorie he gaue to Philotas, the Sonne of Parmenio; Cilicia, he committed to Socrates, and Andromachus Lientenant under Parmenio, Ephession had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde Alexander at Gaza towards Egypt.

# How DARIVS offered conditions of peace to ALEXANDER. ALEXANDER winnes Gaza; and deales graciously with the lewes.



N the meane while Darius fends againe to Alexander, fets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laieth the losse of the last battaile to the straightnesse of the place he hoped to terrific him, by the atning to encompasse him in the plaine Countries, he bids him consider, how impossible it was to passe the Riuers of Euphrates, Qqqq

Tigris, Araxes, and the rest, with all such other fearefull things : for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enough of that nature to present vnto another. All the Kingdomes betweene the River of Alys, and the Hellespont, hee offered him in Dower with his beloued daughter. But Alexander answered, That he offred him nothing but his own, and that which victorie and his own vertue had possess that he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, and that he having passed the Sea it selfe, disdained to thinke of relistance in transporting himselfe ouer Rivers. It is said, that Parmenio, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, that were he Alexander, he would accept of Darius his offers; to which Alexander answered, That so would he, it he were Parmenio.

But he goes on towards Agypt, and comming before Gaza, Betis a faithfull feruant to Darius, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof Alexander received awound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone; Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left fo many of his Macedonians buried in the fands of Gaza, that hee was forst to send for a new supply into Greece. Here it was that Alexander first began to change condition, and to exercise iaseph. Ant.l. 12. crueltic. For after that he had entred Gaza by affault, and taken Betis, (whom Iosephus calleth Babemesis Ithat was weakened with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Assailants; he bored holes through his feete, and caused him to bee 20 drawne about the ftreets, whileft he was as yet aliue; who being as valiant a man as himselse, disdained to aske him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor Achilles. who did the like to Hedor? It is true, that crueltie hath alwaies somewhat to couer

LAr.c.vit.

From Gaza (faith Iolephus) he led his Army towards Ierusalem,a Citic, for the antiquitic and great fame thereof, well known vnto him while he lay before Tyre; He had fent for some supply thither, which laddus the high Priest, being subject and fworne to Darius, had refused him. The Jewes therefore fearing his revenge, and vnable to relift, committed the care of their estates and fasetie to Iaddus, who, being 30 taught by God, issued out of the Citie concred with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an upper garment of purple, embrodered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Leuits in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a maner so vnusual, stately and graue, as Alexander greatly admired it. Iofephus reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Prieft, as reuerencing the name of God, and that Parmenio reprehended him for it; How soener it was, I am of opinion, That he became so confident in his enterprise, and so affured of the successe after the prophetic of Daniel had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of Persia so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him or searchim. He consessed to Par- 40 menio (faith Iosephus) That in Dio a Citie of Macedon, when his minde laboured the conquest of Asia, he saw in his sleepe such a person as ladden, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God, by whom he was incouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand with affurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantalie, he now beheld with his bodily eies; wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and imboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the Phanicians, (who hoped to have fackt and destroyed Ierusalem) he gave the Iewes all, and more than they defired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permiffion to liue vuder their owne lawes, and to exercise and enioy their owne Religion.

d. VII. ALEXANDER winnes Agypt: and makes a journie to the Temple of HAMMON.

Rom Ierusalem Alexander turned againe towards Egypt, and emred it. where Darius his Lieutenant, Afraces, received him and delivered into his hand the Citic of Memphis, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this wee see that the Kings of Persia, who had more of affection than of judgement, gaue Kings of Persia, who had more of affection than of indgement, gaue

to the valiantest man hee had but the command of one Citie, and to the verieft co-10 ward the gouernement of all Agypt. When he had fet things in order in Agypt, he beganne to trauaile after God-head, towards Inpiter Hammon, so foolish had prosperitic made him. He was to passe ouer the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was spent, he could not but have perithed, had not a maruailous showre of raine fallen upon him, when his Armie was in extreme despaire. All men that know Agypt, and have written thereof, affirme, That it neuer raines there; but the purposes of the Almightie God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when hee had loft his way in those vast defarts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the Armie; who making fatter wing when they were followed, and fluttering flowly when the

20 Army was cast backe, guided them ouer those pathlesse sands to Impiters T emple. Arrianus from the report of Ptolomie, the sonne of Lagus, saies, That he was led Arriandia. by two Dragons, both which reports may be a-like true; But many of these wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that have written the Storie of Alexander, as that an Eagle lay houering directly ouer his head at the battaile of Illius; That a Swallow flew about his head when he flept, and could not be feared from him till it had wakened him at Halicarnaffens, fore-shewing the treason of From. practifed by Darins to have flaine him; That from the yron barres of which the Tyreans made their defensive engines, when Alexander besieged them, there fel drops of bloud; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a Mace-30 donian Souldier, at the same time. That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before Gaza, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The Spaniards in the conquest of the West-Indies have many such pretie tales, telling how they have been affifted in battaile, by the presence of our Ladie, and by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I thinke themselves do hardly beleeve. The strangest things that I have read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at Novarra, all the Dogges which followed the French Armic, ranne from them to the Switzers, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had beene bred and fed by them all their lines, and in the morning following, Tri-

40 vtterly broken and put to ruine. The place of this Idol of Inpiter Hammon is ill described by Curtius, for he bounds it by the Arabian Troglodites on the South, betweene whom and the Territorie of Hammon, the Region Thebais, or the superiour Agypt, with the Mountaine of Lybia, and the River of Nilus are interiacent, and on the North he joynesit to a Nation, called Nassamones, who bordering the Sea-shore, line (faith hee) vpon the spoiles of shipwracke, whereas the Temple or groue of this Idoll hath no Sea neere it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of Lybia; these Nasfa- Piol. Af. Tab. 2.

nulzs and Tremouille, Generals for Lewis the twelfth, were by thele Imperial Switzers

mones being due West from it, in the South part of Marmarica.

When Alexander came necre the place, hee sent some of his Parasites before him 50 to practife the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might bee given in all things, agreeable to his madde ambition, who affected the title of Inpiters sonne. And so he was saluted, Sonne of Iupiter, by the Deuils prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) desective in the Greeke tongue. For whereas he meant to fay Opaidion, he faid Opaidios, that is, O some of Inpiter, in stead

Qqqq 2

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d. VII.

Cart.li.4.

of, O deare some: for which Grammaticall error he was richly rewarded, & a rumor presently spred, that the great supiter had acknowledged Alexander for his owne.

He had heard that Perfeus and Hercules had formerly consulted with this Oracle. The one, when he was imploied against Gorgon, The other, against Ameus & Businis; and seeing these men had deriued themselues from the gods, why might not hee? By this it seemes, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeede he made himselfe one, by thinking to couer from the Worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his Deitie, hee had practized the Priests to give answere to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to Inpiter to honour Alexander as his Sonne.

Who this Ammon was, and how represented, either by a boffe carried in a Boate, or by a Ramme, or a Rammes-head; I fee that many wife-men haue troubled themsclues to finde out; but, as Arrianus speakes of Dionysus, or Liber Pater (who lived faith St. Augustine in Moses time) Ea que de dijs veteres fabulis suis conscripsere, non funt nimium curiose perueftiganda ; we must not oner-curiously search into the fables, which the Ancients have written of their gods.

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Gospel beganne to be preached in the world, the Deuill in this and in all other Idols became speechlesse. For that this Hammon was neglected in the time of Triberius Cafar, and in the time of Traian altogether forgotten, Strabo and Plutarch witnesse.

There is found neere his Temple a Fountaine called Fons folis (though Ptolomie in his third African Table lets it farther off; that at mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any ver, so which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wells of ake nature, and because it is reported by Saint Augustine, by Didore, Herodotns, Plinie, Ste , Solanis, Arrianus, Cartius, and others, and indeed our Bathes in England are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

How ALEXANDER marching against DARIVS, was opposed very waskilfully by the Enemie.

Rom the Temple of Hammen hereturned to Memphis, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher Pfammones, who, belike vnderstanding that heastfeeted the title of Inpiters Sonne, told him that God was the Father-Kine of all men in the part of the control of the c many other learned men, he caffected the title of Iupiters Sound, the belike viderstanding that heaffected the title of Iupiters Sound, but that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and refining the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to say, That God ning the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to say, That God ning the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to say, That God none for his children

saue good men. He gaue the charge of the seuerall Provinces of Agypt to severall Governours, 40 following the rule of his Master Artfotte, That a great Dominion should not bee continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the Roman Emperours also followed, not daring to commit the government of Agipt to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner ranck and degree. He then gave order for the founding of Alexandria vpon the Wester-most branch of Nilus. And having now settled (as hee could) the estate of Egypt, with the Kingdomes of the leffer Air, Phanicia, and Syria, (which being but the pawnes of Darum his ill fortune, one happie victorie would readily have redeemed,) he led his Army towards Euphrates, which paffage though the same was committed to Mazeus to defend, yet was it abandoned, and Alexander without refiftance past it. From thence he marched towards Tigris, a River for the swiftnesse thereof called by the Persians, The Arrow. Here, as Curtius, and Reason it selfe tels 50 vs, might Darius easily have repelled the invading Macedonian for the violent course of the streame was such, as it draue before it many waightie stones, and those that moued not burlay in the bottome, were foround and well polished by continual

Curt.1.4.

rolling, that no man was able to fight on fo flipperic a tooting; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the River, otherwise than by ioyning their hands and enterlacing their Armes together, making one waightic and entire body to relift the swift passage and surious race of the streame. Besides this notable helpe, the Channell was so deepe towards the Easterne shore, where Darius should have made head, as the footmen were inforst to lift their Bowes, and Arrowes, and Darts ouer their heads to keepe them from being moistned, and made unseruiceable by the Waters. But it was truely and understandingly said of Homer.

> Talis est hominum terrestrium mens, Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumą, Deorumą,

The mindes of men are euer fo affected, As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the World, by the surfeit of miseouernement haue beene subiect to many grieuous, and sometimes mortall discases: So had the Empire of Persia at this time brought it selfe into a burning and consuming Feauer, and therby become frantick and without vnderstanding, foreshewing 20 manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But Alexander hath now recovered the Easterne shores of Tygris, without any other difficultie, that that of the nature of the place, where Mazeus (who had charge to defend the passage both of Euphrates and it) presented himselfe to the Macedonians, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with vneuen forces hee durst haue charged them on euen ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, he forfooke the advantage which no valour of his enemies could eafily haue ouercome. But it is commonly seene, that searefull and cowardly men doe euer follow those waies and counsels, whercof the opportunitie is already loft.

It is true that he fet all prouisions a fire wherewith the Macedonians might serue 30 themselues over Tygris, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counsell is fruitlesse when vnscasonable. For now was Alexander fo well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competencie of the Armie which he conducted. Those things also which he fought to waste, Alexander being now in fight, were by his Horse-men saued and recoursed. This, Mazeus might have done some daies before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of horse-men, as the Macedonians durst not have pursued them, seauing the strength of their foote out of fight, and farre behinde.

The new provisions of DARIVS. Accidents foregoing the battaile



ARIV s, vpon Alexanders first returne out of Ægypt, had affembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the Arians, Scothians, Indians, and other Nations arrived; Nations (faith Curtius) that rather ferued to make up the names of men, than to make refistance. Arrianus hath numbred them with

their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all forts ten hundred thousand, and of horse 50 foure hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some sew Elephants. Curtius who musters the Armie of Darius at two hundred thousand soote, and neere fiftie thousand horse, comes (I thinke) neerer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, it is like enough that hee had gathered together of all forts some three or soure hundred thousand, Qqqq 3

Figet.

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with which hee hoped in those faire plaines of Affria to have over-borne the few numbers of the inuading Armie. But it is a Rule in the Philosophie of the Warre. In omni pralio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium (olent prassare victoriam; In cuerie battaile skill and practice doe more towards the victory than multitude and rude audacitie.

While Alexander gaue rest to his Armic after their passage ouer Tygris, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the Macedonians, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) tooke it for a certaine presage of their ouerthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the am- 10 bition of one man, a man that disdained Philip for his Father, and would needs bee called the Sonne of Inpiter, they should all perish; For he not only inforst them to make warre against Worlds of enemies, but against Rivers, Mountaines, and the Heavens themselves.

Hereupon Alexander being readic to march forward made a halt, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the Agyptian Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be affured that this defection of the Moone was a certaine presage of good successe; for that it was natural they neuer imparted to the common people, but referued the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorrie Almanack-maker had beene no small soole in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious observation Cafar made good vse, when hee fought against Ariousstus and the Germans: for they being perswaded by the catting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainely lose the battaile, Cafar forft them to abide it, though they durit not sine it, wherein having their mindes already beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the Romans, the whole armie in effect perished.

These Agyptians gave no other reason than this, That the Grecians were vinder the aspect of the Sunne, the Persians, of the Moone; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of Persia was now in danger of falling, and their glorie of being obscured. This judgement of the Agyptian Priests being noised through 20 all the Armie, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though denised fince, was well observed then. Exercitum terrore. plenum Durad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captaine leade his Armie to the fight, when it is volleffed with matter of terrour.

It is thely observed by Curtius, that the people are led by nothing so much as by supersition; yea, we finde it in all Stories, and often in our owne, that by such inuentions, deuised tales, dreames, and prophesies, the people of this Land have been carried bead-long into many dangerous tumults and infurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As Alexander drew neere the Persian Armie, certaine letters were surprized writ- 40 ten by Darius to the Gracians, perswading them for great summes of money, either to kill or betray Alexander. But these by the advice of Parmenio he suppressed.

At this time also Darius his faire Wife, opprest with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident Alexander seemed no lesse to bewaile than Darius, who vpon the first bruit suspected that some dishonourable violence had beene offered her, but being fatisfied by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of Alexanders Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the Persian Empire, then it would please them to conferre on so instand continent an enemie as salexander, to whom he once againe before the last triall by battaile offered these con- so ditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp and refigne all Asia the leffe, and with Egypt, all those Kingdomes between the Phanician Sea, and the River of Euphrates; That he would pay him for the ransome of his Mother, and his

other Daughter thirtie thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, hee would leave his Sonne Occhus in hostage: To this they sought to perswade Alexander by fuch arguments as they had. Alexander cauting the Embaffadours to be remoued, aduised with his Counsell, but heard no man speake but Parmenio, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perfuaded him to accept of these faire conditions. Hee told him, that the Empire betweene Euphrates and Hellespont was a faire addition to Macedon; that the retaining of the Persian prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of farre better vie than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which Alexander rejected. And yet it is probable to that if he had tollowed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might haue lived as famous for vertue as for fortune, and lett himself a Successor of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, hee much inlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himselfe: who to affure themselves of what they had vsurped vpon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeeres after. The truth is, That Alexander in going fo far into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of Macedon; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince remperate, aduised and gratefull: and beeing taught new lessons by aboundance of prosperitie, became a louer of wine, of his owne flatterie, and of extreme crueltie. Yea, as Seneca hath observed, the taint of 20 one virjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beautie of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the Persian Embassadours stay his answere, which was to this effect, That what soener hee had bestowed on the Wife and children of Darius, proceeded from his owne naturall elemencie and magnanimitie, without all respect to their Master, that thanks to an enemie was improper; that he made no warres against adversitie, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies; and although by the reiterated practice of Darius, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money to perswade his friends to attempt upon his person, hee had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet hee could not 30 (were it otherwise and faithfull) resolue in haste to accept the same, seeing Darius had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice; That for the Territoric offered him, it was alreadie his owne, and if Darius could beate him back againe over Euphrates, which he had alreadie past, he would then beleeve that hee offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselfe for the reward of the Warre, which hee had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in Darius possession, wherein, whether he were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which hee meant to fight in the day following should determine. For conclusion, he told them, that he came into Asia to giue, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two 49 Sunnes: and therefore if Darius could be content to acknowledge Alexander for his Superiour, he might perchance bee perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

> The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

Ith this answer the Embassadors returne; Darius prepares to fight, and fends Mazeus to defend a passage, which he neuer yet dared so much as to hazard. Alexander confults with his Captaines, Parmenio perfwades him to force Darius his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not moue terrour in the Macedonians, being but, few. Alexander distaines to steale the victorie, and resolues to bring with him the

day-light, to witnesse his valour. But it was the successe that made good Alexanders resolution, though the counsell given by Parmenio was more sound: For it is a ground in Warre, Si pauci necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, conflium est noetis tempore belli fortunam tentare. Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, hee staggers and intrenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the Persian had abandoned: And wheras Darius for feare of surprise had stood with his Armie in armour all the day, and forborne sleepe all the night; Alexander gaue his men rest and store of foode, for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre. Inpugna Milites validius resistunt, si cibo potug, refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius; Souldiers doe the better fland to it in fight; if they have 10 their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than steele

The fourth Booke of the first part CHAP.2. S.10.

The numbers which Alexander had, faith Arrianus, were fortie thousand foot. and seven thousand horse; these belike were of the European Armie; for hee had belides both Syrians, Indians, Agyptians, and Arabians, that followed him out of those Regions. He vsed but a short speech to his Souldiers to incourage them; and I thinke that he needed little R hetorick; for by the two former battailes vpon the River of Granick and in Cilicia, the Macedonians were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true faying, Victoria Victoriam parat, animuma, victoribus auget, & aduer arijs aufert; One victorie begets another, and puts courage in- 20 to shole that have alreadie had the better, taking (pirit away from such as have beene beaten.

Arrianss and Curtius make large descriptions of this battaile, fought at Gaugamela; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometime to the Persians, sometime to the Macedonians; That Parmenio was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That Alexanders Reare-guard was broken and his carriages loft; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both fides. Fortune her felfe was long virefolged on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That Alexander in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But, in conclusion, Curtius deliuers vs in accompt but three hundred dead Macedonians, in 30 all this terrible daies-worke, faying, That Epheftion, Perdiccas and others of name were wounded. Arriannus findes not a third part of this number flaine; of the Perfians there fell fortic thousand (faith Cartius,) thirtie thousand according to Arria-Ninetic thousand, if we beleeue Diodor. But what can wee judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the Persians upon the first charge ranne away, and that the Macedonians purfued? For if of these foure or five hundred thousand Asians brought into the field by Darius, every man had but cast a Dart, or a Stone, the Macedonians could not have bought the Empire of the East at so casie a rate, as sixe or seven hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainly, if Darius had fought with Alexander upon the bankes of Euphrates, and had ar- 40 med but fiftie or threescore thousand of this great multitude, onely with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for Alexander to have past that River so easily, much lesset the River of Treris. But as a man whose Empire God in his prouidence had determined, He abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered Alexander to enter so farre into the bowels of his Kingdome, as al hope and possibilitie of escape by retrait being taken from the Macedonians, they had presented vnto them the choise, either of death or victorie; to which election Darius could no way constraine his owne, seeing they had many large Regions to runne into from those that inuaded them.

ò. XI.

Of things following the battaile of Arbela. The yeelding of Babylon and Sufa.



ARIVS after the rout of his Armie recoursed Arbela the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retrait into Media, perswading them that the Macedonians, greedie of spoile and riches, would rather attempt Bibylon, Susa, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobilitie

rather obeied than approued.

Alexander soone after Darius his departure arrives at Arbela, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred vnto him: for the feare which conducted Darius, tooke nothing with it but shame and dishonour. Hee that had beene twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into Media, than broughtit to Arbela, so necre the place where he abid the comming of his enemies. if he had beene victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure, but beeing ouer-come, hee knew it vnpoffible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold ao from the pursuing Enemie, seeing himselfe, at the overthrow hee had in Cilicia, cast the Crowne from his head, to runne away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. Et preterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corri-

gi; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past. From Arbela Alexander took his way towards Babylon, where Mazeus in whom Darius had most considence rendred himselfe, his children and the Citie. Also the Captaine of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowres, burnt frankinsence vpon Altars of filuer as Alexander passed by, and delivered vnto him what source was committed to his trust. The Magi (the Chaldean Astrologers) followed this Captaine in great solemnitie to entertaine their new 30 King: after these came the Babylonian horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betweene these (though not greatly to be seared) and himselfe, Alexander caused his Maccionian foote-men to march. When he entred the Castle, he admired the glorie thereof, and the aboundance of treasure therein found amounting to fiftie thousand talents of silver vncoyned. The Citie it selfe I haue elsewhere described with the Walles, the Towers, the Gates and the Circuite, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in Circuite, surrounded with a Wall of fourescore soote high, and on the top thereof (being vnder-borne with Pillars) a Grouc of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is faid that one of the Kings of Babylon caused to be built, that the Queene and other Princesses might 40 walke privately therein. In this Citic, rich in all things, but most of all in Voluptu-

ous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Armie source and thirty daies, An. b. Alex. consuming that time in banquetting and in all forts of effeminate exercise, which so much softned the mindes of the Macedonians, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the scucre discipline of warre which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of paincfull travaile, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Heere it was that those bands of a thousand Soldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were filled Chiliarchi. This new order Alexander brought in, was to honor those Captaines which were found by certaine so selected Judges to have descrued best in the late warre. For before this time the Macedonian companies confifted but of five hundred. Certainely the drawing downe of the foote-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Marshal Monlust) that the title and charge of a Captaine hath beene bestowed on every Picque Beuf or Spurn-Cow, for when the Captaines of toote had a thousand Souldiers under

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one Enfigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of Francis the first, the title was honorable, and the Kings were leffecharged, and farre better lerued. K. Henry the eighth of England neuer gaue the commandement of any of his good ships, but to men of knowne valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitic commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While Alexander was yet in Babylon, there came to him a great supply out of Europe, for Antipater fent him fixe thousand foote and fine hundred horse, out of Macedon, of Thracians three thousand toot, and the like number of horse, and out of Greece foure thouland foote and foure hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly 10 firengthred: for those that were infected with the pleasures of Babylon, could hardly be brought againe, De quitter la plume pur dormir sur la dure ; To change from loft heds to hard boords.

Hee left the Callle and Citie of Babylon with the Territories about it in charge with three of his owne Captaines, to wit, Agathon, Minetus, and Appoliderus; to supply all wants a thousand talents: but to grace Mazeus, who rendred the citie vnto him, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over all, and tooke with him Baciltines that gaue vp the Caille, and having distributed to every Souldier a part of the Treafure, he left Babylon and entred into the Province Satrapene: from thence hee went on towards Susa in Persia, the same with Piolomie, Herodotus, and Elianus call Mem- 20 nonia, situate on the river Euleus, a Citie sometime governed by Damel the Prophet. Abulites also, governour of this famous Citie gave it vp to the Conqueror, with fifty thousand talents of siluer in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the warre, with all other the treasures of Darius. In this fort did those Vassals of fortune, louers of the Kings prosperitie, not of his person (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their owne peace and safetie with the Kings treasures. And herein was Alexander well on, and of nine aduled, that what locuer titles be gaue to the Persians, yet hee left all places of imgold, (ub dorri. portance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, Babylon, Sufa, and Persepolis, with caforma excust. other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if Darius (as yet living) had beaten the Macedonians but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of Persia would have re-30 turned to their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors to their owne Kings, are neuer to bee vsed alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them. nor euer to bee trusted with the defences of any frontier-Towne, or Fortresse of waight, by the rendring whereof they may redeeme their libertie and estates lost. Hercof the French had experience, when Don Pedro de Nauarra, being banished out of Spaine, was trusted with Fonterabe, in the yeere 1522.

While Alexander spoiled Arbela, Mazeus might have furnisht the King from Babylon, and while he stated foure and thirtie dates at Babylon, Abulites might have holpen him from Susa: and while he feasted there, Tiridates from Persepolis might have relieued him, for the great masse of treasure was laied up in that Citie. But who 40 hath fought out and friended fearefull adversitie? It is certaine, that benefits binde nor the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselves, doc in all changes of fortune onely consult the conservation of their owne greatnesse.

The government of Susa, with the Castle and Treasure, hee committed to his owne Macedonians, making Abulites who rendred it vnto him his Lieutenant, as he had done Mazeus and others, in giving them Titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to affure the place; and Darius Mother and her children to repose themselues.

It is faid, that Charles the fifth having promifed Charles of Bourbon the governement of Marfeilles, if he could have for stit, and whereof he made sure accompt, told 50 fome of his necreft Counsellers, that he meant nothing leffe than the performance of that promise, because hee should thereby haue left the Duke (revolved from his Master) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour. d. XII.

δ. X I İ.

How ALEXANDER came to Persepolis, and burnt it.



CHAP.2. S.12.

hee fought to passe the Mountaines which funder Susiana and Perfia, hee was soundly beaten by Ariobarzines, who defended against
him those Straights called Pole Partidio or Susiana and Per-Rom Sufa Alexander leadeth his Armic toward Persepolis, and when him those Straights, called Pyla Persidis, or Susaida; and after the losse of many Companies of his Macedonians, he was forft to faue himfelfe

to by retrait, causing his foote to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountaine top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a Lycian, living in that Countrie, discouered vnto him, and came thereby fuddenly in view of Ariobarzanes, who being inforst to fight vpon euen ground, was by Alexander broken, whereupon he fled to Persepolis, but (after that they of Persepolis had refused to receive him) hee returned and gaue a second charge vpon the Macedonians, wherein he was slaine. In like manner did King Francis the first, in the yeere 1515. finde a way ouer the Alpes; the Switzers undertaking to defend all the pallages, who, if their footmanship had not faued them vpon the Kings descent on the other side, they had beene ill paied for 20 their hard lodging on those Hils.

Foure thousand Greekes, faith Curtius, ( Iustine numbers them but at eight hundred) having been taken prisoners by the Persians, presented themselves to Alexander now in fight of Persepolis. These had the barbarous Persians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noses, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way have beene knowne to their Country-men, but by their voices; to each of these Alexander gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands

as they liked to line vpon. Tiridates, one of Darius his falle-hearted Grandes, hearing of Alexanders approch, made him know that Persepolis was ready to receive him, and praied him to double 30 his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoile the Kings treafure. This Citie was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon Alexanders arriuall, and they that stated followed the worst counsell, for all was lest to the libertie of the Souldiers, to spoile and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been elaied in ballance with Perferolis, would have waighed it downe. Babylon, indeede, and Sufa, were very rich; but in Perfepolis lay the bulke and maine store of the Persians. For after the spoile that had beene made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and filuer, and other jewels; there remained to Alexander himselfe one hundred and twentie thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand Macedonians in Persepolis, which he had done in 40 Sufa, and gaue the same formall honor to the Traitor Tiridates, that he had done to Abulites; but he that had the trust of the place was Nicarides, a creature of his owne. The bodie of his Armie he left here for thirtie daies, of which the Commanders were Parmenia and Craterus, and with a thousand horse and certaine troupes of chosen foote, hee would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of Persia, which the Snow had couered, a fruitlesse and foolish enterprise, but as Seneca saies: Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare; Hehath not a will to goe, but he is unable to stand still. It is said and spoken in his praise: That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not indure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficultie, through the snow, that Alexander for sooke his horse, and led them the way. But 50 what can bee more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremitie, thereby to shew how well himselfe can indure it? His walking on footedid no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime for bearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could lesse indure it. For mine owne little judgement I shall rather commend that Captaine, that makes carefull provision for those that

Dioder Speaketh of more than fortic thousand ta-Jents in bulli-Millions of

CHAP.2. S.13.

follow him, & that leckes wifely to preuent extreme necessitie, than those witleffe arrogant fooles, that make the vaunt of having indured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glorie and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that Cafar made, or the best of the Roman Commanders, that the prouision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true laying of Coligni, Admirall of France; That whoso will shape that beast (meaning Warre) must

begin with his belly.

But Alexander is now returned to Persepolis, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberalitie, of his clemencie, towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, 10 were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carrowsing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the greatest King, into the companie and familiaritie of base Harlots, he beganne to be despised both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet Thais, hee caused the most sumpruous and goodly Castle and Citic of Persepolis, to bee consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of Parmenio to the contrarie, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perfwasion to the Asians, to thinke hardly of him, and thereby alienetheir hearts: For 20 they might well beleeue that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing leffe than (after fuch valiation) to hold their poffession. Fere vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur; Crueltie doth commonly follow drunkennesse: For so it fell out soone after, and often, in Alexander.

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# d. XIII. The Treason of Bessys against DARIVS. DARIVS

Bout this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde Darius in Media. Darius had there compounded his fourth and last Armie, which hee meant to have increased in Bactria, had he not heard of Alexanders comming on, with whom (trusting to fuch companies as hee had, which was numbred at thirtie or fortie

thousand) hee determined once againe to trie his fortune. He therefore cals together his Captaines & Commanders, and propounds vnto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe vsed silence for a while. Artabazus, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had fometime lived with Philip of Macedon, brake the yee, and protesting that hee could never be beaten by any adversitie of the Kings, from the 40 faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same disposition (whereof they likewise assured Darius by the like protestation) hee approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, Nabur zanes, and Beffus, whereof the latter was Governour of Bactria, had conspired against their Master, and therefore aduised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to bee an enemie: this preamble Naburzanes vied, & in conclusion aduised the election of his fellow Traitor Beffus, with promise, that the warres ended, the Empire should again be restored to Daries. The King swollen with disdaine prest towards Naburzanes to have slaine 50 him, but Beffus & the Bactrians whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while Naburzanes with-drew himselfe, and Beffus followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Armie. Artabazus, the Kings faithfull scruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and scrue the time,

feeing Alexander was at hand, and that hee would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made, which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yeelded. vnto. Beffus makes his submittion and attends the King, who remoones his Armie. Patron, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand Greekes, which haddin all the former Battailes served Darius with great fidelitie, and alwayes made the retrait in loight of the Macedonians, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of Besses, but it was not in his destinie to follow their aduice who from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counsell but hee inclined skill to Befa (w, who told him, that the Greekes with Patron their Captaine were corrupted by 10 Alexander, and practifed the division of his faith ull servants. Bellius had drawne vhto him thirtie thousand of the Armie, promising them all those things by which the louers of the World and themselues are wont to bee allured to wit, riches, safetie,

Now the day following Darius plainely discouered the purposes of Bessus, and being ouercome with passion, as thinking himselfe vnable to make head against these vngratefulland vnnaturall Traytors, he prayed Artabazus his faithfull sernant; to depart from him, and to prouide for himselfe. In like fort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all faue a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His Persians being most base Cowardes, durst not underrake his defence 20 against the Bactrians, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand Greekes to joyne with him, who had beene able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which for fakes himselfe, no man followes. It had beene farre more Man-like and King-like to have dyed in the head of those foure thousand Greekes, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which Attabazus perswaded him) than to have lien bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to bee bound like a Slaue by those ambitious Monsters that layd hand on him, whom neyther the confideration of his former great estate, nor the honours he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could moue to pittie: no, nor his present advertitie, which aboue all things should have mooved them, 30 could pierce their viperous and vngrateful hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it, for

infidelitie hath no compaffion. Now Darius, thus for laken, was bound and layd in a Cart, couered with Hides of Beafts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not bee discoursed; and to adde despight and derision to his aduersitie, they fastned him with Chaines of Gold; and to drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For Belias and Nabirzanes perswaded themselves to redeeme their lives and the Provinces they held, eyther by deliuering him a Prisoner to Alexander, or if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his flaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most 40 iuff, to pardon so strange villanie, yea though against a Prince purely Heathenilh and

an Idolater. Alexander having knowledge that Darias was retyred towards Ballria, and durst not abide his comming, hasted after him with a violent speed, and because hee would not force his Foot-men beyond their powers, hee mounted on horse-backe certaine selected Companies of them, and best armed, and with fixe thousand other Horse, rather ranne than marched after Darius. Such as hated the Treason of Bessus and secretly for sooke him, gaue knowledge to Alexander of all that had happened, informing him of the way that Beffes tooke, and how neere hee was at hand : for many men of worth daily ranne from him. Hereupon Alexander againe doubled his 50 pace, and his Vant-gard being discouered by Bessus his Reare, Bessus brought a Horse to the Cart, where Darius lay bound, persuading him to mount thereon, and to saile himselte. But the vnfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betraved him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, and flew two poore Seruants that attended his person. This done, they

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of the Historie of the World. CHAP.2. S.15.

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all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercie of the Macedonian Swords.

Polystratus a Macedonian, being by pursute of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discoucred, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beafts breathing for life, and notable to moue, fearched the fame, and therein found Darius bathing in his owne bloud. And by a Persian captive which followed this Polystratus, he understood that it was Darius, and was informed of this barbarous Tragedie. Darius also seemed greatly comforted (if dying menignorant of the liuing God can bee comforted) that hee cast not out his last forrowes unheard, but that by this Macedonian, Alexander might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no lesse vnworthily than cruelly 10 with him, recommending their reuenge to Alexander by this Messenger, which hee besought him to pursue, not because Darins had desired it, but for his owne honor, and for the fafetic of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. Hee also, having nothing elfeto present, rendred thankes to Alexander for the Kingly grace vsed towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortall Gods to submit vnto him the Empire of the whole world. As hee was thus speaking, impatient death pressing out his sew remaining spirits, he desired water, which Polystratus presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, where-with to desire the Gods to reward his compassion.

# d. XIIII.

How ALEXANDER pursued Bessus, and tooke into his grace DARIVS his Captaines.

T was now hoped by the Macedonians, that their travells were neere an end severy man preparing for his returne. Heercof when Alexander had knowledge, hee was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth der had knowledge, hee was greatly grieued; for the bounded earth 30 fufficed not his boundlesse ambition. Many arguments hee therefore vsed to draw on his Armie farther into the East, butthat which had mouturength was, that Beffus, a most cruell Taitor to his Master Darius, hauing at his denotion the Hyresnians, and Bactrians, would in short time (if the Macedonians (hould returne) make himselfe Lord of the Persian Empire, and enioy the fruits of all their former trauailes. In conclusion, hee wanne their consents to goe on: which done, leaving Craterus with certaine Regiments of foot, and Amyntas with fixe thousand Horse in Parthenia, hee enters not without some opposition into Hyreania; for the Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passiges for a while. Hee passeth the River of Zioberis, which taking beginning in 40 Parthia, dissolues it selfe in the Caspian Sca: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountaines, which bound Parthicand Hyrcania, where hiding it selfe under ground for three hundred furlongs, in then rifeth againe and followeth its former course. In Zadracarta or Zeudracerta, the same Citie which Ptolomie writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of that Region, hee rested fisteene dayes, banquetting, and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of Darius his greatest Commanders, with other of his best followers, submit themselues to Alexander, and were restored to their places and gouernements. But of all other he graced Artabazus most highly for his approved & constant faith to his Master Darius. Artabazus brought with him ten thousand and fine hun- 50 dred Greekes, the remainder of all those that had served Darius; He treats with Alexander for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end they render themselucs simply without promise or composition he pardons all but the Laced amonians, whom he imprisoned, their Leader bauing flaine himselfe. Hee was also wrought,

(though to his great dishonour) to receive Nabarzanes that had joyned with Bestus to murder Darius.

δ XV.

Of THALESTRIS Queene of the Amazons; where, by way of digression it is shewed, that (ach Amazons have beene, and are.



Ere it is faid, that Thalestris or Minothea, a Queene of the Amazones, came to vilite him, and her fute was, (which shee easily obtayned) That shee might accompanie him till shee were made with childe by him : which done (refuting to follow him into inaia) the returned into her owne Countrie.

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of Thatestris with Alexander, and some contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of alexander himselfe to Antipater, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian businesse, may justly breede suspicion of the whole matter as forged. Much more justiy may we suspect it as a vame tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his bookes to Lymachus (then King of 20 Thrace) who had followed Alexander in all his voyage; was laught at by the King for inferting such newes of the Amazons, as Lysimachus himselfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied Alexander tooke vpon him to write his acts; which to amplific, He tolde how the King had fought fingle with an Elephant, and flaine it. The King hearing such stuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the River of Indus; faying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inferting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as wee beleeve and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that Alexander fought with one; so may we give credit vnto writers, making mention of fuch Amazons, whether it were true or falle that they met with Alexander; as Plutarch leaves the matter undetermined. 30 Therefore I will heere take leaue to make digreffion, as well to show the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discoucrers touching these warlike Women, because not onely Strabo, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any such kinde of people. Julius Solinus leares them in the North parts of Affa the leffe. Pom. Mela finds two sole.27.6 65. Regions filled with them; the one, on the River Thermodoon; the other, necre the Calpian Sca; Quizs (faith hee) Sauromatidas appellant; Which the people call Sauromati- Libis, das. The former of these two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; Certum eft (faith Vadianus, who hath Commented upon Mal A) illos proximos Ariazonibus fuiffe; It is certainethat the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazones. PTOLOMIE 40 lets them farther into the Land North-wards, neere the Mountaines Hippaci, not Pile. farre from the Pillars of Alexander. And that they had Dominion in Afia it felfe Plande 6.20. toward India, Solinus and Pliny tells vs; Where they gouerned a people called the Pandeans, or Padeans, so called after Pandea the Daughter of Hercules, from whom all the rest derive themselves. Claudian affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he speakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Diodorus

Medis lenibuf g, Sabais Imperat hic fexus : Reginarum q fub armis, Barbaria pars magna iacet.

claud.de cap.

Ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, raignes This female fexe: and vnder armes of Queene, Great part of the Barbarian Land remaines.

Rrrr 2

2.2.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (faith hee) than those which kept the bankes of Thermodoon, a River falling into the Euxine Sea necre Heraclium.

Herodotus doth also make report of these Amazons, whom hee tells vs that the Scythians call Lorpatas, which is as much as Viricidas, or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into Asia the lesse, sackt Ephelus, and burnt the Temple of Diana, Manethon and Auentinus report, which they performed fortie yeeres after Troy was taken. At the siege of Troyit selfe wee reade of Penthesilea, That shee came to the

Anciad.1.1.3. L.22.C.7.

fuccour of Priamus. Am. Marcellinus giues the cause of their inhabiting vpon the river of Thermodoon, 10 speaking confidently of the Warres they made with diners Nations, and of their o-

Plutareb in the life of Thefeus, out of Philocherus, Hellanicus, and other ancient Hiflorians, reports the taking of Antiopa Queene of the Amazons by Hercules, and by him given to Thefeus, though some affirme, That Thefeus himselfe got her by stealth when shee came to visit him aboord his ship. But in substance there is little difference; all consessing, That such Amazons there were. The same Author in the life of Pompey speakes of certaine companies of the amazons, that came to aide the Albanians against the Romans, by whom, after the battaile, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp: and hee faith farther, That these women entertaine the 20 Geleand Lelages once a yeere, Nations inhabiting betweene them and the Alba-

Hiftor. Ind. part.

Butto omit the many Authors, making mention of Amazons that were in the old times; Fran. Lopez who hath written the nauigation of Orellana, which he made down the River of Amazons from Peru, in the yeere 1542. (vpon which River, for the diners turnings, he is faid to have failed fixe thouland miles) reports from the relation of the faid Orellana, to the Councell of the Indies, That hee both faw those women and fought with them, where they fought to impeach his passage towards the East-

It is also reported by Viricus Schmidel, that in the yeere 1542. where he failed up 30 the Rivers of Paragna and Parabol, that hecameto a King of that Countrie, called Scherues, inhabiting under the Tropick of Capricorne, who gave his Captaine Ernando Rieffere, a Crowne of filuer, which hee had gotten in fight from a Queene of the Amazons in those parts.

Ed. Lopes, in his description of the Kingdome of Congo, makes relation of such Amazons, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right brest, and live a-part from men, save at one time of the yeere, when they feast and accompanie them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesses a part of the Kingdome of Monomotapa in Africa, ninetcene degrees to the Southward of the line and that these women are the strongest guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Por- 40 tugals know.

I have produced these authorities, in part, to justific mine owne relation of these Amazons, because that which was deligered mee for truth by an ancient Cacique of Guiana, how vpon the River of Papamena (fince the Spanish discoveries called Amszons) that these women still line and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnprobable report.

è. XVI.

d. XVI.

How ALEXANDER fell into the Persians Luxurie : and how hee further pursued BESSVS.

Owas Alexander had begunne to change his condition after the taking of Persepolis: so at this time his prosperitie had so much ouer-wrought his vertue, as hee accompted elemencie to bee but basenesse, and the temperance which hee had vsed all his life-time, but a poore and dejected humour, rather becomming the instructers of his youth

and dejected humour, rather becomming the instructers of his youth. than the condition and flate of fo mighty a King, as the world could not equal. For hee perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the gods : he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground, and adore him; he ware the Robes and garments of the Persians, and commanded that his Nobilitie should doe the like; hee entertained in his Court, and Campe, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtifans, and Sodomiticall Eunuches, that Darius had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested manners of the Perlians. whom hee had vanquished. So licentious is felicitie, as notwithstanding that hee wasfully perswaded, that the Gods whom he served (detesting the vices of the in-20 uaded) affitted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe, contrarie to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soeuer it were , could not be but fearefull vnto him by neglecting it ) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foule and searcfull Monster than Darius, from whose tyrannie hee vaunted to haue delivered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and neerest vnto him. began to be alhamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornefull discourse; That Alexander of Macedon was become one of Dariu his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the Macedonians were in the end of so many trauailes, more impouerished in their vertues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the bafer 30 slaues. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his cares. He therefore with great gifts fought to pacific the better fort, and those of whose judgements he was most icalous; and making it knowne to the Armie, that Beffus had affumed the title of a King, and called himselfe Artaxerxes, and that hee had compounded a great Armie of the Bactrians, and other Nations, hee had arguments enow to perswade them to goe on , to the end that all aircadie gotten, might not with themselues (so farre ingaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Armie seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much valike the warfare of the French) having commanded euery mans fardells to be brought into the market-place, he together with his owne, 40 caused all to bee consumed with fire. Certainely, this could not but have prooued most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painefull travailes, and with their bloud, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as Seneca often observed) his happie temeritie ouer-come all things. As hee was in his way, newes came to him, that Satribarzanes, whom he had chablished in his former gouernement over the Arrians, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of Bactria, he fought him out, but the Rebell, hearing of his comming, fled to Beffin, with two thousand Horse. Hee then went on

towards Bessu, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a strong winde, wonne a passage ouer an high and vnaccessable Rocke, which was de-30 fended against him, with thirteene thousand soote. For the extremitie of the Flame and smoke, forced them from the place, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third civill

warre of France, certaine Caues in Languedoc, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which wee knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certaine bundels of straw, let downe

Rrrr 3

by an yron chaine, and a waighty stone in the middest, those that defended it, were fo smothered, as they rendred themselves with their plate, monie, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three yeeres before my arrivall in Guiana, three hundred Spaniards well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrie people, who did set the long dry grasse on fire to the Eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwayes East) so as not withstanding their flying from the smoke, there was not any one that escaped. Sr. Iohn Borrowes also, with a hundred English, was in great danger of being lost at Margarita, in the well-Indies, by having the graffe fired behinde him, but the smoke being timefully discouered, hee recouered the Sea-shore with the losse of fixetcene of his men. 1 10 remember these things, but to give caution to those that shall in times to come inuadeany part of those Countries, that they alwayes, before they passe into the Land, burne downe the graffe and fedge to the East of them; they may otherwife, without any other enemie, than a handfull of straw fet on fire, die the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hiue.

A Conspiracie against ALEXANDER. The death of PHILOTAS and PARMENIO.

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LEXANDER was, after he parted hence, no where refifted, till he came into Aria, to the East of Bastria, where the chiefe City of that Prointo Aria, to the East of Ballria, where the chiefe City of that Pro-prince, called Artacoana, was a while defended against him, by the re-unit of Sartibarzanes, but in the end her received the Inhabitants to mercie. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new supply of

fine thousand and fine hundred foote, and necre fine hundred Horse, out of Greece, Theffalle, & other places. His iournie out of Persia into these parts, is very confusedly described. For having (as all his Historians tell vs ) a determination to find Bellius in Bactria, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of Hyreania; from thence 30 hee wanders Northward towards the obscure Mardi, vpon the Caspian-Sea, and

thence ouer the Mountaines Coronus into Aria, and Drangiana.

At this time it was that the treason of Dimnus brake out, of which Philotas the forme of Parmenio was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This Dimnus, having (I know not vpon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of Alexander, went about to draw Nicomachus, a yong man whom hee loued, into the fame treason. The Youth, although hee was first bound by oath to secrecie, when he heard fo foule a matter vttered, beganne to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have flaine him for fecuritie of his owne life. So, conftrained by feare, hee made show as if hee had beene wonne by perswasion, and by seeming at 40 length to like well of the businesse, hee was told more at large what they were, that had vndertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke; whose names Dimnus (to countenance the enterprise ) reckoned up to Nicomachus, Nicomachus had no fooner freed himselfe from the company of this Traitor Dimnus, than he acquainted his owne brother Ceballinus with the whole Historie: whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that Ceballinus ( who might with least suspition ) should goe to the Court, and vtter all. Ceballinus, meeting with Philotas, told him the whole bufineffe; defiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which hee promifed to doe, but did not. Two dayes passed, and Philotas neuer brake with the King about the matter, but ftill excused himselse to Ceballinus by the Kings want of leisure. This 50 his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused Ceballinus to addresse himselfe to another, one Metron, Keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to Alexanders presence. Alexander, finding by examination what had passed betweene Ceballinus and Philotas, did fully perswade himselfe that this concealement of the trea-

son, argued his hand to have beene in the businesse. Therefore when Dimnus was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question then this: Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou shouldest thinke PHILOTAS more worthie to be King than I? Dimnus perceiuing, when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had fo wounded himselfe, that he lived no longer, than to give his last groane in the Kings prefence. Then was Philotas called, and charged with the suspition, which his silence might justly breede. His answere was, That when the practice was reucaled vnto him by Nicomachus, he judging it to be but friuolous, did forbeare to acquaint Alexander therewithall, vntill he might have better information. This errour of his, ( if to it were onely an errour) although Alexander, for the notorious seruices of his Father Parmenio, of his brother Nicanor lately dead, and of Philotas himselfe, had freely pardoned and given him his hand for affurance; yet by the inftigation of Craterus, hee againe swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemics his Judges: Curtius giues a note of Craterus in this bulinesse; How hee perswaded himselfe, that hee could never finde a better occasion to oppresse his private enemie, than by pretending pietie, and dutie towardes the King. Heercof a Poet of our owne hath given a note as much better, as it is more generall in his Philotas.

See how these great men cloathe their private hate, In these faire colours of the publike good, And to effect their ends, pretend the State, As if the State by their affection flood, And arm'd with power and Princes jealousies, Will put the least conceit of discontent Into the greatest ranke of treacheries. That no one action shall seeme innocent; Yea valour, honour, bountie, shall be made As accessaries vnto ends vnjust: And even the service of the State must lade The needfull'st undertaking with distrust, So that base vilenise; idle Luxurie, Seeme safer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were fo, that the King, following the aduice of Craterus, had refolued the next day to put Philotas to torment, yet in the very euening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night Philotus was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him beganne to binde him; he cryed out vpon the King in these wordes: O A LEXAN DER, the malice of mine 40 Enemies hath surmounted thy mercie, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were vrged against him by Alexander himselfe; ( for the Kings of Macedon did in person examine the accusations of treason ) and this was nor the least (nor the least offence, indeede, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when Alexander wrote vnto him concerning the title given him by Jupiter Hammon; Hee answered, That hee could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that facred Fellowship of the gods, and yet hee could not but withall grieue for those that should liue vnder such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (faith Alexander) a firme perswasion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that hee held my glory in despight. See what a strange Monster 50 Flatterie is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to becabhorred. Philotas was brought before the multitude, to heare the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vilde garments, and bound like a Theefe; where hee heard himselfe, and his absent Father the greatest Captaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers,

Hector and Nicanor having beene lost in the present Warre. Hee was so greatly oppress with griefe, as for a while he could vtter nothing but teares, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as hee sunke under those that led him. In the end the King asked him, in what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him, which hee did, to the end that the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, might understand him. But heered the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that hee dissained the language of his owne Countrie, and so with-drawing himselfe, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, Philotas greatly lamented, feeing the King, who had so sharpely inucyed against him, would not vouchsafe to heare his excuse. For, 10 not his enemics onely were imboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discouered the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselues, which of them should exceede in hatred towardes him; Among many other arguments, which he vied in his owne defence, this was not the weakest; That when Nicomachus desired to know of Dimnus, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnwilling to aduenture himselfe with meane and base Companions) Dimnus named vnto him Demetrius of the Kings Chamber, Nicanor, Amyntas, and some others, but spake not a word of Philotas, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the partie, and have incouraged Nicomachus. Indeede, as Philotas faid well for himselfe, it is likely that Dimnus, 20 thereby the better to have heartned Nicomachus, would have named him, though hee had neuer dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certaine proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents, that practifed against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforc'd by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him, and it is true, that adversity being seldome able to beare her owne burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as shee rather desires to draw others (not alwayes descruing it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoener it were, to avoide the extremity of relistlesseand vnnaturalltorments, deuised by his profest enemies Craterus, Cenus, Ephestion, and others, Philotas accused his owne selfe; being perswaded that they would have slaine him 30 forthwith. But he failed euen in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be layd on flesh and bloud, hee was fore'd to deliuer, not what he knew, but what soeuer best pleased their cares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selfe.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l.19.6.6. Of this kinde of judiciall proceeding S. Jugustine greatly complaineth as a matter to bee bewayled, saith he, with Fountaines of teares. Quid cum in sua causa quisify torquetur: & cum queritur virum sit nocens cruciatur: & innocensluit pro inserto selere certissimas panas: non quia illud commissife detegitur, sed quia non commisse nescitur? What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his owne case; and tormented whilest yet it is in question whether he be guiltie; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie, not because he is known to have committed the of-40 fence, but because other doe not know that he hath not committed it?

It had beene enough for Alexanders safety, if Philotas had beene put to death without torment, the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because hee was greatly suspected. But Hemolaus, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in bloud, the greatest motive of his owneill intent. Therefore, Sescude Clem.1.1. necs, speaking of Alexander, saith thus: Crudelitas minime humanum malum off, indignates the state of the second control of the second contr

mum tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abiesto bomine, in siluestre animal transfre; Crueltie is not a bumane vice; it is unworthy of so milde a spirit. It is euen a beastly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a sanage Monster.

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, Curtius makes a doubt, whether the confession that Philotus made, were to give end to the torments which hee could not any longer indure, or that the same was true indeede; For (saith hee) in this case, they that speake truely, or they that deny fally, come to one and the same end. Now,

while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that Lyncestes, sonne-in-Law to Antipater, who had beene three yeeres in prison, should be slaine: The same dispatch had all those that Nicomachus had accused: others there were that were suspected, because they had followed Philotas, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the Kings fauour, as by louing those whom the King fauoured; they were dismist. But Parmenio was yet liping; Parmenio, who had ferued with great fidelitie as well Philip of Macedon the Kings Father, as himselse; Parmeniothat first opened the way into Asia; That had deprest Attalus the Kings enemie; that had alwaies, and in all hazards, the leading of to the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leffe prudent in counfell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of Warre, and, to fay the truth, hee that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the gloric and fame hee had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was vnlikely that hee would have dishonoured his fidelitie in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten yeeres) yet vpon those that by the witchcraft of flatteric bad possest themselves of his affection; it was resolved that he should be dispatcht. Polydamas was imployed in this businesse, a man whom of all other Parmenio trusted most, and loued best, who (to bee short) finding him in Media, and having Cleander and other Murderers with him, flew him walking in his 20 Garden, while hee was reading the Kings letters. Hicexitus PARMENIONIS fuit, Lib.7. militia domig, clari viri; Multa sine Rege prospere, Rex sine illo nihil magna rei gesserat; This was the ende of PARMENIO (faith CVRTIVS) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did neuer effect any thing wor-

### d. XVIII.

How Alexander Jubdued the Bactrians, Sozdians, and other people. How Bessys was delivered into his hands. How hee fought with the Scythians.

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Hen these things had end, Alexander went on with his Armie, and brought under his obedience the Araspians or Euergitans, hee made Amenides (sometime Darius his Secretarie) their Gouernour; then he subdued the Arachosians, and lest Menon to command ouer them. Heere the Armie, sometimes led by Parmenio, findes him, consisting of

twelve thousand Macedons and Greekes, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficultie enough. At length hee came to the foote of the Mountaine Taurus towards the East, where he built a Citic which hee honoured with his owne 40 name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his olde Macedons, worne with age and with trauailes of the warre, The Arians, who since hee left them were reuolted, hee subdued againe by the industrie and valour of Caranus and Erigius; And now herefolues to finde out the new King Beffus in Bactria. Beffus, hearing of his comming, prepares to passe over the great River of Oxus which divides Bactria from Sogdiana; Artabazus is made Gouernour of Bactria abandoned by Bessus; The Macedonian Armie suffereth for want of Water, insomuch as when they came to the River of Oxus, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, then Alexander had lost in any one battaile against the Persians. And it may well be; For (as Clytus did after obiect vnto him) hee fought against women, not against men, and not aso gainst their persons but their shadowes. Hee found on the bankes of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materialls, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forst to sow together the Hides that couered his carriages, and stuffe them with straw, and on them in fixe daies to passe ouer his Armie; which Bessus might casily have distrest, if he had dared but to beholde the Macedonian Armie a-

CHAP.2. S.18.

farre off. Hee had formerly complained against Darius for neglecting to defend the bankes of Tigris, and other passages, and yet now, when this traiterous slane had Hyled himselte a King, hee durst not performe any thing worthy of a slaue. And therefore those that were neerest vnto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit, soitamines, Dataphernes, Catanes, and others the Commanders of his Armie, moued both by the care of their owne fafetic, and by the memoric of Beffus his Treason and crueltie against Darius, bound him in the like manner that hee had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chaine closed about his neck like a mastiffe Dog.

and so was dragged along to be presented to his enemie. In the meane while Alexander was arrived at a certaine Towne inhabited with 10 Greekes of Miletum, brought thither by Xerxes, when long before he returned out of Greece, whose issues had well-neere forgotten their Countrey-language. These most cruelly (after they had received him with greatioy) hee put to the fword, and destroyed their Citie. At this place he received Bessus, and having rewarded Spitamenes with the rest that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of Oxatres, Dari-

us his brother, to be tormented. But while he now thought himselfe secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers affaulted his Camp; in repelling whom he received a shot in the leg, the arrow head sticking in the slesh, so as hee was carried in a Horse-Lytter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the soote.

Soone after hee came vnto Maracanda, which Petrus Perondinus takes to be Samarchand, the regall Citic of the great Tamerlaine. It had in compasse threescore and ten furlongs (Curtius faith.) Heere he received the Embassadors of the Soythians ( called Anians) who offered to ferue him.

The Ball rians are shortly againe with the Sogdians stirred to Rebellion, by the same Spitamenes and Catanes, who had lately delivered into his hands the Traitor Beffus. Many Cities were resolutedly detended against him, all which, after victorie, hee defaced and rased, killing all therein. At one of these hee received a blow on the necke which strucke him to the ground, and much disabled him for many daies after. In the meane while Spitamenes had recoursed Maracanda, against whom hee imployed 30 Mencdemus with three thou and foote and eight hundred horse.

In the heate of these tumults Alexander marched on (if we may beleeve Curtius and others) till he came to the River of Tanais; vpon whose banke he built another Alexandria three score furlongs in compasse, which hee beautified with houses within seuenteene daies after the walls built. The building of this Citie is faid to have beene occasion of a warre betweene him and the Scythians; the Scythian King perswading himselse, that this new Towne was fortified of purpose to keepe him vnder. I doe not well understand, why the Septhians, offering warre in such terrible manner that Alexander was judged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit ficknesse for very scare, should neverthelesse make suite for peace: neither finde I the reason why Alexander 40 (not intending the conquest of those Northerne desarts, but onely the desence of his owne banke) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further then they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victorie described; in pursuit of which the Macedons ranne beyond the bounds and monuments of Bacchus his expedition.

The truth is, That Curtius and Trogus have greatly mistaken this River which they call Tanais. For it was the River of laxartes, that runnes betweene Sogdiana and Scribia, which Alexander past ouer, while Menedemus was imployed in the recoverie of Samarchand: But Tanais which divides Asia from Europe, is necest wo thousand miles distant from any part of Bactria and Sogdiana, and the way defart & vnknowne. 50 So that Alexander had (besides Inxartes) the great River of Volga and many others to fwimme ouer, ere he could recouer Tanais: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imploied all the time that he lived in Asia in that travaile. Where-

Wherefore it is enough to beleeue, that the Affatique Sorthians, making some offer to disturbe the erection of this new Citic, which was like to give some hindrance to their excursions, were driven away by the Macedonians; and being naked of defensive Armes, casily chased some tenne or twelve miles; which is the substance of Curtius his report. As for the limits of Bacchus his journic; like enough it is that Bacchus (if in his life time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken God) went not verie farre into that waste Countrie, where hee could finde nothing but trees and stones, nor other businesse than to set up a monument.

Threescore of the Macedons are said to have beene slaine, and one thousand one 10 hundred hurt in this fight, which might casily be in passing a great River, desended against them by good Archers. Of Seythian horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeede it is hardly possible, to set downe the numbers of such as perish in battell: yet Cafar commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath beene so inquisitiue into the greatnesse of their owne successe, that writers have beene ableto deliuer fuch particulars by credible report, I hold it not vnlawfull to fet downe what wee finde; especially when it serues to give light to the businesse in hand. The small number which the Macedonians lost; the omission of the number which they flew (a thing not viuall in Curtius, who forbeares nothing that may 20 fet out the greatnesse of Alexander ) and the little bootie that was gotten; doe make it probable, that this warre was no better than the repulsion of a few rouing Tartars (the like being yeerely performed by the Mesconite, without any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While Alexander was affuring himselfe of those Scythians bordering vpon Jaxartes, hereceived the ill newes that Menedemus was flaine by Spitamenes, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slaine, to wit, two thousand foote, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appeale the rebellion, and to take reuenge of Spitamenes, makes all the haste be can; but Spitamenes flies into Bactria. Alexander 30 kills, burnes, and laies waste all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and

so departs, leaving a new Gouernour in that Province.

To repaire this losse he received a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of Greece, Lycia, and Syria; with all which, and the old Armie, hee returnes towards the South, and passeth the River of Oxus; on the South-side whereof hee built fixe Townes neere each other for mutuall succour. But hee finds a new startvp-Rebell, called Arimazes, (a Sogdian) followed with thirtie thousand Souldiers that defended against him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when Alexander had fought in vaine to winne by faire words, hee made choise of three hundred yong-men, and promifed ten talents to the first, nine to the second, 40 and so in proportion to the rest, that could finde a way to creepe up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loffe of some two and thirtie of their men, and then made a figne to Alexander, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he sent one Cophes to perswade Arimazes to yeeld the place; who, being shewed by Cophes that the Armie of Macedon was alreadic mounted vp, yeelded simply to Alexanders mercie, and was (with all his kinred) feourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keepe good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seemes by the description, might easily haue beene defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot doe; Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which so I will give you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of Sarke, joyning to Garnfey and of that government, was in Queene Maries time surprised by the French, and could neuer have beene recovered againe by strong hand, having cattell and corne enough vpon the place to feede so many men as will serue to defend it, and being enery way so inaccessible, that it might bee

held against the Great Turke. Yet by the industric of a Gentleman of the Netherlands, it was in this fort regained. Hee anchored in the roade with one Ship of small burden, and, pretending the death of his Marchant, befought the French, being some thirtie in number, that they might burie their Marchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the French of such Commodities as they had aboord; whereto ( with condition that they should not come a-shore with any weapon, no not so much as with a Knife) the French-men yeelded. Then did the Flemings put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkaffe, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The French received them at their landing; and searching euery of them so narrowly as they could not hidea Pen-knife, gaue 10 them leaue to draw their Coffin vp the Rockes with great difficultie; some part of the French tooke the Flemilh Boat and rowed aboord their Ship, to etch the commodities promised, and what else they pleased, but being entred, they were taken and bound. The Flemings on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set vpon the French; they runne to the Cliffe and cry to their Companie aboord the Flea ming to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with Flemings, yeelded themselues and the place. Thus a Fox-taile doth sometimes helpe well to piece out the Lions-skinne, that else would be too short.

# d. XIX.

How ALEXANDER flew his owne friends.



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Fter these Sogdian and Scothian Warres, we reade of Alexanders killing of a Lion, and other friuolous matter, and that hee committed the Gouernment of Maracanda, & the Country about it, to Clysus, and how he flew him soone after, for valuing the vertue of Philip the father before that of Alexander the sonne, or rather because he objected to the King

the death of Parmenie, and derided the Oracle of Hammon: for therein hee toucht 30 him to the quicke, the same being deliuered in publike and at a drunken Banquet. Clying, indeed, had deserved as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular faued his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth. Clying his insolencie was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, so the King in his (for neyther of them were themselues) forgat whom he went about to slay, for the griefe whereof he tare his owne face and forrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of Calisthenes, it is thought he would have slaine himselfe.

Wine begat Purie, Purie matter of Repentance: but preceding mischieses are not amended by succeeding bewailings: Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; ob- 40 stantemmalis conatibus verecundiam remouet; vbi possedit animum nimia vis vini , quicquid mali latebat, emergit : non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit; Drunkennesse both kindles and layes open enery vice; it remoones out of the way that shame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastrie, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkennesse indeed rather discouers vices, than makes them.

Soone after this, Spitamenes, who flew Beffus, and had lately revolted from Alexander, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to Alexander. Spitamenes being taken away, the Dahansallo seized vpon his fellow-conspirator Dataphernes, and deliuered him vp. So Alexander being now freed from all these pettie-Rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he past over, and went on with his Armie into Ga- 50 baza, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Traine. From hence he invaded the Sacans, and destroyed their Countrie. Then came he into the Territorie of Cohortanes, who submitted himselfe vnto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with

thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom Roxane, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the Macedonians disdained, yet none of them durst vie any freedome of speech after Clytus his death. From hence he directed his course towards India, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twentie thousand armed men.

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In the meane while he would needes bee honoured as a God: whereto that hee might allure the Macedonians, hee imploied two pernitious Parafites, Hagis and Gleo; whom Callifthenes opposed: For among many other honest arguments vsed to the affembly, he told Cleo. That he thought, that Alexander, would disdaine the 13 gift of God-head from his Vassalls, That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did fometime follow the death of those, who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither Hereules nor Bacchus were Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by Clea at a carowling feast) but that for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and fuccceding Ages numbred among the gods. Alexander stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie, to be reuenged on Callifthenes, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death, not for that he had betraied the 20 King to others: but because hee neuer would condescend to betray the King to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the King made by one Hermolaus and others (which they confest) he caused Callist henes without contession accusation or triall, to be torne a funder you the racke: This deed, vnworthy of a King Seneca thus censureth. Hot est ALEXANDRI crimen aternum. quod nulla virtus nulla bellorum fælicitas redimet. N am quotiens quis dixerit. Occidit Persarum multa millia: opponitur, & CALLISTHENEM: Quotiens dictum erit, Occidit DARIVM: opponitur, & CALLISTHENEM. Quotiens dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ip sum quoque tentauit nouis classibus & Imperium ex angulo Thracia v que ad Orientis terminos protulit : dicetur, sed CALLISTHENEM occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum 30 Regumque exemplatransierit ex his qua fecit nibil tam magnum erit quam scelus CALLIS-THENES; This is the eternall crime of ALEXANDER, which no vertue nor felicity of his in Warre shall ever be able to redeeme. For as often as any man shall say, He sew many thou. fand Persians: it shall be replied. He did so, and he slew CALLISTHENES: When it shall be (aid, He flew DARIVS, it shall be replied, and CALLISTHENES; When it shall bee faid, He wanne all as farre as to the very Ocean, thereon also he adventured with unusual Navies; and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the vemost bounds of the Orient, It shall be faid withall; But he killed CALLLISTHENES. Let him have out-gone all the ancient examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts makes so much to his glory, as CALLIS-THENES to his reproch.

# XX. of ALEX ANDERS iourney into India. The battaile betweene him and Porvs.

Ith the Armic before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thouand foot and horse, A'exander did enter the borders of India, where fuch of the Princes, as submitted themselves vnto him, hee entertained louingly, the rest hee constrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they relisted. Hee then came before Nifa built by Bac-

chus, which after a few daies was rendred unto him. From thence he remoued to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to Bacchus, to whom he made feasts for ten daies together. Now when hee had drunke his fill, hee went on towards Dedala, and thence to Acadera, Countries SIII

Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reason whereof, victuals failing, he divides his Armie: Ptolomie led one part, Cenon another, and him lelfe the reft. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was Mazage, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yeelded vnto him by C'cophe the Queenc, to whom agains he restored it; at the siege of this Citie he receiucd a wound in the legge. After this, Nora was taken by Poly(perchon, and a Rocke of greatstrength by himselfe: he wannealso a passage vpon one Eryx, who was flaine by his companie, and his head presented to Alexander. This is the summe of Alexanders doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the River of Indus. Comming to Indus, he found there Ephestion, who (being sent before) had 10 prepared boates for the transportation of his Army, and ere Alexanders arrivall, had perswaded Omphis King of that part of the Country to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soone vpon Alexanders comming, Omphis presented himselfe with all the strength of his Country, and sixe and siftie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his service and assistance. Hee made Alexander know, that hee was an Enemie to the next two great Kings of that part of India, named Abiafares and Porus; wherewith Alexander was not a little pleased, hoping by this disvnion to make his owne victorie by farre the more casie. Hee presented Alexander with a Crown of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withal fourescore talents of filuer coine, which Alexander not onely refused, but to show that hee was co- 20 uetous of glory, not of gold, he gave omphis a thousand talents of his own treasure, belides other Persian rarities. Abiasares, having heard that Alexander had received his enemie Omphis into his protection, resolued to make his owne peace also: For, knowing that his owne ftrength did but equall that of Omphis, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, he thought it anill match when Alexander, who had alreadie beaten under foote all the greatest Princes of Asia, should make himselfea Party and Head of the quarrell. So had Alexander none now to stand in his way but Porus, to whom he fent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from Porus hee received this manly answere; That hee 30 would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement hee was refolued to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, Alexander resolues to passe ouer the Riuer Hydaspes, and to find Porus at his owne home. Porus attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thousand foot, fourescore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troupe of Horse. If Darius had done the like on Tigris, Alexander had furely stated somewhat longer ere he had seene India. The River was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfea mile, and withall deepe and swift. It had in it many llands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacitie. Alexander sent Ptolomie vp the River with a great part of the Ar- 40 mie, shrowding the rest from the view of Porus: who by this deuice being drawne from his first incamping, sets himselfe downe opposite to Ptolomie, supposing that the whole Armie of Macedon meant to force their passage there. In the meane while Alexander recouers the farther shore without relistance. He orders his troups and advanceth towards Porus, who at first rather beleeves, that Abialares his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come ouer Hydaspes to his aide, than that Alexander had past it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother Hagis with foure thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vie: for there had fallen so much raine, and thereby the fields were so fo moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The Scythians & Dahans had the Vantguard, who fo galled thefe Indians, as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the waggons, and those in them. Perdiceas also gaue vp the Indian hors-men, and the one & the other were forst to recoile. Parus moues forward with grosse of his

Armie, that those of his Vantguard scattered might recouer his Reare: Alexander being followed with Ephestion, Ptolomie, and Perdiccas, tooke on him to charge the Indian horse-men on the left wing, commanding Cenus or Cenon to inuade the right; Antigonus and Leonatus, hee directed to breake vpon Porus his battaile of foote, strengthened with Elephants, Porus himselfe being carried upon one of them of the greatest stature. By these beasts the Macedonian foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long and strong Pikes of the Macedons, so galled them, as being inraged, they turned head, and ranne ouer the foote that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the aduanto tage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulneffe of the Macedonian Captaines. the victoric fell to Alexander, who also farre exceeded Porus in number: for besides the Macedonians and other Easterne and Northern Nations, Porus was affailed by his owne Confederate and Countrie people. Yet for his owne person he neuer gaue ground otherwise then with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his army, he became a prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he received his estate with a great enlargement.

# d. XXI.

How ALEXANDER finished his expedition, and returned out of India.

Forbeare to trouble my felfe and others with a friuolous discourse of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the Macedonians found in these their trauailes: or of those pettie Wars which Alexander made betweene the ouerthrow of Porus, and his failing downe the River of Indu. The descriptions of places about the head and branches there-

of are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by meanes of our late Nauigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of 30 those Kings we could in no fort be perswaded to beleeue, till our owne experience had taught vs, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to bee feene betweene London and Stanes.

Our great traueller Mandenile, who died in the yeere 1372. and had seene so much of the World, and of the East India, wee accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friers Guillimins in Liege, where the religious of that place keepe some things of his, Comme pour ho- Guicin Dife. norable memoire de son Excellence; For an honourable memorie of his Excellencie, saith Countries.

The Countries towards the Springs of Indus, and where those many Rivers of Hydaspes, Zaradris, Acesines, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now possest by the great Mogor, the ninth from Tamberlane, who commands all that tract betweene Persia and Indus towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrie towards Ganges. In the mouth of Indus, the Ascension, a ship of London, suffered shipwracke, in the yeere 1609. and some of the company trauailed ouer Land till they came to Agra, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call Nagra, being named of old Diony (opolis.

Phylostratus in the life of Apollonius Tyanaus, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus and Hercules into the East India, tells vs, that those two great Captaines (whom Alex-50 ander fought by all meanes to out-fame) when they indeuored to subject vinto them the Oxydraca, a people inhabiting betweene the Rivers of Hyphafis and Ganges, they were beaten from the affault of their cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be vinderstood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainely known, that the great Kings of the vttermost East, have had the

vse of the Canon, many hundreds of yeeres fince, and even fince their first civilitie and greatnesse, which was long before Alexanders time. But Alexander pierst not fo farre into the East. It sufficed, that having alreadie over-wearied his Armie, hee discouered the rest of India by same. The Indian Kings whom he had subdued informed him, that a Prince called Aggramenes, who commanded many Nations bevond the River of Ganges, was the powerfullest King of all those Regions: and that hewas able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twentie thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though Alexander were more inflamed, than ener to proceede in this discouerie and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wan-10 der ouer those great desarts beyond Indus and Ganges, more terrible vnto them than the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswassue Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discouer such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the River of Indus was their infallible guide. Alexander seeing that it would be no otherwise, deuised a prettie tricke, wherewith he hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for the Souldiers, greater Horse-stalles, and higher mangers than his Horses could feede in. He caused all furniture of Men and Horses to bee made larger than would serue for vse; and scattered these Armours and Bridles about his Campe, to 20 be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Sauages. Proportionable to these heraifed vp twelue 200 Altars to be the monument of his journies end. This was a readie way to encrease the same of his bignesse; to his greatnesse it could adde nothing faue a suspition, that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he strone so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned agains to the banke of Acesines, and there determined to fet up his fleet where Acesines and Hydaspis incounter, where to testifie by a surer monument, how farre he had past towards the East, he built by those rivers two Cities: the one he called Nicaa, and the other Bucephalon, after the name of his beloued Horse Bucephalus. Here againe hereceived a fourth supply of sixe thousand Thra- 30 cian Horse-men, seuen thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at Babylon fiue and twentie thousand Armours, garnished with silver and gold, which hee distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wanne many Townes, and committed great flaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaulting a Citie of the Oxidracans, he lept from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of Benis of Southampton, friuolous and incredible. Finally, hee past downe the River with his fleete, at which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in Bactria, and then of the arrivall of an hundred Embassadours from a King of India, who submitted himself vnto him. He scafted these Embassadours vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all 40 the sumptuosity that could bee deuised, who soone after their dispatch returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirtie Waggons, and to each foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare

Their entertainments ended, he failes towards the South, passeth through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly, or compelled by force : among these he builded another Alexandria. Of many places which he took in this passage, Samus was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned Swords, with one of which Ptolomie (afterward King of Agypt) was wounded, and cured by an hearbe which Alexander dreamt that he had feene in the 50 mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of Indus (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden shuffled one voon another by the Floud, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drieground, and on the sandie bankes of the Riner, wherewith the Macedonians were much amazed, but after he had a few daies observed wel the course of the Sea, he past out of the rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to Neptune returned: and the better to informe himfelfe, he fent Nearchus and Onesieritus, to discouer the coast towards the mouth of Euphrates. Arrianus in the beginning of his fixt Booke hath written this passage downe the River of Indus at length, with the manner of the Vessels, in which hee transported his Army, the Commanders that were vsed therein, and other the maruellous prouisions made.

Necre the out-lets of this River, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteene daies march from thence recovered Gedrofia, in which passage his Armie suffered such miserie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twentie thousand foot. and twelve thousand horse, which he carried into India, not the fourth part retur-

### d. XXII.

# Of ALEXANDERS Riot, Crueltie, and death.

Rom Gedrosia, Alexander led his Armie into Carmania, and so drawing neere to Persia, hee gaue himselse wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of Bacchus. And though this Swinish vice bee hatefull enough in it selfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Cruel-tic. For (saith Curtius) the Hang-man followed the feast, for A s P A S T E S

one of his Provinciall Governors he commanded to be flaine, so as neither did the excesse of voluptuousnesse qualifie his crueltie, nor his crueltie hinder in ought his voluptuousnesse. While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foote

and a thousand horse, was brought him by Cleander, and his fellowes, that had been imploied in the killing of Parmenio. Against these Murderers great complaint was 30 made by the Deputies of the Prouinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were fo outragious, as Alexander was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of India, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That Cleander, and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Souldiers by them imploied, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: euery one reioycing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and Onesicritus were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Iland rich ingold, and of other strange things; wherevoon they were commanded to make some farther discouerie: which done, that they should enter the 40 mouth of Euphrates, and finde the King at Babylon.

As he drew neere to Babylon, he visited the Sepulchre of Cyrus in Pasargada, now Arrianus hath called Chelquera: where he was presented with many rich gifts by Orsines, one of the Princes of Persia, of the race of Cyrus. But because Barous, an Eunuch in especial fa- on of cyrus uour with the King, was neglected, he not only practifed certaine loofe fellowes to Tombe. witnesse against Orsines, that he had robbed Cyrus tomb, for which he was condemned to die; but he affisted the Hang-man with his owne handes in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused Phradates to be slaine, suspecting his greatnes. Caperat (faith CVRTIVS) effe prieceps ad repriesentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head longly to shed bloud, and to beleeve false reports. It is true, that he 50 tookea way to make all men wearie of his gouernement, seeing crueltie is more fearefull, than all the adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is faid, that Calanus the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when hee had lived threefcore and thirteene veeres. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrie, being an Indian, Or fought to prevent the griefe and incommoditie of

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elder age, it is vncertaine: but in this the Hiltorians agree, that fore-feeing and foreshewing Alexanders death, he promised to meete him shortly after at Babylon.

From Palargada he came to Sufa, where hee married Statira, Darius his eldest Daughter, giuing her younger fitter to his beloued Ephestion, and fourelcore other Persian Ladies to his Captaines. There were fixe thousand guests inuited to the feast, to each of which he gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thoufand yong fouldiers out of his conquered Prouinces, wherat the Macedonians greatly murmured. Harpalus, his Treasurer in Babylon, having lauishly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with five thousand talents, and fixe thousand hired Souldiers, but he was reiected in Greece, and there flaine. Alexander greatly re- 10 ioyced at the fidelitic of the Greeks, whom Harpalus with these forces and treasures could not stirre: yet he sent commandement, that they should again ereceive their banished men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselues, (except the Athenians) though they resolved, that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a maruellous discontentmet in his Army, because he had resolued to send into Macedon all those old Souldiers which could no longer indure the trauell of Warre, and to keepe the rest in Asia. He vied many orations to satisfie them, but it was in vaine during the tempest of their furv. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine threed, when they haue tumbled a while, so are the vnconsiderate multitude easily conducted when 20 their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart, he sent Craterus, to whom he gaue the Licutenantship of Macedon, Thessaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had held from his first departure out of Europe, who had beaten the rebellious Greeks in his absence, discharged the trust committed vnto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into Asia from time to time. Certainely, if Alexander had not taken counted of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given Antipater a stronger reason for his remove, than to have imploied him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to Babylon, the warre being now at an ende. For Antipater faw nothing in this remoue, but the Kings disposition to send him after Parmenio, and the rest. With this 30 Antipater, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though icalous, doe not stand in doubt of every manill affected though valiant: but there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardinesse and vnderstanding, which is many times so fearefull vnto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for Antipater, he made a journey into Media to settle things there; where Ephestion, whom he fauoured most of all men, dies. The King according to the greatnesse of his loue, laments his losse; hangs his Phisicion; and bestowes vpon his Monument twelve thousand talents: After which he returnes to Babylon. Thirther Antipater came not, but fent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to 40 free himselse. For if we beleeue Curtius (whom Plutarch and others gaine-say) Antipater by his Sonnes, Caffander, Philip, and Iolla, who waited on Alexanders cup, gaue him poison, The slaus (who was of the conspiracie) having invited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in Hercules his cup, a draught of drinke stronger than Hercules himselfe, he quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainely the Princes of the World have seldome found good, by making their ministers ouer-great, and therby suspicious to themselues. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelitie to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals, will never please himselse with the price given. The only restoratine, indeed, that strengerens it, is the goodnes and vertue of the Prince, and his so liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be that Antipater having commanded two or three Kingdoms twelve yeeres, knew not now how to play any other part; no more than Casar did, after he had so long a time gouerned the Gaules, where hevtterly forgat the art of obedience. A most cruel

and ungratefull traitor Antipater was, if Curtius doe not belie him : For though he feared some ill measure vpon his remoue (the Tragedies of Parmento, Clytus, and Callishenes, having been so lately acted) yet hee knew nothing to the contrarie, but that the King had resolved to have given him some other great governement in Asia: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance desired to be governed by Craterus, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

# d. XXIII.

Of ALEXANDERS Person and qualities.

Owfocuer it were, Alexanders former cruelties cannot bee excused, no more than his vanitie to be effected the sonne of Iupiter, with his excessive delight in drinke and drunkennesse, which others make the canfe of his feuer and death. In that hee lamented his want of enterprising, and grieued to consider what hee should doe when hee had

conquered the World, Augustus Casar found just cause to deride him, as if the well gouerning of so many Nations & Kingdomes, as he had alreadic conquered, could 20 not have offered him matter more than aboundant, to busie his braines withall. That he was both learned and a louer of learning, it cannot bee doubted. St Francis Bacon, in his first booke of the advancement of learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberalitie I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is faid, That when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his Seruants, He, to whom it was giuen, did out of modestie refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom Alexander replyed, That hee did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which SENECA; Animofavox videtur & regia, cum fit fultiffima. L.2.de Bene. t. Nibil enim per se quenquam decet. Refert, quid, cui, quando, quare, vbi &c sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habeatur personaru & dignitatum proportio & cum sit vbiq virtutis 30 modus, aque peccat quod excedit, qua quod deficit; It secmes a brane & royall speech, whereas indeede it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it selfe beseemes a man. Wee

euer limited by measure, the excesse is as faultie as the defect. For his Person, it is very apparant, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition taken by it selfe, not much to be admired; For I am resolved that hee had ten thousand in his Armie as daring as himselfe. Surely, if aduenturous natures were to be commended simply, wee should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of Theeues, Ruffians, and mastife Dogges. For certainely it is no way praise-worthie 40 but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawfull enterprises, in

must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which considerations

no act can be approued. Let honours be proportioned unto the persons: for whereas vertue is

which we are imployed for the service of our Kings and Common-weales. If we compare this great Conquerour with other Troublers of the World, who haue bought their glorie with so great destruction, and essuson of bloud, I thinke him farre inferiour to Cafar, and many other that lived after him, feeing hee neuer vndertooke any warlike Nation, the naked scythians excepted, nor was euer encountred with any Armie of which he had not a most mastring advantage, both of weapons and of Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captaines by farre exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seemeth, Fortune and Destinies (if we may vse those termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, 50 both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdomes, that inuited and called in their owne Conquerours. For conclusion, we will agree with Seneca, who speaking of Philip the Father, and Alexander the Sonne, gives this judgement of them. Quod non minores fuere peftes mortalium quam inundatio, qua pla- Natur. quaft. numomne perfusum cst, quam conflagratio quamagna pars animantium exarnit; That 1.3.9.1.

they were no leffe plagues to mankinde, than an oner-flow of waters, drowning all the leuilly or some burning droughth, whereby a great part of liuing creatures is scorched up.

# CHAP. III.

# The raigne of ARIDEVS.

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è. I.

Of the question about succession to ALEXANDER.



HE death of Alexander left his Armie (as Demades the Athenian then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant Polyphemus, having lost his only eye. For, that which is reported in tables of that great Cyclops, might well be verified of the Macedonians: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance vneffectuall, and harmefull chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were, partly the vncertainetie of Title to succession in the Kingdome of Macedon, partly the suborne pride of Alexander himself, who thinking none

worthy to bee his Heire, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his owne fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soone taught vnto spirits reflecting upon their owne worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly beene shewed, That Philip (the Father of Alexander) gouerning in Macedon as Protector, assumed vnto himselfe the Kingdome, not rendring it vnto Ampntus, (the Sonne of his elder brother Perdices) when he grew to mansefate; but only bestowing vpon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond, and much more by his proper strength, he affured the Crowne vnto himselfe: Amputus neuer attempting ought against Philip; though (with price of his life) hee did against Alexander in the beginning of his raigne. Wherefore Eurydice the sole issue of his marriage, ought in reason to haue beene acknowledged Queene after Alexander; as having better Title thereto, than either He or Philip had, when they lived, ynlesse (peraduenture) some Law of that Nation forbade the raigne of women. But the excellent vertue of those two Princes had vtterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and so great were their conquests, that Macedon it selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way descruing to be laied in ballance against the demand of their posterite, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall seate.

Alexander having taken many wives, had iffue by none of the principall of them.

Bar fine the Daughter of Artabazus a Per fian had borne vnto him a yong Sonne: and

Roxane the Daughter of Oxyartes (whom he had more folemnely married) was left
by him great with child. But the basenesse of the Mothers, and contempt of the
conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of the Plea made for them, by
some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of

Alexanders children.

Cleopatra

Cleopatra the sister of Alexander, widdow to the King of Epirus, and Arideus his base brother (sonne to Philip by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Ladie Eurydiee before mentioned, were next in course. Of Cleopatra there was no speech, which may give suspicion, that either Law or Custome had made that sex vncapable of the Soucraignetic Arideus (besides his bastardie) was neither for person nor qualitic sit to rule as King; yet vpon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counsailors having over-labored their disagreeing wits in deuising what was best, were content for very wearinesser take what came next to hand.

Ptolomie (foone after King of Ægypt) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the halfe-Persian broode, King Alexanders children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be given to the Captaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so farre was hee from acknowledging

any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

CHAP-2. S.I.

This Prolomie was called the sonne of Lagus, but reputed of Philip: who having vsed the company of Arsinois Ptolomeis mother, delivered her in marriage to Lagus being great with child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to worke his owne fortune out of those dissensions, which are incident vnto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his bloud, and trust for his cuen carriage; or whether hee desired onely to get a share to himselfe, which could not have come to passe, had all beene given to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring Aridsus before himselfe; and therefore gave such counsaile as sitted his owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this device of his tooke place in deede, though not in forme as he had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at Alexanders emptie chaire, as Ptolomie had conceived the forme of their consultations, or to set in the chaire such a King as Aridsus, no wifer then the chaire it selse. Also the controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfait showes of diffembling aspirers, doe often take check by the plaine dealing of them, who dare to goe more directly to worke: so wasit like to have fared with Ptolomie and the rest, when Aristonus, another of the Captaines, interpreted the words of Alexander; faying, That he left his Kingdome to the worthiest, as designing Perdiccas, to whom (lying at the point of death) hee delinered his ring. It feemed good in reason, that Alexander should bee disposer of his owne purchases; and those tokens of Alexanders purpose appeared plaine enough, folong as no man would interpose another construction: cuery one being vncertaine how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest, vrged Perdiccas to take 40 vpon him the estate Royall. He was no stranger to the Royall bloud; yet his birth gaue him not fuch reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom hee had beene very inward, and that especially since the death of Ephestian (a powerfull Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his owne worth hee might well bee commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had given much proofe of his private valour. But very surly hee was: which qualitie (joyned with good fortune) carried a shew of Majestie: being checkt with misaduenture, it was called by a true name Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present businesses and evanded.

In the present businesses a solid ouer-weening did him as great harme, as it had beene great happinesses have succeeded Alexander. For not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of Aristonus, he would needs counterfait modestic; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the waightie burden of an Empire, which would bee the lefte enuious, the more solemnity he vsed in the acceptance. It is truely said, He that faineth himselfe a sheepe, may chance to be caten by a Wolfe. Meleager, (a man by nature en-

uious, and bearing a particular hatred to Perdiceas) tooke aduantage of his irrefolute behaviour, and very bitterly inueighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, that who socuer was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure; and therefore he inuited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without confent of the Souldiers, who greedie of spoile thronged about Meleager.

The election of ARID & VS, with the troubles there-about arising; the first division of the Empire.



Vring this vp-rore, mention was made of Aridaus by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, untill at last it grew to the voice of the Armie. Meleager having with drawne himfelfe tumulthouse the company of the Lords, was glad of so faire an occasion to make himselfe great: therefore he produced Arideus, com-

mended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name Philip, and 20 brought him into the Palace, inuesting him in Alexanders Robes, and proclaiming him King, Many of the Nobles with flood this election, but in vaine: for they could not resolve what course to follow, reiecting this. Only Python, a hot headed man, tooke vpon him to proclaime the Sonne of Alexander by Roxane, according to the counsaile which Perdiceas at first had ginen, appointing Perdiceas and Leonatus his Protectors. But this child was not yet borne, which made that attempt of Python vaine. Finally, Perdiccas with fixe hundred men, and Ptolomie with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where Alexanders bodie lay: but the Armie conducted by Meleager, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in vpon them, & inforced them to accept Arideus for their Soucraigne Lord. 30 Then by the intercession of the ancient Captaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of the Roiall bloud, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of Babylon, being followed by all the horfe, which confifted (for the most part) of the Nobilitie. Perdiceas abode in the Citie (but standing vpon his guard) that he might be readic to take the opportunitie of any commotion, that should happen among the infantrie, The King (who was gouerned by Meleager) commanded or gaue leave to haue Perdicess made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither fecretly carried, nor committed to fure executioners. Their comming was not vnexpected: and they were by Perdiceas rebuked with fuch grauitie, that they departed honester than they came; being sorrie of their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the campe was in an vp-rore, which the King feeking to pacifie, wanted authoritie, as having newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it selse affoorded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said, that no harme was done, for Perdiccas was aline: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which hee imputed to Meleager; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, vntill the King by offering to resigne his estate vnto them, renued out of their pittie that fauourable affection, which had moved them to fet him vp at the

Perdiccas having now joyned himselfe with Leonatus, kept the fields, intending to cut off all provision of victuals from the Citie. But after sundrie Embassies palfing betweene the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of sedition given vp into their handes; the King, that Meleager might bee joyned with Leonatus

Leonatus and Perdiceas, as a Third in government of the Armie) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. Meleager should have done well to consider, that such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered. had not some purpose of treacherie !urked vnder their great facilitie. Generall peace was renewed, and much lone protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had beene in Alexanders time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windie spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of Perdiceas, tending to his owne to diffrace; but in such termes as might seeme to have proceeded from Meleager : who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an injurie done to himselfe; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of Perdiceas, that such authors of discord might beconnished. Perdicas (as a louer of peace) did well approue the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should bee made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Armie. The plot was mischieuously laied: Had Meleager given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the generall hatred of all, as a fower of diffension; and thereby with publike approbation might have beene cut off, as having often offended in that kinde: his Prince being 20 too weake a Patron. Now feeking redreffe of these disorders, he hastened his owne ruine, by a leffe formall, but more speedie way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne and practifed with many ceremonies, as for cleanling of the Armie. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercinaries, were each accor-

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP.2. S.2.

ercise)according to direction of their severall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the Phalanx, led by Meleager, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disaduantage; and the countenance of the horse and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was such, as discouered no je-30 fting pastime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horsemen : of which custome Perdiceas made great vse that day, to the vtter confusion of his enemies. For Arideus was alwaics gouerned by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three daies before he had sought the death of Perdiceas at the instigation of Meleager: now he rides with Perdiccas vp and downcabout the foot-men, commanding them to deliner vnto the death all fuch as Perdice as required. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them flaine, in the presence of the King, who should have defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment Meleager had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he distur-40 bed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especiall friends. Having therefore kept himselfe quiet a while, as vnwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when hee faw their pro-

ding to their qualitie fet in array, a part from others, as if they had beene of fundrie

forts, met at aduenture: which done, the manner was to skirmilh (as by way of ex-

ccedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuarie: for thither they fent and flew him. The Armie being thus corrected was led into the Citie, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to Aridaus the office of a Visitor, and yet making Perdiceas his Protector, and Commander of the forces re-

maining with him. Then were the funerals of Alexander thought vpon; whole 50 bodie hauing beene seuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Ægyptians: no figne of poison appearing, how great socuer the suspition might bee. The charge of his buriall was committed to Arideus: one of the Captaines, who was two yeares preparing of great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarses of his friends being laid in the ground,

before that of Alexander was beltowed in Alexandria, a Citic of his owne building in Ægypt.

# ø. III. The beginning of the Lamian Warre.



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Hilest these things were in doing, or presently after, Antipater and Craterus, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of Alexanders followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in Greece 10 with a Warre, which the Athenians more brauely than wifely had begunne in Alexanders life, but now did prosecute more boldly than

before, you the courage which they had taken by his death. Alexander, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greekes (few excepted) should be restored vnto their former places. Hee knew the factious qualitie of the Gracian Estates, and therefore thought so to prouide, that in every Citie hee would have a fure partie. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than hee wanne by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyrannie. The Athenians greatly decayed in chate, but retaining 20 more, han was needfull, of their ancient spirits, for bade the execution of this decree in their Dominions; so did also the Ætolians, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature; yet neither of them tooke Armes, but feemed to beare themselues, as men that had done no more then they might well justific by reason: neuerthelesse to preuent the worst, the Athenians gave secret instructions to Leosthenes a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leavie an Armie, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for Leafthenes to doe: great numbers of Greeke Souldiers being lately returned from the A-Gan Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered vp eight thousand, when the certaine newes were brought of Alexan-30 ders death : at which time the Citie of Athens declared it selfe, and more honorably than wifely, proclaimed open Warre against the Macedonians, for the libertie of Greece. Hercupon Leosthenes drew in the Atolians, and some other Estates, gauc battaile to the Baotians, who fided with Antipater, and ouerthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That Antipater (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into Asia to Craterus for

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies a-farreoff, which deceiue all mortall wisdome, euen when they seeme neere at hand. One moneth was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened 40 the thoughts of Antipater as the returne of Craterus into Macedon; which hee then feared as death, but now defired as the most likely assurance of his life. Craterus, whom Alexander held as of all men the most assured vnto him, was sent into Macedon to conneigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed Antipater in the government of Macedon and Greece. The suspicions were strong that he had a privie charge to put Antipater to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better, which was, That Antipater should bee sent vnto the King, as Captaine of the yong Souldiers, newly to bee leavied in Europe. For Alexander was much incensed against him by his Mother Olympias: and would fometimes give out speeches testifying his owne jealousie and hatred of him; but so yet he stroue to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of Alexanders Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeede were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could finde rebellious purpotes (for so hee interpreted even lewd gouernement)in base persons ; little might Antipater hope for, who having sitten Viceror ten veeres in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the enuie of a Court, wherein they had beene his inferiors, which would now repine to fee him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to prevention, working first the Kings death by poison, given by his Son Iolaus, Alexanders cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth vntill opportunitie had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his Sonne Caffander: great cause of much feare he had, which I note in this place as the ground

no of effects to be produced in very few yeeres.

At the present Craterus was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying ncere, sollicited to make haste. Not without cause. For in Macedon there could not at that time be raifed more than thirteene thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrie being emptied into Alia. The The flatians indeede who had long flood firme for Philip and Alexan. der, who also were the best horse-men of Greece, furnished him with very braue troupes, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the libertie of Greece. With these forces did Antipater in The falie trie the fortune of a battaile with Leosthenes; rather (as may seeme) fearing the increase 20 of his enemies power and rebellion of the Greeker, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his owne strength. For Leosthenes had of Athenians, Atolians, and Mercinaries, two & twentie thousand foot, besides the affiliance of many petty Signories, and of some Illyrians, and Thracians: of horse hee brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the Thessairs had revolted vnto him. So Antipater lost the day : and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a safe retraite into his owne Countrie: therefore he fled into the Towne of Lamis, which was well fortified, and well prouided of all things necessarie to beare out a siege. Thither did Leosthenes follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon the refusall close vp the 20 Towne with earth-workes, and a wall. There will wee leave him for a while, trauailing in the last honourable enterprise that euer was under taken by that great Citie of Athens.

# ø. IIII.

### How PERDICCAS emploied his Armie.



Ing Aridaus living under the rule of Perdiccas, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vie of him. Perdiceas had no Province of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to

be welcome to any whom he should visit in his Gouernement. A stronger Armic then any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that valettled condition of things to make better worth to him, than many Provinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of Cleapatre, the sifler of Alexander; yet about the same time hee either married Nicas the Daughter of Antipater, or made such loue to her as blinded their cies, who did not somewhat narrowly fearch into his doings.

Ariarathes the Cappadocian, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Countrie, had continued faithfull to the Persian Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, even from Pharmaces the first that raigned in Cappadocia, who married Atoffa fister to the great Cyrus. Some of his Ancesters had (indeede) beene oppressed by the Persians: but what Fortune tooke from them at

one time; Vertue restored at another, and their saithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the fatall Period of so great an Empire, with much wisedome, and (Darius being flaine) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the Macedonian in the Perstians roome. This hee did not; neither did Alexander coll him to account, being occupied with greater cares. But Perdiceas, who had no greater bufinesse wherein to entertaine his Armic, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take in that in-land Kingdome, Jurrounded with Provinces of the Maccdonian conquest, and for his owne particular to have one opportune place of füre retrait, vnder the gouernement of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred Cappadocia, fought with Ariarathes, who drew into the field thirtie thousand foot, and to fisteene thousand horse (a strong Army, had it not incountred a stronger, and better trained) wanne the victorie, and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much crueltie did he vie the victorie: for hauing taken Ariarathes prisoner with many others, hee crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon: and fo deliuered that Province to Eumenes, whom of all men living he trulted most.

Another part of his forces he had committed to Python; rather as to the most honourable of fuch as remained about him, than as to the molt affured. Python was to subdue the Greekes, rebelling in the high Countries of Asia. Aboue twenty thoufand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by Alexander, to bridle the barbarous Nations, were soone wearie of their 20 vnpleafant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they hued: and therefore tookeaduantage of the present troubles to seeke vnto themselues a better fortune. Against these Python went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to deftroy them: which intent of his Perdices discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giuing the spoiles of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it vnto Pythons Captains (his own creatures) that they shuld fee this command executed. These directions for vice of the victory might have proued needlesse; so vncertaine was the victorie it selfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thousand, corrupted by Python, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessitie to a Hill not farre off. This dif- 30 maied the relt, and gaue the day to Python: who being farre enough from Perdices, offered composition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their lines and libertie, under condition of laying down their armes, and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these companies, he might well haue a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territorie. He had thirteene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needleffe feare without great loffe had caufed to leave the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse whereof Python might thinke himselse assured, was (and soone appeared to be) inherent in Perdiccas. For by his command were ten thousand foote, 40 and eight thousand horse, of those which followed Python, leavied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the letters of Perdices, by which they were enioyned to giue affistance to that businesse: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by Perdicens, did the Macedonians cut in pieces all those poore men who had yeelded themselues; leauing Python as naked as he came forth to returne vnto his

Now was Perdiccas mightie aboue the mightie, and had faire leifure to purfue his hopes of marriage with Cleopatra, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for seare of opposition. How it succeeded will appeare, when the Lamian warre taketh ending.

The processe of the Lamian Warre.

E left Antipater hardly belieged, wanting meanes to free himself without succours from his friends in Asia. Those helps not appearing so foone as he expected, he came to parle with Leofthenes, & would have yeelded vnto any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victoric, do seldome limit their defires. Leofthenes willed him

without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him, that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him fuch a dif-10 honourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was far enough; could bring no worse with it, Antipater prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring war, the Atolians (whether wearie of fitting still at a fiege, or hauing busines which they pretended at home) took their leaue, & returned into their owne Countrie. Their departure left the trenches fo thinly manned, that Antipater found means to fally out vpon his enemies to their great loffe: for many were flaine, and Leofthenes himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relieued; their victuals wasted, and they were not firong enough to deale with the Greeks in open fight Craterus was long in com-20 ming. Lylimachus who was neerest at hand in Thrace, had work too much of his own. leading no more than 4000. foote, and 2000. horse, against Senthas the Thracian King, who brought into the field aboue foure times that number; and though Lysimachus, not without losse, had gotten one victorie, yet the enemie abounding in multitude, telt not the blow fo much as might abate his courage. Therfore Leonatus was carnellly follicited by Antipaters friends, to make all hafte to the rescue. He had the government of Phrygia the leffe, and was able to raife an Army of more than 20000. foote, and 2500. horse, whether leavied out of his Province, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Armie, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the fourny into Greece, than Antipater was to have him come. 20 For Cleopatra had written vnto him, desiring his presence at Pella, the chiefe Citie of Macedon, and very kindly offering her selfe to be his wife; which letters hekept not so close as had beene requisite, and therefore brought himselfe into great suspition, that soone ended with his life. Antiphilus, chosen Generall by the Athenians in place of Leosthenes, hearing of his approch, for looke the siege of Lamia, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of Asia, with purpose to give them an enill welcome home, before Antipater and they should joyne in one. He had (not withstanding the departure of the Atolians) the advantage of Leonatus in horse, by the ods of 2000. Theffalians; in other things he was equall to him; in cause he thought himselfe Superior; in the fortune of that day he proued fo : for he wan a great victorie (chiefly by 40 vertue of the Thessalians) which appeared the greater by the end of Leonatus himselfe; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a marish piece of ground, where hee found his death, which desperately he had sought among the Indians, but it waited for him at home, not far fro the place of his nativitie. He was the first of Alexanders Captaines which died in battaile, but al, or most of the rest, shal follow him the same way. After this day, the Athenians did neuer any thing futable to their ancient glory.

The vanquilhed Macedonians were too weake to renew the fight, & too proud to flie. They betooke themselves to high grounds, whit for service on horse back, and so abode in fight of the enemie that day; the day following Antipater with his men came into their camp and tooke the charge of all. The Athenians perceiving their 50 strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemie should increase, did earnestly seeke to determine the matter quickly by another battaile. But still Antipater kept himselfe on ground of advantage: which gave more than reasonable confidence to the Greekes, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemie to be vanquished. This rechlesnesse (incorrigible in an Armie of voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were much detaced by losses at Sea, where the Athenians labouring to have made themselves once againe

Masters, were put to the worst.

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But now the fatall captilitie of Greece came on, of which she neuer could bee delivered vnto this day. Craterus with a strong Armie having made great marches from Cilicia, passed ouer into Europe, and comming into Thessalie, ioyned himselse with Antipater. The forces of Lionatus, Antipater, and Craterus, being loyned in one contained fortic thousand waightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the Greekes wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse, in soot eighteene thousand. Carefully therefore did Antiphilus la- 10 bour to avoide the necessitie of a battaile, vntill such time as the Townes confederate, should returne vnto the campe those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in comming, and Antipater so vrgent vpon the Greeks, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enoughit is, that with a little more helpe they had carried away the victorie: for the Theffalians had the upper hand, and held it, until fuch time as they perceived their battailes (ouer-laied with multitude) retire vnto the higher grounds, which caused them also to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of a hundred and thirtie men, they had purchased only the death of some fine hundred enemies. Yet hereof was 20 great vie made. For the Greekes, as not subject vnto the full command of one Generall, and being euerie one desirous to preserve his owne estate, and Citie; concluded to make a treatie of peace with Antipater; who being a subtile artificer, & wel vnderstanding their aptnesse to division, refused to harken to any generall composition, but willed every City to deale apart for it self. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was reiected, the Greekes chooling rather to abide the comming of their Affistants, whose vnreasonable carelesnes betraied the cause. Antipater and Craterus besieging & winning some townes in Thessalie, which the army of the Consederates wanted meanes & courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne affured and present calamity. 30

> Q. VI.
> Of the peace granted to Athens by ANTIPATER. Of DEMOSTHE-NES his death.

He Thessalians falling off, all the rest soone followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward, inviting fuch as were flack. Only the Athensans and Ætolians held out. Little fauour could they hope for, having beene Authors of this tumult; and their feare was not great; the seate of the warre being farre from

them. But the celeritie of Antipater confounded all their imaginations; who fate 40 Still at Athens, deniling vpon courses of prosecuting the Warre to come, which came to their dores, before their consultation could finde iffue. He was ready to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no abilitie to relift, and were as heartleffe as friendleffe. All that remained was to fend Embassadors, desiring peace upon some good termes: necessitie enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. Photion, with Demades the Orator, and Xenocrates the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; Phocion as the most Honorable; Demades as a strong Perswader; (both of them well respected by Antipater) and Xenocrates, as one admired for wisedome, granitie of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to minde the pride of Leosthenes, required of the Athenians, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and enterraine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the Citie to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the admit nistration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a Democratie. But the rascall multitude of beggerly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the commo troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voices, cried out, that this was a meere Oligarchie; the violent vourpation of a few incroaching vpon the publike right. These turbulent fellowes (of whom King Philip had been wont to lay, That warre to them was 10 peace, and peace warre) Antipater planted in Thrace, and gaue them lands to manure;

leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspitions and hatred) hee caused Demosthenes and Hyperides famous Orators, with some others to bee slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of Demosthenes, beene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have palled for very milde: whereas now all fuch as either are delighted with the Orations of Demosihenes, or have fur-rendred their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that euer did speake and write, condemne him veterly, calling him a bloudy tyranta Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all civill Nations, that the co 20 uill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good focuer otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuarie in the Temple of Neptune, in the Isle of Calaurie; there did Archias (sent with Souldiers by Antipater for the purpose) finde him, and gently perswade him to leave the place, but not so prevailing, bee threatned violence. Then Demosthenes, entreating a little respit as it had beene to write fomewhat, secretly took poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to doe the last execution upon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man)argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in bat-30 taile, how soeuer valiant in perswading to enterprises; wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. Hee loued monie well, and had great fummes given him by the Persian, to encourage him, in finding worke for the Macedonians at home. Neither did heeill (me thinkes) in taking from the Persians which lound not his Countrie, great reward, for speaking fuch things as tended to his Countries good; which hee did not cease to procure, when the Persians were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can indure no honourable, though true, mention of Ans tipater, may (if they can) beleeue Lucian, who tells vs, Thatit was Antipaters purpose to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that hee was a stedfast enemie to the 40 Macedonians: therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of Ashens heing thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of Phocion, a vertuous man, and louer of his Countrie, yet applying himfelfe to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citie much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grienous to free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquished) hee endeuoured carefully to

preserue.

Tttt 3

How CRAYERVS and ANTIPATER were drawne from their Atolian Warres into Asia. The grounds of the first civil Warre betweene the Macedonian Lords.

Antipater with Craterus returned into Macedonia, where they frengthned their friendship with a new alliance; Craterus taking Phia, the Daughter of Antipater, to Wife. Shortly after they went against the Ætolians, whose pouertie was 10

CHAP.3. S.7.

not so cassly danted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of Athens had beene. Their Countrie was rough and mountainous, having many places of great fattnes, into which they conneied such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre : with the rest they fortified the ftrongest of their Cities, and so abode the comming of the Macedonians, whom they manfully relifted. With great obstinacie did the Macedonians contend against the difficulties of the places, which the Ætolians made good as long as their victuals held out. But when Craterus had shut vp all passages, and vtterly debarred them of reliefe; then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their firong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vnequall numbers; or to en. 20 dure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yeeld themselves to the Macedonians: who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave fo stubborne enemies in places, which might give confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremitie, much finenesse of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These Atolians did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molefied them; wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For fuch newes came out of Alia into the Macedonian campe, as made Antipater and Craterus thinke enery houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of these Atolians, 30 giving them what focuer conditions the way ould aske yet with purpose to call them to seucre account; yea, to roote them out of Greece by death, or by captinitie, when once they should have settled the affaires of Asia; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is the disposer: in whose high Counsell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome barre to the proceedings of Macedon and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the Roman Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Asia, the reformation intended by Antipater and Craterus, was so farre from taking effect, that it ferued meerely as an introduction to all the civil warres

The grounds of the Asiatique expedition, which did set the world in an vp-rore, were these. Antipater and Craterus were of Alexanders Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of Europe. The other, as of all men the best beloved, and most respected, both of Alexander and of the whole Armie. Next vnto these had Perdiecas beene; whom the advantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of Perdiscas were, to haue conforted with these two, and to haue beene with them a third partner in the gouernement of all; to which purpole hec entertained the difcourse of marriage with one of Antipaters Daughters. But feeling in short space the to ftrength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite another way. Aridaus was a very simple man, yet scrued wel enough to weare the title of that Maiestie, whereof Perdicess being Administrator; and hoping to become proprietarie, the practice was more senere than had been in the daies of Alex-

ander: the delire to seeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preferuing themselues from contempt, and of giving fuch a fierie luftre to their actions, as my dazell the eies of the beholders. How cruelly the poore Greekes in the higher Asia were all put to the fword; and how tyrannoully the King and Princes of Cappadocia were crucified. hathalreadie beene shewed. The Pifitians were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfait Alexanders. One Citie of theirs was vtterly razed; the children fold for slaves, and all the rest massacred. The Isanrians by this example growne desperate, when after two or three daies triall they found themselues vnable to continue the to defence, lockt themselves into their houses, and set the Towne on fire, into the flame whereof the yong-men did throw themselues, after that they had a while re-

pelled the Macedonians from the wals.

These exploits being performed, the Armie had no other worke than to sift the ashes of the burnt Citie for gold and silver; but Perdiceas had businesse of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrarie to his ends, than to fit still without imploiment : letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilest others grew great, and tooke deepe roote in their seuerall Prouinces. Hee purposed therefore to transport his forces into Europe, vnder pretence of bringing the King into Macedonia, the feate of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings 20 presence would make the offices of his Vice-roies (during the time) actually voide; Antipater with Craterus being once in case of private men, and onely Perdiceas holding authoritie, the match with Cleopatra might cafily bee made. So should greatneffe meete with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of Ptolomie might giue, who held Agypt well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people; yet if the businesse prospered in Macedonia, like enough it was that either Ptolomie would follow of himselfe, or bee driven to come to reason. Antigonus likewise then gouerning in Phrygia, a busie-headed man, and ill affected to the fide, wasto bee looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought Perdiccas, and was deceived in so thinking. Antigenus 30 was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great undertaking, as any of Alexanders Captaines. His imploiments had beene leffe than some of theirs, which made him also the lesse respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had hee watched Perdiccas, and founded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discouer. For Perdiecas haping with a jealous eye pried into the demeanour of Antigonia, and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might susfice to take away his life, especially by a Judge that sought his death. This denice Antigonus would not seeme to perceive, but prepared himselfe in shew to make an-40 swere, indeede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne Demetrius aboord of some Athenian Gallies, that carried him to Antipater, laden

with fuch tidings, as finished the Ætolian warre before mentioned. As the comming of Antigonus made Craterus and Antipater manifestly perceine their owne danger: so his flight gaue Perdiceas to vnderstand that his intentions were laied open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore hee prepared as fast as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his fide the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing flack in providing to encounter him. Ftolamie being aduertised of these proceedings, and considering how neerely they concerned him, fided with Antipater. To his gouernement of Agypt hee had annexed 50 the Dominion of Cyrene, not without confent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the middest of these garboiles he celebrated the funerall of Alexander with great solemnitic, purchaling thereby to himfelfe much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Armie comming against him.

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PERDICCAS his voyage into Ægypt, and his death.

ERDICAS, vncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length resolued to set vpon *Ptolomie*; leauing *Eumenes* to keepe to his vie, against Craterus and Antipater, the parts of Ma bordering vpon

It may seeme strange, that hee did not rather make head against thole who were to come out of Greece with a great number, and of more able men 10 than Ptolomie could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with Ptolomie; or beleeved that Craterus would not be readic for him soone enough. Sure it is that

he tooke a bad courfe, and made it worfe with ill handling.

Ptolomie by his sweet behauiour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. Perdiceas contrariwise was full of insolencie, which never faileth to be rewarded with hatred; that is truely defined. An affection founded vpon opinion of an vnjust contempt. The whole storie of his proceedings in Agypt 15 not worth relating: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was vpon a little Towne, called the Camels Wall: thither he marched by 20 night, with more halte then good speed; for Ptolomie preventing him, did put himselfe into the place, where behaving himselfe not only as a good Commander, but as a flour Souldier, hec gaue the foile to Perdicess, cauling him to retire with loffe; after a vehement, but vaine, affault continued one whole day. The night following, Per diceas made another journie, (which was his last) and came to the divisions of Nilus, ouer against Memphis. There with much difficultie hee beganne to passe ouer his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants aboue the paffage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse men beneath it; to take up fuch as were carried away by fwiftnesse of water. A great part of his Armie 30 being arrived on the further banke, the channell beganne to waxe deepe; fo that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chinne, they who should have followed could find eno footing. Whether this came by riling of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feete of fo many Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedie there was, but such as had passed must repasse againe, as well as they might: for they were too weake for the enemie, and could not be relieved by their fellowes. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the River, wherein above two thousand of them perished; a thoufand were devoured by Crocodiles; a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; fuch as were strong and could swimme, recouered the Campe; many were 40 carried downe the streame, and driven to the contrarie banke, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giving libertie to their tongues, which long time had concealed the cuill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from Ptolomy, which did fet them in an vp-rore. Ptolomie had not only the wed much compassion on those who fell into his hands aliue, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcafes, which the River had cast upon his side; and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not onely moue the common Souldier, but made the Captaines fall to mutinie, thinking it vnreasonable to make warre vpon so vertuous and honorable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, vling them like flaues. The fedition growing flrong wanted only a head, which it quickly found. Python was there, who inwardly hated Perdiceas, for the difference which hee had suffered by his procurement, after the victorie upon the rebellious

Greekes. Python had lived in honourable place about Alexander; he was in the divifion of the Provinces made Gouernour of Media; hee had followed Perdiceas, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equall to him, had neuerthelesse beene scornefully vsed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, & a good part of the horse, which consisted of the Gentrie. (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of Perdiscas. where without further circumstance they all ranne vpon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud mif-governing authoritie of Perdiceas. Hee might have lived as great as any, could be have suffered any as great as himselfe; yea, peraduenture ma-10 fter of all, had he not beene too masterly ouer those which were already his.

of the Historie of the World.

The next day Ptolomie came into the campe, where he was joy fully received the excused himselfe of things past, as not having beene Author, or given cause of the Warre, and was easily beleeved: the favour of the Armie being such toward him. that needs they would have made him Protector in the roome of Perdiceas. But this bee refused. It was an office fit for one, that would seeke to increase his greatnesse with his trouble. Ptolomie was well enough alreadie, wherefore, for his owne quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deferuing of him hee procured that honourable charge to Python, and to Arideus the Captaine, who having had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of Alexan-20 ders Funerals, did with them adhere to him against Perdiccas.

In the middest of these businesses came newes of two great victories obtained by Eumenes; which newes, had they arrived two or three daies sooner, had beene entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would have given such reputation to Perdiceas, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings comming in ill time, when death had stopped the eares which would hane giuen them wel-come, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Q. IX. victories of Evmenes in the lower Asia.

CHAP.2. S.9.

Efore wee proceede in the relation of things, happening about the person of the King, it is meete that wee speake of those businesses in the lower Asia, which were handled by Eumenes with notable dexteritie, whileft Perdiceas was occupied in the Egyptian warres. Alcet assisted by the brother of Perdiceas and Manager and M

from Perdiccas to be affistant to Eumenes, and to follow his directions. But Alcetas made flat answere, That he would not; alleaging the backwardnesse of his men to 40 beare armes against so great a person as Antipater, and a man so much honoured as Craterus, Neoptolemus was content to make faire shew, but inwardly hee repined at the Precedencie giuen to Eumenes, as thinking himselfe the better man. Eumenes discoucring, through the counterfaited lookes of Neoptolemus, the mischiefe lurking in his heart, wifely diffembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behauiour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselse, that hee might stand vpon his owne strength, he raised out of the Countries vnder his jurisdiction, about sixe thousand horfe, giving many priviledges to such as were serviceable, & training them well vp. Not without great neede. For when vpon aduertisement of the great preparations 50 made by Craterus and Antipater (who had newly passed the Hellespont) for the inuasion of his Provinces, hee willed Neontolemus to come to him with all his power, Neoptolemus did (indeed) advance, but in hostile manner, though vnprouoked, prefented him battaile. Neoptolemus had fecretly couenanted with Antipater to lay open the way for him to the conquest of Asia, which now intending to performe, he

was shamefully disappointed. For though his foot-men, being all Macedonians, had much the better, and prevailed sarre vpon Eumenes his battailes; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to runne away, leaving naked the backs of his Macedonian foot-men, to bee charged by Eumenes, who forced them in such wise, that casting down their Pikes, they cried for mercie, and gladly tooke their oath to doe him faithfull service. Antipater and Craterus endeuored with many goodly promises to draw Eumenes into their societie, who contrariwise offered himselfe, as a meane of reconciliation, betweene Perdicas and Craterus, whom hedearely loved; professing withall his hatred to Antipater, and confiant saith to the cause which he had vidertaken to maintaine.

Whilest these negotiations were on foot, Neoptolemus came with his broken crue to Antipater, and his Affociates, vilifying Eumenes, and calling him a Scribe(at which foolish railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of Craterus (as well bee might) with high commendations; affuring them, that if Craterus did but once appeare, or that his voice were but heard by any Macedonian in Eumenes his Campe, the vi-Ctoric was wonne, for they would all forth-with revolt vnto him. Earnelfly therefore he defired them to give him aide against Eumenes, and especially requested that Craterus might have the leading of the Armie to be fent. Their owne affections did easily leade them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of Craterus might prevaile as much, as the force which hee drew along. 20 For he hadin the middeft of Alexanders venities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselues to the Persian fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient Macedonian forme of behauiour, and apparell; whereby hee became verie gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of Asia, with discontented eies, as reprochfull and derogatorie to the manners of their native countrie. So Antipater tooke the way toward Cilicia, to hold Perdiccus at bay, and to joyne with Ptolomie. Craterus vied great celeritie, to have taken Eumenes reuelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines after a great victory.

But hee had a warie and well adusted enemie to encounter, who kept good espiall

vpon him, and with much wisedome fore saw all that was to bee seared, and the 30 meanes of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant, that Craterus was able to defeat him without battaile, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Armie following him: (yet the Armie following him was fuch, as much exceeded his owne in footmen, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more vncasie to keepe the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon hee tooke in hand a strange piece of worke, which desperation of all courses else taught him, and wife managing, prosperously accomplished. He gaue out reports, that Weoptolemus was returned with fuch companie as hee could gather together, and had gotten Pigres (a Captaine of no great estimation, who lay not farre off) to joyne with him. Ha- 40 uing animated his men against Neoptolemus, whom hee knew to be despiled and hated among them, (as having been vanquished by some of them, & for saken others in plaine field, whilest they valiantly sought in his quarrell) hee tooke great care to keepe them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no Messenger nor Trumpetter should be admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against Craterus no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would have regarded him had he been knowne: but Thracians, Cappadocians, and Persians, under the leading of such as thought more highly of none, than of Perdiceas and himselfe. To these also he gaue in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should runne voon the enemie, and give him no leisure to 50 fay or doe any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his owne person: but placing himself in the right wing of his battaile, opposite to Neoptolemus, who (as hee understood) conducted the left wing on the contrarie side, he held the Macedonians arranged in good order, and readie to

charge the enemicas soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay betweene them, which having ascended, the Armies discouered each other; but that of Eumenes every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journies, which ouer-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitfull issue of friuolous hopes. Then was it high time for Craterus (having failed in surprising them as encmies) to discour himselfe to his old friends and fellow-souldiers, of whom hee could fee none. Phanix a Tenidian, and Artabazus a Persian, had the leading of that fide, who mindfull of their instructions, beganne to give vpon him, with such countenance as told him his errour; which to redeeme, he bade his men fight and winne to the day, and take the spoile to themselves. But the Beare whose skinne hee sels is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battaile was fought gave most aduantage to the horse, who encountred very roughly on all parts: especially about Eumenes and Weoptolemus, who as foone as they had discovered one another, could not containe themselucs, but with great rage met bodie to bodie, and letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leauing both of them tumbling on the ground. Neoptolemus role first vp, but Eumenes had his fword first drawne, where-with he houghed the other, causing him to fall downe and fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but Neoptolemus giving flight ones tooke such as were deadly, by which hee died in the 20 place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-aliue) stripped by his mortall enemie, whose reuilings hee requited, lying even at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of Neoptolemus caused his followers to runne away vpon the spurre, and seeke shelter behind the battailes of their foore. They were nothing hotly pursued. For Eumenes pained himselfe to carrie fuccour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had affifted him when he fought in person. Craterus had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of Artabazus and Phanix, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little e-30 slimation or note. Other wife it is not vnlikely, that hee might have either carried the day, or preserved himselfe to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and Neoptolemus were flaine) did. But whilest hee sought to preserve his reputation, hee loft his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received ; vpon which accident hee was trampled vnder foot by many that knew him not, and so perished vnknowne, till it was too late to know it. Eumenes comming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwaies loued and honoured Craterus, of whole death hee was now become the instrument. The vanquished Armie entertained a Treatie of peace with Eumenes, making shew of willing nesse to become his followers; but their intent was only

night, and fled toward Antipater.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former, wanne to Eumenes more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers took the death of Craterus heauily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incenfed men against him, besides the death of Craterus, whereof it manifessly appeared, that hee was as forrie as any that pretended greater heauinesse. His Armie wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended, by giving to them the spoile of such Townes as were ill-effected to him. So he redeemed the love of his owne men, who of their meere motion appointed vnto him a guard for desence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had beene Traitors to Perdicess, hated him for his faithfulnesse, as greatly, as they thought that he would hate them for their falshood; neither sound they any fairer, way of excusing their late revolet, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had for saken. Wherefore they proclaimed Eumenes a Traitor, and

40 to refresh themselues, which (by his permission) having done, they stale away by

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condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to put it in execution.

Quarrels betweene EVRYDICE the Queene, and PYTHONthe Protector. PYTHON resignes his office, into which ANTIPA-TBR is chosen.



228

YTHON and Arideus being chosen Protectors of King Arideus, and 10 the children of Alexander, tooke the way to Affathe lesse, conductions the Armia should be a conduction of the Conduction of t ing the Armie through Syria. Of the letwo, Python was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weake to sustaine so important a charge. For Eurydice, wife to King Aridaus, was come to her husband, a La-

die of a malculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should bee, and thinking her selfeable to support the waight which Fortune had laid upon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother Cyna, fifter to Mexander by her Father King Philip, was married (as hath beene shewed) to Amyntu, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the onely sonne of King Perdiceas, Philips elder brother.

This Cyna was a warlike woman; shee had led Armies, and (as a true Sister of Alexander) fighting hand to hand with Caria Queene of the Phrygians, a Virago like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this Eurydice in the same vnwomanly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of Python, that could not brooke her curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were fo, that Pythen had some purpose to advance the sonne of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether onely desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell slice did, which disturbed the proceeding against Eumenes. The Armie having shaken off 30 fuch a rank-rider as Perdiceas, would not afterward be reined with a twined threed. Python bearing himself vpc n his office, took vpon him to give directions in the kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controll, vling the fame name, with more authoritic and better liking of the Souldiers. Python, feeing this, would needes refigne his office, whether you wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps hee thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and have his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be ) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successour. Eurydice was nothing forrie at this course; for now she thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne wil, being freed from the 40 troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and Python, of their contrarie expectations: choosing Antipater, the onely powerfull man of Alexanders Captaines, then living, into the roome of Python. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earneftly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no Lord sauc onely the King their Soucraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things : the apparent weakenesse of her husband; the growth of Alexanders children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the Macedonian campe; and the mightinesse of Antipater, who commanding a great Armie necreat hand arrived in few daies at the campe, and enforced Eurydice to hold her felfe content. Antipater Was 50 of fuch power, that he needed not to worke by any close denices, as Perdiceas had done: he had no concurrents, all the Gouernours of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, hee tooke the King, Queene, and Princes

along with him into Macedonia, leaving Antigonus Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good services done, and to be done against Eumenes, hee gave the rule of Suffane, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the gouernment of Alia during that warre.

ð. X!.

ANTIGONVS Lieutenant of Asia, winnes a battaile of Evmenes, and besiegeth him in Nora: He vanquisheth other followers of PERDICCAS.



Ere beginnes the greatnesse of Antigonus, whose power in few yeeres onergrowing, the rest wanted little of spreading it self ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre voon Eumenes, Alcetus the brother, and Attalus the brother in-law to Perdiccas: worke enough to

keepe his Armie imployed in the publike seruice, till such time as he might find occasion to make vie of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which he vindertooke was Eumenes, with whom Alcetus and Attalus refuled to joyne, hauing vnfeafonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. Eumenes had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore Antigonus tried all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of Eumenes (who made shew as if he himselfe had scattered abroad those letters to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as hee thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelesly to himselfe, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of Eumenes (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with Antigonus) kept his treacherie secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this fall man Apollonides had undertaken, Antigonus 30 presented battaile to Eumenes; in the heate whereof Apollonides, General of the horse to Eumenes, fled ouer to the contrary fide, with fuch as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he defired not. Eumenes, perceiuing the irrecoucrable mischiese which this traiterous practice brought vpon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troupes of Antigonus, and boast of his treacherie. This was some comfort to Eumenes in the losse of that battaile, which disabled him veterly to keepe the field and left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused Antigonus himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possessi-40 on of the dead bodies. Eumener, whilest Antigonus held him in chace, turned out of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battaile had been fought, there he burned (according to the maner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and affies of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, raising up heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the Macedonians, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his brave spirit: so the newes which Menander (who was set to looke vnto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found Menander in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an affured victorie, and loaden with the spoyles of many Nations, the rewards of 50 their long service; all which hee might have taken: but fearing lest such a purchase thould proue a heavie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to Menander to flie to the mountaines, whilest he detained his men (vyhom authoritie could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to baite their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this courtesie, as a

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condemned him to die; but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to put it in execution.

φ. x.

Quarrels betweene EVRYDICE the Queene, and PYTHON the Protector. PYTHON resignes his office, into which ANTIPA-TER is chofen.



228

Y THON and Aridaus being chosen Protectors of King Aridaus, and the children of Alexander, tooke the way to Asia the lesse, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of these two, Python was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weake to sustaine so important a charge. For Eurydice, wife to King Aridaus, was come to her husband, a La-

die of a malculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should bee, and thinking her selfeable to support the waight which Fortune had laid upon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother Cyna, fister to Mexander by her Father King Philip, was married (as hath beene shewed) to Amyntas, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the onely sonne of King Perdice as, Philips elder brother.

This Cyna was a warlike woman; shee had led Armies, and (as a true Sister of Alexander) fighting hand to hand with Caria Queene of the Phrygians, a Virago like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this Eurydise in the same vnwomanly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of Python, that could not brooke her curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were fo, that Python had some purpose to advance the sonne of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether onely defire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell slice did, which disturbed the proceeding against Eumenes. The Armic having shaken off 30 fuch a rank-rider as Perdiceas, would not afterward be reined with a twined threed. Python bearing himself vpc n his office, took vpon him to give directions in the kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controll, vling the fame name, with more authoritic, and better liking of the Souldiers. Python, seeing this, would needes refigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps hee thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and have his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be increased, were it but for want of a fit Successour. Eurydice was nothing forrie at this course; for now she thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne wil, being freed from the 40 troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and Python, of their contrarie expectations: choosing Antipater, the onely powerfull man of Alexanders Captaines, then living, into the roome of Python. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no Lord saue onely the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things: the apparent weakenesse of her husband: the growth of Alexanders children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the Macedonian campe; and the mightinesse of Antipater, who commanding a great Armie necreat hand arrived in sew daies at the campe, and enforced Eurydice to hold her selfe content. Antipater was 50 of fuch power, that he needed not to worke by any close deuices, as Perdiccas had done: he had no concurrents, all the Gouernours of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, hee tooke the King, Queene, and Princes

along with him into Macedonia, leaving Antigonus Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good services done, and to be done against Eumenes, hee gave the rule of Suffana, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the gouernment of Asia during that warre.

ò. X1.

ANTIGONVS Lieutenant of Asia, winnes a battaile of Evmenes, and besiegeth him in Nora: He vanquishesh other followers of PERDICCAS.



Ere beginnes the greatnesse of Antigonus, whose power in sew yeeres ouergrowing, the rest wanted little of spreading it self ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon Eumenes, Alcetus the brother, and Attalus the brother in-law to Perdiccas: worke enough to

keepe his Armie imployed in the publike seruice, till such time as he might find occasion to make vse of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which he vindertooke was Eumenes, with whom Aleetus and Attalus refused to ioyne, hauing vnseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. Eumenes had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore Antigonis tried all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of Eumenes (who made shew as if he himselfe had scattered abroad those letters to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as hee thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelesly to himselfe, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of Eumenes (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with Antigonus) kept his treacherie secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this fall man Apollonides had undertaken, Antigonus 30 presented battaile to Eumenes; in the heate whereof Apollonides, General of the horse to Eumenes, fled ouer to the contrary fide, with fuch as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. Eumenes, perceiuing the irrecoverable mischiefe which this traiterous practice brought vpon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troupes of Antigonus, and boast of his treacherie. This was some comfort to Eumenes in the losse of that battaile, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused Antigonus himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possessi-40 on of the dead bodies. Eumenes, whileft Antigonus held him in chace, turned our of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battaile had been fought; there he burned (according to the maner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, railing vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the Macedonians, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his braue spirit: so the newes which Menander (who was set to looke vnto their carriages) brought and published among them, entited them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found Menander in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an affured victorie, and loaden with the spoyles of many Nations, the rewards of 30 their long service; all which hee might have taken: but fearing lest such a purchase thould proue a heavie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedi-

tion, he gaue secret warning to Menander to flie to the mountaines, whilest he detained his men (vyhom authoritie could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to baite their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this courtesie, as a

noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to ffrippe them out of altheir wealth, and make their children flanes; and to raugh their wives: but Antigonus told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good wil to them; but out of meere subtiltie had avoided those precious fetters, which would have hindered his speedie flight. He told them true. For Eumenes did not onely thinke all cariages to be ouer-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublefome than availeable in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselues; and retaining onely fine hundred horse, and two hundred foote. When he had wearied Antigonus awhile in following him vp and downe, he came to Nora: where againe, keeping no more a-10 bout him, than necessity required to make good the place, he louingly dismissed all the rest. Nora was a little Fortresse in the borders of Lycaonia & Cappadocia, fo strongly fituated that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualed and stored with all necollaries, that it might hold out for many yeeres. Thither did Antigonis follow, him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in warre. To this purpole be entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For whereas Antigonus offered him pardon, and his love; Eumenes required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without Antipaters consent. Then was Nora closed vp; where Antigorus leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his journie into Pilidia against Alcetus and Astalus, with whom hee made short worke. 20 He came upon them unexpected, and feized on paffages, which wanted not men, but fuch a Captain as Eumenes, to have defended them. Alcetus and Attalus, as they had beene too fecure before his comming, to were they too adventurous in fighting at the first sight, vpon all disaduantages: and their folly was attended with surable euent. Attalus with many principall Captaines was taken; Alcefus fled to the Citie of Termefus, where the love of the yonger fort was toward him fo vehement; that flopping their eares against all perswassions of the ancient men, they needes would hazzard their lines and their Countrie in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: For the Gouernours of the Towne having fecretly compounded with Antigonus, caused the yong men to fally out; and vling the time of advantage, they with their 20 servants did set vpon Aleetus, who vnable to resist, slew himselfe. His dead body was conneied to Antigonus, and by him barbaroully torne, was cast forth without burial. When Antigonus was gone, the yong meninterred the carcasse with solemne funerals, having once beene minded to set on fire their ovvne tovvne in revenge of his death. Such fauour had hee purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, hovv great socuer, is insufficient.

D. XII.
PTOLOMIE winnes Syria and Phanicia. The death of ANTIPATER.

Hilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes layidle, rather seeking to enjoy their Gouernments for the present, than to confirme or enlarge them. Onely Ptolomic looking abroad, wanne all Syria and Phanicia: an action of great importance, but not remarkcable for any circumstance in the managing. Hee senta Lieutenant thither

with an Armie, who quickly tooke Laomedon prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of Antipater, and formerly of Perdiccia; but (as may seeme) without any great strength of Souldiers, farre from assistants, and vainely relying upon the authority which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintaine him in his. Office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let Antigonus pursue the dispatch of those businesses in Asia. Hee had with him Polysperchon, one of the most ancient of Alexanders. Captaines, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the Atolians, which Nation had stirred in the

quarrell of Perdiccas, prevailing farre at the first, but soone losing all that they had gained, whilest Antipater was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this Polysperchon. Antipater did repose great confidence; so farre foorth, that (suspecting the youth of his owne Sonne Cassander of insufficiencie in so great a charge) hee bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Gouernment of Macedon and Greece, together with his Office of Protectorship. So Antipater died being foure-score yeeres old, having alwaies trauailed in the great affaires of mightie Princes, with fuch reputation, that Alexander in all his greatnesse was icalous of him, and the successours of Alexander did either quietly give place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppositions. 10 In his private qualities he was a subtile man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philosophicall behaulour, not vilcarned, as having beene Scholler to Ariffetle, and written fome Histories. Hee had beene much molested by Olympias, Alexanders mother. whom after the death of her Sonne, hee compelled to abitaine from comming into Macedonia, or entermeddling in matters of effate: yea, at his owne death he gave especiall direction, that no woman should bee permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soone forgotten; and yet, ere long, by forrowfull experience approved to have been found and good.

& XIII.

Of POLYSPERCHON who succeeded unto Antipater in the Protectorship. The insurrection of Cassander against bim.

OLYSPERCHON was very skilfull in the art of warre. having long time beene Apprentile in that occupation 3 other qualities, requilite in fo high an Office as he vnder-went, either Nature had nor given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He mannaged his butines more formally, then wifely, as a man of a fecond wit, fitter to affift,

than commaund in chiefe. At the first entrance upon the stage, hee called to coun30 saile all his friends, wherein, for waightie considerations (as they who waighed not
the contrary reasons held them) the Queene Olympias was reuoked out of Epirus in
to Macedon, that the presence of Alexanders mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Gouernours of Provinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needefull or
easie to be retained about the person of the King in Macedonia; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all maiestie, that might give authoritie to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the bounds of dutie such as could not by force have beene kept in order, being strong, and lying too sarre off.

Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of fight, whilest present mischiefe lay vnregarded in their bosomes. Cassander, the Sonne of Antipater, was notable to discouer that great sufficiencie in Polysperchon, for which his father had reposed in him so much considence: neither could hee discerne such oddes in the qualitie of himselfe and Polysperchon, as was in their fortune. Hee was lest Captaine of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seemes to implie. He should thereby haue beene as Campe-master, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himselfe the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his Father, were his owne assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principall Cities of Greece. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authoritie, in those Common-weales, whose formes had beene corrected by Antipater, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular

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to adhere vnto the Captains, by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, couetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obaying their betters perforce. Besides all these helpes, Caffander had the secret loue of Queene Eary\_ dice, who had in private rendered him such courtese, as was due onely to her husband. But neither the Queenes fauour, nor all his other possibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; because he saw Poly Gerchon much reuetenced among the Macedonians; and strong enough to suppresse him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, aduised 10 with them vpon the safest course, and most free from all suspition. The necessitie was apparant of raising an Armie, before the businesse were set on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with faire meanes. Ptolomie had by fine force, without any commission, annexed Syria to his gouernement of Egypt and Cyrene: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. Antigenus vpon the first newes of Antipaters death, began to lay hold vpon all that hee could get, in such fort, that he manifestly discouered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all Asa. These two therefore stoode in neede of a civil Warre; which Callander well noted, and prefumed withall, That the friendship which had passed betweene his Father and them, would availe him somewhat. Whereupon hee se- 20 cretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conneied himselse on a sudden ouer the Hellespont, that hee might in person advance the businesse with greater speede. Much perswasion is needlesse in winning a man to what he defireth. Antigonus coueted nothing more, than to finde Polysperckon worke, by raifing some commotion in Greece. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) Cassan der did very earneftly presse him, by the memory of his Father, and al requisite conjurations, to affift him in this enterprise; telling him, that Ptolomie was readie to declare for them, and vrging him to a speedie dispatch. Antigonus on the other side repaied him with the same coine; saying, That for his owne sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearely loued, hee would not faile to give him all manner 30 of succour. Having thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slacke in preparing the common meanes, leading to their feuerall ends.

# Q. XIIII. The unworthic courses heldby Polysperchon, for the keeping downe of Cassan Der.

Reat necessitie there was of timely prouision. For Polysperchon needed no other instructions to informe him of Cassanders drift, than the 40 newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in Antigonus and Ptolomie, to the strengthning of rebellion; and well hee knew that one principall hope of Caffander

was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the Grecian Estate. Therefore (louing to work circumspectly) he called another Councel, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of government should be erected in al the Cities of Greece; the Garrisons withdrawne; and that all Magistrates and principall Men, into whose hands Antipater had committed the supreme authority, should forthwith bee either slaine or banished. This was a fure way to diminish the number of Cassanders friends, and to raise vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclo- 50 fed both an vnthankefull nature in Poly/perchon, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Sonne went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only bountie had inabledhim to doe it? or what could bee faid in their defence, who fought to defiroy

many worthic men, friends to the State, by whom the Greekes were held restrained from stirring against the Macedonians: and in opposition to their private Enemie. gaue the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans bodie, through finnewes newly iffuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any diftemper in the contrarie hand: foin bodies politique, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more inraged by the difagreeable qualities of such as curbe them in their neerest purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such asare divided from them in the maine trunke. Hereby it comes to passe, that conto trarie religions are inuited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering encmies drawne in to the part in civil warres; and ancient hatred called to counsaile against injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; shee hath taught the arme to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head: they are deprayed affections, which render men sensible of their owne particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

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The decree, whereby the Greekes were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ranne vnder the Kings name; but fo, as one might eafily discerne, that Polysterchon had guided his pen. For the maine point was. That they should follow such directions, as Poly (perchan gaue, and treate with him about all difficulties. In the rest it 20 contained such a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appeare to have some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it felfe too base and whit for a King to vie toward his conquered Subjects, and often-subdued Rebels.

# 8. X V. ...

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by POLYSPERCHONS decree. The death of PHOCION.

Evertheleffe the Athenians with immoderate joy entertained this happie-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But Nicanor, Captaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called Manychia, in the lower part of the Towne, would needes take longer time of deliberation, than was

pleasing to their hastie desires. Nicanor, as a trusty follower of Cassander, was by him shifted into the place, and Menillus (that was Captaine there before) discharged, when Antipater was newly dead. His comming to Athens was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of Antipaters death, cried out voon Phocion, laying, That hee 40 had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by advertising them in due time have put into their hands a faire opportunity of thrufting out the Macedonians. But these exclamations argued no more than a defire to shake off the Macedonian Yoke. Farre more grievously would they have beene offended, had they knowne the instructions, which Caffander had given to Wicanor, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retaine Mungehia, any initinction to the contrarie not with flanding ; but that hee should finde meanes to thrust some Companies into Pirau, and fortific that also, which was the principal Hauen, against the high-Towne. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasona-

ble pretence, than good abilitie. But the Athenians were not long in giving him fufso ficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They defired him to come vnto their Councell, affembled in the Pirau, there to confider of the Kings Proclamation: whither vpon Phocions word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with Cassander in the warre which was ready to breake forth. Contrariwise they vrged him first of all, to make them Masters of Vuuu 2

their owne, which how to vie, they might consult afterwards. Each of them retufing to condescend vnto the others demand; the Athenians (who did alwaies meafure instice by profit, yet seldome thrived by that course) practised with Dercyllus, a Captaine following Polysperchon, and then lying necreat hand, that he should enter into the Towne, and take Nicenor prisoner. But Phocion, who then governed in Athens, a man very vnlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with since of politique dishonestie, did quietly suffer him to depart and save himselfe.

Nicanor hereupon beganne to deuise vpon taking Piraus; not as following now the project of Cassander, but prosecuting his owne instreuenge. He leavied as many 10 Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into Munychia; which done, he issued into Piraus, tooke it, and intrenched himselfe therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the Athenians, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Hauen, saw him now Master of both. Alexander, the sonne of Polysperchon, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addreffed themselves vnto him; who made faire shewes, intending meere mischiefe, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vaine Epiffles of his Father, and of Olympias the old Queene. Olympias taking vpon her to command, before shee durst well aduenture to returne into Macedon, had peremptorily charged Aicanor to restore to the Athenians the places which hee held: but hee would first consider 20 more of the matter. Polysperchon had further ordained, that the Isle of Samos should be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeede) so farre from purposing to let them have Samos, that as yet he did northroughly intend to let them have themselves. The commoditie of their Hanens was fuch, as he would rather get into his owne hands, than leaue in theirs; vet rather wished in theirs, than in Cassanders. His sonne Alexander notignorant of this, made faire shew to the Athenians, and spent much labour in communing with Nicanor, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labor, to intermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew iealous, and the displeasure they conceined against him they powred out vpon Phocion, deprining him of his office. This 30 was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers, thrusting themselves into the affembly of the Citizens, who distracted with fundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought every one that best could inucigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the euill threatning them. In this hurly burly was Alexander denising how he might come to some good point of composition with Nicanor, and held much privile conference with him; which he could not so secretly carrie, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the vp-rore in the Towne was so farre increased, that Phocion with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seeke saveguard of their lives by slight. So they came to Alexander, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commen- 40 dation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the Countrie of Phocis, readie to enter with an Armie into Attica. Thicher came Phocion with his Companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their owne deserts, (having alwaies been friends to the Maccelonians, as farre as the good of their Countrie gaue leaue) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, Dinarchus a Corinthian, Polysperchons familiar friend, went along with them, (in an euill houre) who promised to himselfe and them great fauour, by meanes of his acquaintance. But Polysperchon was an vnstable man, very earnest in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of indgement in following them, or of honestie in holding the best of them, easily so changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halues, which made him commonly saile of good successe. For searce of Cassander, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the Athenians; this had caused them to love him: out of their love hee gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke

how to get into his owne hands those keyes, with which Cassander held them fast ·lockt vp: finding himlelfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a falle dishonourable man, hee flood wavering betweene the contrarie allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the Athenians perforce at his denotion, would indeede have done well: but the effecting of this beganne to grow desperate; and many Townes of importance in Greece beganne to cast their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wilest way to redeeme their good opinion, by giving all contentment vnto the popular faction, which then was growne to be Master of that Citie. And in good time for this purpose were the Athenian Lo Embaffadours come, treading (as one may fay) vpon Phocions heeles, whom they were fent to accuse. These had solemne audience ginen to them in the Kings prefence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for offentations fake was glorified with all exteriour shewes of majestie; yet all too little to change Aridaus into Alexander; for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as hee law others do. For beginning of the businesse Polyspherchon commanded that Dinarchus should be tortured and flaine. This was enough to testifie his hearty affection to the Commonaltie of Athens, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Embaffadours hee then bade to speake. When their errand was done, and answere to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, Phocion and the rest were 20 pronounced guiltie of treason; but to give sentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours lake) referred vnto the Citie of Athens, because they were Burgesses, Then were they sent away to Athens, where the rascall multitude, not fuffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to die. So they perished being innocent. But the death of Phocien, a man very conspicuous, made the fortune of the refit to be of the leffe regard. Five and fortie times had hee beene chofen Gouernour of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when hee was ablent: fo well was his integritie knowne, and fo highly valued, even of fuch as were no pretenders to the same vertue. Hee was a good Commander in Warre. wherein though his actions were not verie great, yet were they of good impor-20 tance, and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Citic repent of having followed his counfaile: nor any private man of having trufted his word. Philip of Macedon highly esteemed him; so, and much more did Alexander, who (besides other signes of his loue) fent him two hundred talents of filuer, and offered to bestow vpon him of foure Cities in Asia any one which hee would choose. But Photion refused these and other gifts, how foeuer importunately thrust vpon him; resting well contented with his honest pouertie: wherein he lived aboue fourescore yeeres, and then was compelled by the vnjust judgement of wicked men to drinke that poyson, which by just judgement of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of Athens, as from that day forwards it neuer brought forth any worthic man resembling the vertue of their

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CHAP.2. S.16.

40 Ancients.

### δ. XVI.

Of POLYSPER CHON his vaine expedition against CASSANDER.

Ot long after these things were done, Cassander with such forces as Antigonus lent him, entred into Pireus; which newes drew Polyferchon head-long into Attica, with a great Army, but so ill victualed, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Onely hee had given some impediment to the enemie; who not contented with defending what he held, beganne to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Fin-

ding therefore himselfe vnable to drive Cassader out of Athens, her left his some Alexander, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals,

to with stand his turther incroching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried into Peloponnesus, to make the Countrie sure to himselfe, wherein Cassander had many

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His doings in Peloponnelus were such, as they had beene in other parts of Greece. First, he beganne to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democratie, or Popular forme of gouernement. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by Antipater beene made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driven into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: The vulgar fort being very ready to seale the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the bloud of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe 10 Citizens; and many which wished well to Cassander, especially they of Megalopolis, on whom Polysperchon meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. Megalopolis had in it fifteene thousand seruiceable men, well furnished of necessariand resoluted to endure the worst. And neede there was of fuch resolution. For Polysperchon comming thither with all his power did so much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall betweene them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the Macedonians which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised up an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The Assailants having failed to carrie the Towns at the first attempt, tooke much paine to cleare the ground, 20 and make faire way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the townes-men perceiuing their drift, prepared boords driven through with long nailes, which they vsed as gall-throps, bestowing them fleightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beafts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beat upon their sides with Arrowes and Darts, as they were inftructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the Asian Warres. Of these prouisions they made happievse in the next assault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemie chiefly trusted) either forely hurt, or driven back vpon the Macedonians, whom they trampled under feet. Polysperckon came as ill fur- 20 nisht for long abode to Megalopolis, as before to Athens. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, hee for sooke the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour; leaving some part of his Armie to lie before the Towne for his credit.

After this hee sent Clitus, his Admirall, to Sea, to joyne with Arideus that was come out of Phrygia, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of Alia. Coffander also sent his whole Fleet under Nicanor, who taking along with him some ships of Antigonus, came to the Propontis, where hee fought with Clitus, and was beaten. But Antigonia hearing of the ouer-throw, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent out Nicanor againe, assu- 40 ring him of the victorie, as well he might. For hee sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom hee had caused to bee wasted ouer the Straights in small Veffels by night; these before day-light letting vpon Clitus, draue his men, that lay fecurely on the land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult Nicanor arriving

did assaile them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought Polysperchon into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloudy decrees, but when the execution was referred to his owne fword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the Athenians, perceining that hee had left them to shift for themfelues, and was not able to give them protection against the enemie which lay in 50 their bosomes, came to agreement with Cassander; accepting a Gouernour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein Antipater had lest them. The like inclination to the partie of Caffander, was found in very many Cities of Greece, which daily and willingly revolted vnto him; as to an industrious

man, and likely to prevaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrie let in a combustion, vncalieto be quenched; which presented vnto Antigonus an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himselfe Lord of Asia.

ANTIGONUS Seekes to make himselfe an absolute Lord: and thereupon treates with EVMENES, who disappointeth him. Phrygia and Lydia wonne by ANTIGONYS.



NTIGON VS had in Antipaters life time a firme resolution, to make vnto himselfe the vimost benefit that he might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in faire season for advancement of his purposes came the newes of Antipaters death; euen then, when all the butinesse in Pisidia was dispatched, and no more imployment for the Armie re-

maining, fauc onely the continuance of the tiege of Nora; a final thing of it felfe, but ashard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. Eumenes lay in that Fort of Nora, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the prefent effate was mani-20 feltly fubiect, would in continuance of some yeeres (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow lickly and vnferuiceable; which made him to practife many devices of keeping them in health and lustie. But when he had continued that vp in this manner about a yeere, his hopes came to good passe, and he was cased of his cares by Anti-

gonus himselfe, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiencie of Eumenes, and considering his sidelitie shewed vnto Perdiccas, thought that hee could not finde in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in managing those high designes, wherein hee doubted 30 not that hee should bee withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. Hee fent therefore to Eumenes by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a greater Lord than ever hee had beene, and the next man to himselfe, if things fell out as he desired : in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of Nora, and eniov his perfect libertie. Eumenes peruling the forme of the oath, perceived the meaning of Antigonus; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keepe the Decorum, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding words and fumme of 40 all the rest were such, as tied him fast onely to Antigonus, omitting all reservation of dutie to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it vnseemely to become a sworne man to him, with whom hee had fought for the mastrie, and being assured that his voluntarie assistance, which way soeuer he gaue, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would hee not therefore breake off the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in comming: but seeming to bee well agreed with Antigonus, hee prepared to give vp his Hold and depart. As for the oath it selfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in te-50 shifying their Allegiance. The Macedonians which lay incamped before Nora, liked his words, and gaue him leave to put in Olympias, and the children of Alexander, binding himselfe to them and their adherents, as well as to Antigonus; and so he de-

Antigonus had taken vpon him, as soone as hee came downe to the Sea-side, to

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remoue fome of the Gouernours of Provinces, behaving himselfe according to the authoritie which hee had received of Antipater, to exercise in the time of warre. Neither did hee want sufficient pretence whereby to infline his proceedings. For if Polysperchon might lawfully hold the Protettor-ship, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed vnto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not he himselse aswell retaine the Lieutenantship of Asia, that was granted vnto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by Antipater, who had power to ordaine what should feeme conucnient whilest he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen aster his death? To give a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough; if any were to not herewith satisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, & thirtie Elephants in a readinesse to answere them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was Aridaus Gouernour of Phryeia; who fortified the Townes of his owne Prouince, and fought to haue wonne Cyzicus, a faire Hauen Towne, and seated very conueniently for him, but was faine to goc away without it. Hereupon Antigonus tooke eccasion to command him out of the Countrie. Arideus was so farre from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieue Eumenes. Neuerthelesse finding that he was vnable of himselfeto make long resistance, he tooke such companies as hee could draw along with him, and so passed ouer into Europe, to complaine at the Court. The like for- 20 tune had Clitus, who ruled in Lydia, and fought the like remedy of his fortune, with fome hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

# d. XVIII.

ANTICONVS pursues Evmenes. Evmenes having authoritie from the Court, raiseth great Warre against ANTIGONVS in defence of the Royall house.

NTIGONVS having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of Asia the lesse, was able to have entred Macedon, and seized vpon the the lesse, was able to have entred Maceaon, and select properties of the court; which that he forbare to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) for some of the creasons. It would have bred as much jealousse in Cassander, as scare in Polysperchon, which might have brought them

to tearmes of reconciliation; It would aske more time then hee could spare; and the enuie which followed the Protector-ship was such, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to shunne, then to pursue. Besides all this, it was 40 manifest that Eumenes would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war vpon him in desence of the Royall house, to which it was found that Antigonus did not fland well-affected. Against him therefore hee bent his course, and with an Armie of twentie thousand foote, and foure thousand Horse, made great haste toward Cilicia, hoping to suppresse him before hee should bee able to make

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which being wellknowne in the Court, hee had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Armie, and make warre vpon Antigonus, taking of the Kings treasure as much as hee should neede. Other letters also there were directed to all the Gouer- 50 nours of Provinces, requiring them to give affiftance to Eumenes, and bee ordered by his direction: especially to the Captaines of the olde Souldiers, called the Argyraspides, or filuer-sheelded bands, commandement was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foote, and fine hundred

hundred horse, before this authoritie was given him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with Antigonus in defence of the Roiall bloud, Olympias had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her and her Nephew the sonne of Alexander; and in the meane time to give her his advice in that which Poly (perchantequired of her) for the was defirous to returne into Macedon, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. Eumenes therefore counfelled her to remaine in Epirus, till fuch time as hee could bring the warre to a goodiffue; which done, he promifed that his faith and care should not be wanting to the feede of Alexander.

Strange it is to confider, that in all the Empire scarce any one could be found among the Noble-men, in whom Alexanders mother, wines, and children, might repose firme confidence, saving onely this Eumenes, a stranger to the Macedonian bloud, borne at Cardia, a Citie of Thrace. His reputation was no more than his owne versue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled hee was to trauaile as farre as Persia, to gather together an Armie sufficient, to relist the enemies that purfued his heeles.

And the second s

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. OLYMPIAS takes AR IDEVS and EVRY DICE, whom free grille cruelly puts to death. cruelly puts to death.

Ow, for a much as in this present warre all the Rulers of the Prouinces didentermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of Afa, but Macedon it felfe, which brought a new face vnto the State, by the extirpation of the roial house of Philip and Alexander I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the parti-

30 culars of the warre it selfe, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what paffions they were drawne into those courses, which ouerthrew most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatnesse of a few: as likewise to what extremitie the fraction brake out in Macedon it selfe, about the maine controuersie of title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should haue beene depending.

Usridam the King, being simple and searcfull, did onely what hee was bid-

Roly sperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the fonne of Alexander by Roxane to the Kingdome, and become Gouernour to a King 40 of his owne making.

Eurydice the Queene discouring plainely this intent, and meaning nothing lesse thanto let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to fit in it, grew acquainted with Cassander, who hated the memory of Alexander, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Caffander held fresh in minde the danger wherein his family had beene through Alexanders malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by Alexander, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the Persian manner. The displeasure hereof; and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him to resolue, both to suppresse the linage which he hated, 30 and to maintaine his beloued mistresse, either by supporting her weake husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indisferent who raigned ouer all, so as they might raigne in their seuerall Countries, and establish their authoritie in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among



Among these, Ptolomie and Antigonus were well enough alreadie, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pitho and Seleucus lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach vpon their neighbours. Against these, Pencestes and some others with much adoe hardly made relistance, vntill such time as Eumenes came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with Rep-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that shee had given poylon to Aridam, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his bodie and wits. Now thee confidering, that Eumenes was too full of businesseto come home 10 fo foone as the withed that he thould; and that Caffander daily prevailed in Greece: thought it the best way to ioyne with Polysperchon, and set vp, as King, her Nephew Alexander, the sonne of Roxane, remouing Aridaus before Cassander were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in Epirus, and so tooke her way towards Polysperchon, who ionning with her, entred into Macedon.

Eurydise hearing these newes, wrote very carneftly to Cassander, praying him to set aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. Shee her selse by entreatie. gifts and promifes, drew to her partie as many of the Macedonians as face could.vntill shee thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against olympias, and the Traitor Poly (perchan.

These two Queenes met armed, as if the matter should have beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed Enrydice. For as soone as the Macedonians beheld Olympias; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. Eurydice finding her selfe thus forsaken. fled towards Amphipolis, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias having obtained this victorie without bloud, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that vpon thesame considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the Macedonians would not sticke to maintaine her, whatfoeuer her proceedings were. Hauing therefore shut vp Aridam and his 30 wife in a close roome, where they could scarce turneround, shee fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare lest the people should have commiseration of him, that had raigned almost fixe yeeres and a halfe) to put them to death. So she delivered Aridaus to some barbarous Thracians, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to Eurydice the fent a fword, a halter, and a cup of poylon, willing her to choose the instrument of her owne death, who praving that the like presents might one day be sent to Olympias, yeelded her necke to the halter, having fpent her last curses not in vaine. Nicanor the brother of Cassander, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did Olympias then choose out, all whom she commanded to be flaine. His brother Iolaus that was alreadie dead and buried, shee ac- 40 cused of poyson given to Alexander, & thereupon caused his Tombe to be throwne downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The Macedonians wondering at this furic began to condemne themselves, and the folly of Polysperchon, who had, quite contrarie to Antipaters charge given on his death-bed, called this outragious woman to the government of the Empire.

% XX. 50

d. XX.

CHAP.2. S.20. +. I. of the Historie of the World.

How CASSANDER Was renenged upon OLYMPIAS.

The great expedition of CASSANDER. OLYMPIAS shuts her selfe into Pydna, where CASSANDER besiegeth her. ÆACIDES King of Epirus, comming to Succour OLYMPIAS, is for-(aken and banished by his owne Subsects.

10

Assander at that time lay before Tegea, in Peloponne/w; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, hee neuer staied to take the Citic, nor to give order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though Alexander the sonne of Polysperchon were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of Tegea, hee willed his af-

20 fociates to looke to themselues as wel as they could, til his returne, and so in al haste he tooke his iournic toward Macedon, carried headlong with the greedy defire of instreuenge. The Ætolians had taken the Straights of Thermopyla, in fauour of the Queene and Polysperchon, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to misspend anv time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could great and small. with which he transported his Army into Thessaly. There he divided his companies, appointing some vnder Callas, a subtile Captaine, to hold Polysperchon busied, who then lay incamped neere to Perbabia; with the reft he marched directly against Olympias. Shee, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignitic, tooke more care how to appeare Maiesticall, than to make her selfe strong. To this ende 30 the made a folemne progresse to Pydna, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, having in her companie all the flowre of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was Roxane, and her yong sonne Alexander, heire to the great Alexander, by his grandmothers designement: who, during his minoritie, kept the Soueraigne power in her owne handes. But all this pompe served to little vse, against the violence of the enemie, that soone presented himselfe before the wals; onely it sed the besieged with a vaine hope of fuccour, that would from all partes arrive, to rescue persons of their qualitie. And hereof there soone appeared faire likelihood, which as soone vanished and went away in smoke.

For Aacides King of Epirus, made great haste to bring succour to Olympias, his co-49 sen, with whom Deodamia his daughter was also shut vp. Neuerthelesse, his Subiccts were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine passages taken in the way by Cassanders men, they called vpon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The Kings importunitie vrging them to proceed, and the obstinate refusal of the Army, brake out at length into such termes, that when hee had raged in vaine against the multitude; his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed vpon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to for fake his Kingdom, and to wander vp and downe in forraine Countries a banished man, his people ioyning with the enemie, against whom he had led them forth to warre.

Pydna in the meane time was closed up straightly, both by Sea and Land, so that 50 neither any could issue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe be conucied into it; but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable feruice being done there, whilft great actions were mannaged abroad.

t. 13

A continuation of OLYMPIAS her florie, POLYSPERCHON defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. OLYMPIAS yeeldes to CASSANDER.

Now, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of EVMENES and ANTIGONVS in this place, leaning OLYMPIAS yet a while to the hower of her destinie, which growes the taster upon her, because shee may discerne it comming; yet that wee may not bee compelled to 10 interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedy in the midst of things, not manifeltly coherent with it; wee will here (as elsewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to an ende one History, that we may not bee therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the belieged remaining in Poly/perchan, was in like maner disappointed, as their former trust had been, which was reposed in the succours of the Epirot. For Callas, who was fent against him, found the meanes to corrupt the greatest part of his Army with money, leaving him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that hee was fit for no other businesse of warre, than a swift retrait. When famine had so farre prevailed in the city, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many me feeding 20 on the dead carcasses of their fellowes, and sawdust being given to the Elephants for prouender; some of the souldiers obtaining the Queenes leaue, (who could not denie it)others, without asking leave, yeelded themselves to the enemy, & were by him gently relicued, and fent abroad into the Country. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her wil-willers, that such as had referued themselves to the event, came in apace, and submitted them to Cassander. At length, when the mortalitie was fo great in the Towne, that the liuing were cuen poyloned with the noylome lent of the dead; Olympias bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that the had: wherewith her successe was as bad as in thereft. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to 20 be vnto her as a house of torment, and a Iaile, out of which shee should not be deliuered, but vnto an euill death. Being therefore vtterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, and with much labour hardly obtained of Cassander (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Hauen, accounted himselfe as good as master of her bodie) a graunt of her owne life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, Pella, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, was yeelded to Caffander. Amphipolis did stand out: for Aristonus, to whom Olympias had given charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the successe of some pettie services wherein hee had preuailed, began to promise himselse great vnlikelihoods. But Olympias, to win 40 Caffanders tauour, very earnestly required him vpon his faith to her, that he should giue it vp. He did fo, and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by Castander, who partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke innouation.

# t. III.

# The death of OLYMPIAS, and her condition.

Hen Olympias had now heard forrowfull tidings of all her friends, fhee herfolie was called into question, and accused in an affembly of the Macedonic
ans, for the murthers (they were so stilled in her affliction, which in time of prospecific she called iustice) by her committed. There was shee, (being not heard
nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecuted

ted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slaine. But it was at Cassanders instigation; who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her, with a ship, and other necessaries, to saue her selfe by slight: which when she refused, saying, that shee would plead for her selfe, and tell her owne tale; she diffembled no longer, but fent vnto her fuch men as hated her most, who tooke away her miserable life. Shee was daughter, and lister, vnto two Kings of Epirus; wife, and mother, vnto two the mightiest Kings, of that, or many other ages; a stout Lady, and of vnreproueable chastitie, but her ambition was boundlesse, her hatred vnappeasable, and her furie in reuenge, most vinwomanly. Her peruerse conditions made her husband seeke other wives and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him. and them. She was thought privie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly the flew his late wife Cleapatra, having first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beauty furie broiled the other aliue in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her sonne Alexander (otherwise louing her wel) forbade her to meddle in the gouernement of Macedon. But God more seuere vnto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to line & fulfill the rest of her wickednesse; (which was his instice vpon the adulteries of Philip, and the oppression done by him and others) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it vpon her owne head.

## †. IIII.

CASSANDER celebrates the funerall of ARIDEVS and EVRYDICE;
and seekes to make himselfe King of Magedon.

Fter her death, Cassader gaue honourable buriall to Aridams and Eurydice, among their Progenitors, Kings of Macedon. And looking further into his owne possibilities of greatnesse, he married the Lady Thessaden, whom he had taken at Pydana, being the daughter of King Philip, by another of his wines; that by her he might have some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed Roxane, and her yong sonne, to close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his same, and purchase loue, built a Citic, called by his owne name Cassader, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. He readised likewise Thebes in Greece, and restored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twentie yeeres waste, being vtterly razed by Alexander. By these meanes, especially by the restauration of Thebes, whereunto all Greece voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that sew remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much

labour, hardly could refift him. Leauing him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in Asia, for leffe titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

XXXX 2

CHAP.

# CHAP. IIII.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONVS got in Asia.

ð. I.

The lourney of EVMENES into Persia. His wife dealing with those that loyned with him.



VMENES, having ioyned vnto his company the Argyraspides, made haste into the Easterne parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himselfcagainst Antigomes. Hee tooke his iourney through Calofyria and Phanicia, hoping to reclaime those Provinces, vsurped with the rest of Syria (as hath beene shewed) by 20 Ptolomie, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Armic too little, and the readinesse of the people, to returneto their due obedience, none at all. Besides

all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the leffe effectuall. The Captaines of the Argyrafpides were fo froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take his directions, and their sidelity was so vniteadie, that he might have more easily dealt with open Traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulion. Therefore hee 30 fained, that Alexander had appointed vnto him in a dreame, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich paullion, wherin an emptie throne was placed, as if Alexander himselse had beene present at their consultations. Thus hee freed himselse from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could have no assurance. Yet when Ptolomie requested them, & Antigonus bribed them to fortake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So hee marched on, sending before him the Kings warrant, which Pytho & Seleucus refused to obey; not as rejecting the kings authority, but excepting against the person of Eumenes, as a man condemned to die by the Macedonian Armie, for the death of Craterus. Eumenes, knowing well that he was not to relye vpon their affifiance, who flood otherwise 40 affected then his affaires required, and were not to bee dealt with by perswasion, fought paffage by strong hand, through the Countrie of Babylon, in such wise that Seleucus, having in vaine affaied to hinder him, by opening the fluces of Euphrates, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as defirous to be ridde of him. Thus he came to Peucestes and the rest of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his companie, because of the differences betweene Pytho, Seleneus, and themselves. Yet the contention about superioritie, grew verie hot among them; every one finding matter enough, to feede his owne humour of felfe-worthinesse. But the former device of affembling in one paulion, made all quiet; the conclusion over being fure to follow that which Eumenes propounded, who was both wifest in giving aduice, and so best able to reward, by meanes of the authoritie given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these meanes he wonne to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt. à. II.

Q. 11.

How Anticonvs, comming to set upon Evmenes, was

driven off with losse.



CHAP.4. S.2.3.

NTIGONVS, hearing that Eumenes lay in the Province of Susa, had an earnest defire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, he removed out of Mesopotamia, where he had wintered; and taking to him Pytho and Selencus, with their

men, hee marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battaile. Eumenes had fortified the Cattle of Sula and was retired backe toward Persia, keeping the River of Tygris betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the Riper were wel guarded, and good espiall kept vpon Antigonis, to observe which way he tooke. Before he came to Tyeris it felfe he was to passe ouer Coprates, a great Riuer, and not foordable, which he fought to doe by fmall veffels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when Eumenes, who kept a bridge vpon Tygris, came with a thouland horse, and foure thousand foor, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and and draue them headlong back into Coprates, wherein most of them were drowned:verie few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yelded themselues prisoners, in fight of Antigones, that was not able to relieue them. This loffe made Antieomus glad to fall off; and the heat of that Countrie in the dog-daies, breeding difeafes in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remoue as farre as into Media. So he tooke Pithon with him; (leaving Selencus to beliege the Caltle of Su(a) and feeking to go the neerest way, passed through sauage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arriue in Media, with his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

λ. 11I

Of EVMENES his cunning. A battaile between chim and Antigonvs.



Fter his departure, Eumenes with his affociates fell into confultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine hee would have had them to enter upon those Provinces, which Antigonus had left behinde him; to which also the Captaines of the Argyraspides or Silver-spields were very inclinable, as desiring to draw necret to Greece. But

Peucester, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needes march Esstward. These carried it; for the Armie was not firong enough to divide it selfe in-

When they came into Persia, Peucestes, ruling there, scasted them royally, & sought by all meanes to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. Eumenes perceiving wherunto those doings tended, suffred him awhile to keepe good cheare, till the time of warre drew neere. Then did he saine an Epistle, directed, as from Orontes Gouernor of Armenia, to Peucestes himselfe: The purport wheros was; that Olympias had vanquished Cassander, and sent ouer a great Armie under Polysperchon, to ioune with Eumenes.

These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine iou, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingnesse to obey Eamenes, by whom was the likeliest apparance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being sarre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soone after. For when Antigonus, comming out of Media, drew neere unto them, Eumenes by some mischance was salless sicke, and Xxxx 3

faine to be carried in a Litter; the Armie marched in very bad array, and was likely to have beene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But Eumenes, when the rest of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his Litter, and voon the sedame did cast his men into so good forme, that Antigonus, perceiuing him a farre off, could not refraine from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captaines, and all sorts of men, if they would for fake Eumenes: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the triall of a battaile. Eumenes had more Elephants than Antigonus; otherwise, he was inseriour in number both of horse and soote by a third part. The battaile was sought with variable successe, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and 10 of the night following. Yet the victorie was uncertained For Eumenes could not force his men to lie tarre from their carriages: by which meanes Antigonius (who had a more absolute command ouer his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the figne of victorie, for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies crauing it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victoric had Eumenes. For he abode still in the same place, and not onely buried his men very honourably, at great leifure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas Antigonns was glad (having tarried but one day) to ficale away by night, and returne into Media, from whence he came.

## λ IIII. . .

Of divers firatagems practifed by ANTIGONVS, and EVMENES, one against the other.

Hus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greaterlength, each part having front Souldiers, and skilfull Generals: but the fide which had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by the equall authoritic of many, from purluing all advantages to the bell. Antigonus grew dayly weaker in men and reputation, fo that to re- 20 paire himselse he could finde no way safer, then to put all to adventure. Hee knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered farre afunder, so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Betweene him and them, the way was not long, being onely nine daies journey, but very bad, through a rough drie wildernesse, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Countrie well peopled, but requiring twentie fine daies iourney, he forfooke, partly for the length, partly, and chiefely, because he would come vudiscouered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbade vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not have them descried a farre off. This commandement had beene well observed toure or fine dates, when 40 continuance of time (ascommonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being neere to their wayes ende. The light of these fires gaue notice of their comming; which being reported to Pencefles, and other Captaines, they were so aftenished with the sodaine danger, that in all haste they betooke themselves to slight. But Fumenes, meeting with the newes, began to harten his affrighted companions, promifing to make Antigonus march lessurely, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their men together. They could scarce beleeue him, yet they were content to be ruled, and did as hee appointed, who failed not in making his word good. Hee tooke with him fome companies of the readiest men, wherewith hee occupied certaine toppes of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of Antigonus: there he chose a convenient 50 ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in fundrie places, as if the whole Armie had beene present. This was a forrowful spectacle to Antigonus who thought himselfe preuented of his purpose; and began to seare lest he should be compelled

compelled to fight, whileft his men were tired with a long and painefull journey. Therefore hee resolued to turne aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serue to refresh bis Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection. at the first, as knowing how readic Eumenes would be vpon all aduantages. But atter a while, confidering that no enemic firred about him, hee began to paule, and thinke in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that Defert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had feene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on to the hil-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that he had been fo deluded. Therfore he went against these troupes with great furie, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much bulinesse, and long itay. All the Armie was come, faue onely Eudamus, Captaine of the Elephants, who, befides those beasts, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his company. Intigonus hearing of this supply comming to his enemies, sent about two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. Endamus being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and foto defend himselfe as well as he could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multi-20 tudes, were quickly broken, and driven to runneaway vpon the spurre. Neither knew they, who fate vpon the Elephants, which way to turne them; for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came vnexpected to the refeue; and charging the affailants voon the backe, draue them to feeke their owne saletie by speedy flight. These were sent by Eumenes; who though hee knew not what his aduersarie meant to doe, yet hee knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, prouided the remedie.

# The conspiracie of PEVCESTES and others, against Ev-

MENES his life.

Armie acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Pencefies*, and the other Captaines, guiltie of their own much infufficiencie were forces. Y these meanes Eumenes wanne great honour, and was by the whole they could now no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held com-

40 munication, as vpon a necessarie point, how they might finde meanes to murder

Surely, it is great injuffice to impute the mischiese, contriued against worthy men, to their owne proud carriage, or some other ill deseruing: For, though it often happen, that small vices doe serue to counterpoyse great vertues; (the sense of cuill being more quicke and lasting, than of good) yet hee shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonic, will thinke it a part of wisedome, to finde good reason of the cuils, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than their vertue it selfe. Eumenes, among many excellent qualities, was noted to bee of fingular courtefie, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their love, that feemed to beare him any fecretill affection. It was his meere vertue that overthrew him, which even they that fought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that hee should not be flaine, before the battaile were fought with Antigonus, wherein they contessed that it stood best with their safety, to be gouerned by his directions, Of this trea-

son, he was quickly advertised by Eudamus, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he vied to borrow money when hee needed not, to the end that they should be carefull of his good, for feare of losing their owne. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himself of the villanie intended against him, hee made his last will, and burnt all his writings that contained any matter of fecret: which done, hee revolued many things in his minde; being doubtfull what course were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royallbloud, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number, than in worth. How things at that time flood in Macedon and Greece, cither he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seeke their to helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with Antigonus, had beene against his faith to Olympias, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that hee forbare, either to lose the battaile willingly, orto flye into Cappadocia, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length hee resolued to doc his best against the common enemie, and afterwards to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

# δ. V I. The last battaile betweene Antigonvs and

He Souldiers, especially thoseold bands of the Siluer-shields, finding Eumenes perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but onely to bring them into the field, and set theminarray; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritic was generally found in the common Souldiers fa-

ces; but the chiefe Commanders were so mischieuously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke vpon being beholding to him for the victorie. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that, without their ownegreat fault, they could hardly 20 faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horse-man from the side of Eumenes, proclaimed with a loud voice to the followers of Antigonus, That their wickednesse, in fighting against their owne fathers, would now bee punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vaine. For the Silver-shields were men of threescore or seuentie yeeres olde, strengthned more by continuall exercise, than decaied by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore Antigonus his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriours, the most Ancient and best regarded of all Alexanders Souldiers) grew very pen- 40 fine, and advanced heavily, suspecting their owne cause, and searing the threatnings vttered would proue true.

Antigonus was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine leuelled field. Placing therfore himselfe and his sonne Demetrius in his right wing, and committing the left wing to Puthon, hee did fet forward couragiously against the enemies, that were readic to give him a sharpe entertainment.

Eumenes tooke vnto him Pencestes, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the lest wing of his battaile, in the face of Antigonus, meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sodaine, and so (withall) to give proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto Pithon, hee bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, under one Philip, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the

fight, and make a leifurable retrait, expecting the euent of the other fide.

CHAP.4. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

So they joyned very fiercely; Antigonus, labouring to make himselfe mafter of all; Eumenes, to die an honourable death, or to winne such a victorie vpon his open enemies, as might give him leisure and opportunitie to deale with his false friends.

The footmen of Antigonus, being, even in their owne opinions, farre inferiour to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the Silver-fhields, who flew about five thousand of them, losing of their owne, not one man. But in horse, Eumenes was so ouer-matched, that he could not repell Antigonus, who preffed him very hard, but was faine to fland wholly vpon defence. Yer to his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the enemic could not winne one foot of ground vpon him, vntill fuch time as Peucestes, with one thousand five hundred horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battaile, leaving his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did Eumenes desperately rush amongst his enemies, labouring to breake open the way vnto Antigonus himselfe. And though hee failed of his purpose; ver with great flaughter he did so beate upon them, which came in his way, that the victorie hung a long time in suspence, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a flight fandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast vp such a cloud of dust, as hin-20 dered the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. Antigonus finding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed undiscourred beyond Eumenes his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly garded, (for that the whole body of the Armie lay betweene them and danger) and therefore eafily taken. Had Pencestes retired himselfe no further than vnto the carriages, hee might not onely have defended them, but peraduenture have furprifed those which came to furprife them, and so have done as good a piece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger hee might expect the event: and Eumenes was so over-laboured both in body and minde, that he could not give 30 an eve to euery place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of Antigonus had the better hand, wherupon Eumenes, finding him (elf euery way ouer-charged, began to give back, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battaile, where Philip (as hee was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The Antigonians had felt so much of Eumenes that day, that they were well contented to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as faine he would have done.

The losse of the carriages was reported vnto him, as soone as he had any leisure to heare how things went: whereupon hee presently ordered his men for a fresh 40 charge, and sent for Peucestes that was not farre off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby hee trufted, not onely to recover their owne goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoiles of the enemies. Peucestes not only refused to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

Bythis, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Campes. Yet Antigorus conceived hope of doing somewhat more; and therefore taking halfe his horsemen, hee waited vpon Eumenes a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunitie to offend him: the other halfe hee committed to Pithon, willing him to fet vpon the Silver-shelds in their retrait; which yet he forbare to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein Antigenus had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in soote: but the spoile which hee got, by surprising his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other loffes.

8. VII.

### ò. VII.

How EVMENES was betrayed to ANTICONVS, and flaine.



V MENES, comming into his Campe, and finding the Silver spields extremely discontented with their misfortune, beganne to cheere them vp, and put them in hope of recourring all with aduantage. For their braue demeanor that day had so crushed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Carts after him, through that great Wildernesse, ouer the 10

But these perswasions availed nothing. Peucestes was gone; the other Captaines would needs returne into the high Countries; and the Soldiers had no delire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recouer their goods. Wherefore Teutamus, one of the two Captaines of the Silver-shields, (who had in former times readily consented vnto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner Antigenes) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, and winning the loue ofthose bands, dealt secretly with Antigonus, requesting him to restore vnto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the onely reward of their feruices, in the warres of Philip and Alexander.

Antigonus, as a subtile man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also, with a little entreatie, performe a great deale more than they promised; and therefore he louingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they defired, if they would put Eumenes into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make warre against him. This answere pleased them so well, that they forthwith deuised how to deliper him alive, Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutic, and pretending more joy of their victorie, than forrow of their losse, which they faid they would redeeme by another fight; in the middest of this goodly talk they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his fword, and bound him fast. So they haled 30 him away; and stopping their cares against all perswasions, would not yeeld so far, as to loofen one of his hands and let him kill himselfe, but brought him aliue (that was their owne Generall, under whom they had obtained many victories ) as it had beene intriumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was so great, that Antigonus was faine, to fend a guard of horsemen and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not sodainely resolue, either to kill or saue. Very few they were that sucd for his life; but of these, Demetrius the sonne of Anticonus was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were faued, he would foon be the chiefe in reputation, for his great abilitie. So after 40 long deliberation, Antigonus concluded, that it was the safest way, to put him to death, which intending to have done by famine (perhaps because he would keep it awhile in his owne power, to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to have him liue his friend) haste of other businesse made him doe it by the sword.

To this end came all the trauailes of that worthy generall Eumenes; who had with great wisedome, fidelitie, and patience laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast downe. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie; but more notable was his gouernment of himselfe, in all her changes. Aduersitie neuer lessened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Armie, 50 without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered, by Gaspar de Collignie, Admiral of France in our dayes, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soone after in the massacre of Paris; That rather than to leade againe an Armic of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus

Antigonus himselfe gaue to the bodie of Eumenes honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the Silner-shields he burnt alive; many of the other Captaines he flue; & to the whole multitude of the Silver-fields, that had betraied fo worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader, that should carrie them into farre Countries, under pretence of warres; but with a priny charge, to confume them all, as perinted wretches, letting none of them returne aliue vnto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas, that beate vpon the shoares of Greete and Maceden.

#### d. VIII.

How ANTICONVS flew PITHON, and occupied MEDIA. How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himselfe Lord of Perlia, carrying away PEVCESTES.



He two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into Media, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldieridly; the principall men intentinely bent vnto the businesse ensuing. Pithon began to confider his owne descruings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefely maintained by the strength and riches of his Pro-

uince. Belides, he thought himselfe as good a man as Antigonus, vnlesse it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged case to be purchased with gifts, and therefore foared not to assay them with great liberalitie. But in following this course, hee was driven by necessitic to trust many, of whom he stumbled upon some, that were vnsecret, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose disconered to Antigonus, who (nothing like to Pithon) diffembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers as breeders of diffention between chim, and his honourable friend, vnto whom hee meant to commit the Gouernment of all those Countries: his owne bufinesse calling him into the lower Asia. These reports, comming 30 daily to his cares, did finely delude Pithon. By his greatnesse with Alexander; his authoritie in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Gouernour; and the loue of the fouldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, even an offensive warre. But what neede had he to vse the sword, when hee was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as soone as he was sent for, to take his farewell of Antigonus, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeeld to any such division. As foone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slain out of hand. For Antigonus, having begunne with Eumenes his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down 40 indifferently all that flood in his way; but fwamme carelefly through the bloud, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Gouernour in Media, to order the Prouince, and a Captaine, to suppresse all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were deriued.

After this he marched into Persia, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of Asia. There began he to shew how well he understood his owne might inesse. For he placed and displaced, at his pleasure, Governours in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, excepting such as lay too farre off to 50 bedislodged casily.

Penceftes, who ruled in Per sia, thought with good cheere to redeeme old offences, but was deceived, having to doe with one, that could not be taken with such baites: he was caried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that neuer tooke effect. Thus he, that enuied the vertue of his friend, was driven to Batter (in vaine)

the fortune of his enemie, after which he liued a contemptible life, till needled obscurely a man forgotten.

Q. IX.

How SELEVEVS was chased out of Babylon, by ANTIGON VS. The greatriches of ANTIGONVS.

ELEVEVS was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good-will to Antigonus, and 10 now gaue proofe of his heartic affection toward him, by making the Captaine of the Castle of sufa to meete him on the way, rendring vn-to him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein best weed. This

offer was fo great, that Antigonus ( though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleeue it; but vsed him with excessive kindnesse, for scare so good a moode should change. In that Castile he found all the treasures of Alexander, with the Iewels of the Persian Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made vp twentie fiue thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himselse a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which hee aimed, therefore hee proceeded, with intent to leane no 20 Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord. Comming to Babylon, hee was entertained by Seleucus with all possible demonstration of loue, and honoured with presents, beseeming the Maiestie of a King. All this he accepted with great grauitic, as being due to him; and beganne to require an account of the reuenues of that Province. This demand Seleucus held vnreasonable; faying, that it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prounce, which was given vnto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that Antigonus was powerfull; who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessitie, moued Antigonus to presse him thus, but 30 onely the desire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that hee should find such iffue, as Pithon and Pencestes had done. Therefore taking with him onely fiftie horse, be conveied himselfe away, and fled into Ptolomies Dominions; desiring him to protect him from the violence of such a man, as went about to oppresse all, that in former times had beene his betters, or at least his equals. Antigonus was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yeelded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with Seleucus for them hee wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the Chaldeans brought a strange prophesic to Antigones, bidding him looke well to 40 himselfe, and know, that if Selencus did escape his hands, hee should recouer Babylon, yea, winne all Asia, and kill Antigonus in battaile. Easie belceuers may giue credit to thistale. Had it beene true, me thinkes, Antigonus rather should have hanged those Chaldeans, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than fent pursuers (as they fay that heedid) after him, whom the destinies preserued for so great purposes. When he had fettled things at Babylon, he tooke his journie into Cilicia, where

he wintred. There hee tooke vp ten thou and talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yeerely income to amount vnto eleuenthou-

fand Talents.

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CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the great civill Warre betweene ALEXANDERS Captaines: and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.

Q. I.
The combination of PTOLOMIE, CASSANDER, and others, against ANTI-GONVS. Their demands, and his answere.



His great riches, and the rest of his power, made Antigonus dreaded, enuied, and fuspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. Ptolomie, Caf-(ander, and Ly (imachus, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainement giuen vnto Seleucus, giuing him sufficient cause of miltrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them feuerally, entreating them to continue firme in their

love toward him, that would be readie to requite them with the like. The cold anfwers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was Ptolomie; it being likely that a good armie should prevaile more than a faire message. Therefore, as soone as the scason of the yeere would permit. he tooke the way toward Syria, and was encountred by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lordsdid much reioyce at his victorie, obtained against Eumenes their common enemie, and the honor that he had therby gotten. In which 30 war, for a fmuch as they being his Confederates, must have endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole estates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it vericiust that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voiage, wherin they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they defired him, that making betweene them all an equall division of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best beeto enery ones liking if hee would make ouer Cappadocia, with Lycia, to Cassander; and Phrygia, bordering vpon the Hellespont, to Lysimachus; for wheras his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victoric, he might wel spare some of those westerne Prouinces, 40 to those that were seated in the West. As for Ptolomie, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his owne Territories. Prouided alwaies, that Seleucus their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne out of which he had beene driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly confent vnto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many loffes received, hee should yet bee able to redeeme peace when beuer he lifted, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for feare only, lest it should bee taken from him perforce. Ra-50 ther he hoped that he should be able to find them worke, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore, he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victorie, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeed they had already fufficiently gained by him, if they could fee it, having by his meanes kept

their gouernments, wherefthey were like to be dispossessed by Felyperchen, and the countell of chate in Macedon. But what maruaile was it, if they confidered not how he had faued them, feeing one of them had forgotten the time, when commine to him as a fugitue, & begging succour, he was by his meere bountie relieued, and enabled to get all that he now held? Cassander did not (said he) in those daies command me to surrender Provinces, and give him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers fake) defired me to pittie him, and help him against his enemics: which Idid; by lending him an Armie, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now prefumes to threaten me. As for Seleucus, how can he complaine of wrong, that durst not flay to plead his right? I did vie him well; but his conscience told him that he 10 had deserved ill: else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly justifie. I am now in the way to Syria, meaning to examine Ptolomies proceedings; and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

## II.

# The preparations and beginnings of the Warres.



Hen the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought vpon but warre. Antigonus perceiving that he should bee 20 inuaded from Europe, as soone as hee were entred into Syria; left his Nephew Ptolomie to guard the Sea coasts, and hinder Cassander from landing in Alia: giving him also in charge, to drive out of Cappadocia

some that were already sent ouer to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into Greece and Cypress, not vnfurnished of monie, to draw friends to his side, and raife vp troubles to his enemies. Especially, he laboured to make himselfe the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreslowed his journey into Syria, that he might get possession of Mount Libanus, which affoorded many excellent commodities for building of a Navie. Therefore, having crected Beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all Asia, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, 30 he inuaded Syria, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintaine the field.

Ptolomy lay in Egypt, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloued and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Provinces hee kept with a few Garrisons, better seruing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraine enemie. So Antigonus tooke many Cities, and Places, of that Countrie, and beganne to set great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a veere and three moneths; not idly. For he tooke Ioppe, and Gaza, which were yeelded vnto his discretion, and wellvsed. The strong Citie of Tyrus held out long, 40 but was compelled in the end, by famine, to render it selfe vpon composition, that Ptolomies Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

Ptolomic was not ascepe, whilest these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of Agypt, as indeede it behoued him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against Antigonus in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuerthelesse by Sea (where his enemie was as yet vnready) he fent his Flect into all quarters, whereof Selencus had the chiefe command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred faile along the coast of Syria, in the full view of Antigonus, and his Armie, to their no little discomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which 50 was then gouerned by many pettic Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to Ptolomiesthe rest were, by the Factors of Antigonus, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the Egyptian with sharpe steele.

The same commoditie of aide by Sea encouraged the President of Caria (called

also Callander, but not the sonne of Antipater, how socuer by the painefull and learned writer Reiner in Reineccius, he is by some ouerlight, counted for the same) to declare for Ptolomie, and his Confederates, and bufily imploy in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutralitie, and thereby enjoyed reft; but now he threwe himselfe into dangerous warre, choosing rather to vidergoe trouble at hand, than to fal vnder certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if Antigonus had beaten all the rest.

10 How each partie fought to winne the afsistance of Greece. ANTIGONVS his declaration against Cass Ander. Alexander the some of Polisper Chonrenolteth from ANTIGONVS, who had let him up.



N the meane feason all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vnto them the people of Greece, who se aide which way so them the people of Greece, who se aide which way so the clined was of great importance. Herein at the first, Anigonus sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that hee drew to him the Lacedamonians, and other Peloponnessans, of whom hee waged eight thought

fand, and caused Polysperchon (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowse 20 himselfe againe, and taking vpon him the title of Captaine of Peloponnesus, to make

head against Cassander.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore to make Cassander the more odious, hee called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the Greeks and Macedonians that were to bee found thereabouts. To these he declared, That Cassander had very cruelly slain Olympias, mother to the great Alexander; and not herewith contented, had flut vp in close prison the poore Ladie Roxane, Alexanders wife, and his sonne begotten on her bodie. That all this proceeded from a defire to make himselfe King over the Macedonians; which well appeared by his enforcing the Ladie The falonica, Daughter to King Philip, a match 30 vnfit for a man of no greater Parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, Philip, and Alexander, he had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by Philip, in a new Citie by him built, and called by his owne name Callandria; and had reedified the Citic of Thebes, which for the great treason of the inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by the victorious hand of Alexander. For these reasons hee required them to make a decree, that Cassander should reflore to absolute libertie the Ladie Roxane, and her sonne; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire (by which name Antigonus himselse was vnderstood) or else should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece 40 should be restored into freedome; this he did, not because he was carefull of their good, but for the neede which he had of their affiltance.

These things being decreed, Antigonus was perswaded, that not only the Greekes would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from Caffander; but that the Rulers of Prouinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing, but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and thinke him the most faithfull of all others to the Royall bloud. But concerning his loyaltie to the yong Prince, the world was too wife to be deceined with vaine shewes. His undertaking for the libertie of the Greekes was more effectuall, and got casie beliefe, in regard of his present hatred to Cassander. Yet herein also Ptolomie stroue to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to winne to himselfe that valiant Nation, which affoorded men farre more serviceable in warre, than were to be found in any

Province of the Empire. And this indeede was the point, at which both sides aimed. Wherein Antigonus thinking to make all fare, deceived himselfe, not without great cost. For he gave to

Yyyy 2

Alexander the sonne of Polysperchon five hundred talents, willing him to set the warre on foot in Peloponnesus, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant

nothing eife, than what was openly pretended.

In Peloponne (us; Caffanders men had, with much bloud-shed, gricuously afflicted the contrarie faction; and he himselfe perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemes, than retained as friends, thought it the best way, to make what vse he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiuing that Alexander came furnished with plentic of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to winne the doubtfull, but to corrupt such as might seeme best assured: hee thought it a good part of wisedome, to surrender upon faire conditions, that which he could to not assure himselse to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deale with Alexander, about the matters in controuersie; letting him know, that Antigonus was verie skilful in letting men together by the eares, not caring who prevailed. but only desiring to have them wearythemselves, whilest he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might finde opportunitie to set vpon the stronger. If therefore Alexander were so wise, as to keepe in his purse the fine hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receive the whole Lordship of Peloponness; it should be freely put into his hands by Caffander. Provided, that hee should from thencefoorth renounce all confederacie made with Antigoniu, and enter into a fure and faithfull league with Ptolomie, Callander, and the rest of the Confederates. O- 20 therwise, he might well perswade himselfe, that the Countrie which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be wonne by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, so stilling himfelfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with Antigonus fince the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discouer the intent, (which hee did not carrie verie secret ) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept so good an offer; and did not sticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subject vnto no mans controll.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life toge- 30 ther, by treason of the Siegonians; who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were soone after vanquished in battaile by Cratesipolis, Alexanders wife, a discreet and valiant Ladie. Shee in revenge of her husbands death, crucified thirtie of the Citizenstaken in fight; and having by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards containe her Armie in good order, and gouerned those places that shee held, with the loue and commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

#### d. IIII.

The Atolians rife against CASSANDER in favour of ANTIGONVS, and are beaten. Afleet and land-armie of ANTIGONVS, viterly defeated by PTOLOMIES Lieutenant. In what termes the warre stood at this time. ANTIGONVS drawes neerer to Greece.



NTIGONVS, when he found, that with fo much monie he had onely bought an enemie, beganne to raife troubles to Cassander and his other aduer laries in Greece, by stirring up the Atolians against them; Likewise he laboured to winne to his partie the Ilands in the Greeke 50 Scas, by whose affiftance he might be the better able to deale with

Ptolomie, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The Atolians, a factious Nation, and alwaies enuying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.5. S.4.

fo, that commonly their gaines equalled not their losses. Callander wanne some of their owne Countrie; fortified the Acarnanians against them, and compelled Glasscias. King of the Illyrians, whom he vanquilhed in battaile, to for fake their fide, and binde himselfe to beare no Armes against Cassanders friends.

On the other side, as many pettie Ilands were drawne to joyne with Antigonus: fo the fleet of the Rhodians under Theodatus, who was Admiralito Antigonus, palfine along the coast of Asia towards Cyprus, with an Armie vider conduct of Perilans marching on the shore for mutuall assistance, was quite overthrowne by Ptolomies Nauic. Polyclytus, who in Ptolomies behalfe had been fent into Peloponnesus a-10 gainst Alexander, finding no neede of his service in that Countrie, because Alexander was come over to their fide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these Antigonians held, whom he very cunningly surprised. Hee rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, whereinto Perilaus falling was taken prisoner, with many of hismen, and many were flaine, making little refiftance. Theodation the Admirall perceining this, made all hafte to helpe his fellowes that were on Land; but whileft he with all his Fleet were intentiue only to that businesse, Polyelytus appeared at their backs; who as foone as he perceived their diforder, haltened about the Cape, and charging them behinde suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings 20 caused Antigonus to deale with Ptolomie about some composition. First, hee sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But Antigonus would not yeeld vnto the demands of Ptolomie: so the parlie was vaine.

Hitherto each part seemed to have indifferently sped in the Warre, and thereby to have equall cause of hope and scare. This late victorie with the good successe of his affaires in Cyprus, did seeme to make amends to Ptolomie for his losses in Syria. Likewisc the revolt of Alexander from Antigonus did equall the Confederacy, made betweene the Ætolians and him; as also those pettie skirmishes, that had beene in Asia the lesse, to Antigonus his advantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but aduerfe to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his estates in

20 those parts by the two Castanders.

Contrariwife, Antigonis valued the losse of his men, monie, and ships, no otherwise than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would easily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territorie by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed vpon a limbe of Ptolomie his enemie, and strengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want

That which most molested him was the attempts of his enemies vpon Asia the 40 leffe; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to seare, left the people being tyed vnto him by no bond of allegeance, might vpon small occafion reuolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himselfe. To prevent this, and to be necret to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affaries did sceme to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Armie in Syria, vnder his sonne Demetrius, to whom being then but two and twenty yeeres old, he appointed many ancient Captaines as affiftants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

Yyyy 3

How LYSIMACHUS and CASSANDER vanquished some enemies, raised against them by ANTIGONVS. The good successe of ANTIGONVS in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against CASSANDER.

He comming of Antigonus into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the processe of his businesse thereabouts. For his enemies had short leifure to thinke vpon molesting him in Asia: they themselves to were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on Europe inc. Semons a
King of the Thracians, ioyning with some Townes that rebelled awere held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on Europe lide. Senthes a

gainst Lysimachus, brought also the bordering Scythians into the quarrell. All these relyed vpon antigonus, who was to helpe them with monie, and other aide. The Atolians likewise tooke courage, and rose against Cassander, having Aacides, lately restored to the Kingdome of Epirus, their assistant. But Lysimachus gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselues. Hee sodainely presented himselse before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne to their dutie. He fought a battaile with the Seythians, and wilde Thracians, and draue them out of the Countrie. Finally, he ouercame Seuthes; and following the heate 20 of his victorie, flew Paufanias in battaile, whom Antigonus had fent ouer with an Armie; and all his men he did either put to ransome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like successe had Philip, Cassanders Lieutenant, against the Ætolians. For he wasted their Countrie; fought with the Epirotes, that came to helpe them; and after the victorie, fought againe with their forces ioyned in one, overthrowing them, and killing Lacides that vn fortunate King. Finally, hee draue the Ltolians out of most of their Countrie, and forced them to seek their safetie among the wild Mountaines. Of the Epirotes he fent as prisoners to Cassander, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present Warre.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied Antigonia his aductsaries 30 with painefull trauaile; after which they remained onely fauers. Antigonus himfelfe at faire leifure, wanne all Caria the whilest, and fent Armies into Peloponnesus, and other parts of Greece, bestowing libertic vpon all the Cities he tooke out of Ca/fanders hands. The whole Countrie of Peloponnesus (excepting Sievon and Corinth) with the Ile of Eubwa, and many places of the firme Land, were by these meanes wonne to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or fuffer any thing for him that had made so euident a demonstration of his readinesse, to give them the libertie indeede, which others promifed in idle words. Many States desirous of the fame benefit, would faine have shewed their good will; but they were kept in by Casanders Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them look. Therefore Antigonus 40 made shew as if he would passe ouer into Macedon: by which terror he forced Casfander to repaire thither in al hafte, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Townes of Greece so weakely guarded, that well they might take courage to helpe themselves, if any for raine succour appeared. The aide which they defired was not long wanting. The Lieutenants of Antigonus, taking the advantage of Callanders departure, entred the Countrie; draue his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Gouernour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of Thebes, and set the people at libertie. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For Thebes had not long before beene raised out of her old ruines by the meere power of Cassander; of which act he was accused by Antigonius, as if it had beene so fome hainous crime. Yet now the same Antigonus winneth the Citic, and the loue of the Inhabitants, onely by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vainely they extend beyond all measure,

than backward vpon their miferable nullitie, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

### V I.

Victories of PTOLOMIE by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which PTOLOMIE and SELEVCV's wanne, against DEME-TRIVS the Sonne of ANTICONVS.



S the presence or necrones of Antigonus gave life to his affaires in the lower Asia, and Greece; so the designes of his enemies, taking advantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works

in the Easterne parts, wherewith in the yeere preceding he had oner. topped them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes wanered betweene contrarie affections, inclining one while to Antigonus, another while faintly regarding their couenant with Ptolomie, was visited by an Agyptian fleet, wherewith Ptolomie, in his owne person, casily reduced them to a more settled order, putting fome to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own 20 appointment, Gouernour of the whole Countrie. With the same fleet he ranne alongst the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of Caria and Cilicia, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned loden to Cyprus. Demetrius the fonne of Antigonus, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed foot with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did he tire himselse and his followers, in hastic feeking of one, that by lanching out into the deepe, could in a few minutes delude the labour of fo many daies. if neede had so required. Answerable to the vanitie of this expedition was the successe. For Ptolomie was gone, before Demetrius came into Cilvia. Neither was it cer-20 taine, whether having lightened his ships of their burthen in Cyprus, hee would returne vpon those maritime Countries; or make toward Spria, where his comming was expected. Hee was indeede gone into Egypt, and there with Seleneus was describing a royall Armie, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recoveric of Syria. This was more than Demetrius knew. Therfore hee was faine to choose out of vncertainties the most likelihood, and returne the way that hee came, with all his companies, which were fitter for feruice in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrifons among the Cilicians. He had scarce refreshed his Men and Horses in Syria, when the newes arrived of Ptolomies comming with a puilfant Armic, to give him battaile. Hereupon he called to counfaile his principall friends, who aduised 40 him to give way to the time, & expect fome better opportunity in the future: being a yong man, and weakely furnished with meanes to relist such ancient and famous Generals, as Ptolomie and Seleucus. This counsaile seemed rather to proceede from the cold temper of those aged menthat gaueit, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For Demetrius considering himselfe to be the sonne of Antigonus, and now Generall of his Fathers Armie, thought his owne title waightie cnough to bee laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found he much reason that should move him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that such oddes of number, 50 and of great fame, would rather ferue to adorne his victorie, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Soldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpole to encounter them, as soone as

they had finished their wearisome journie over the Desarts of Arabia.

Ptolomie

Ptolomie and Sciencus issuing out of sorich a Province, as Agypt, came so well

prouided of all necessaries, that their Armie felt not any great grievance of the euill

way, when battaile was presented them, which confidently they undertooke. In all

things else they had the ods of Demetrius; of Elephants they were vtterly vnorouided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had pred. VII.

How SELEVCVS recovered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countries in the highest Asia. The ÆR A of the Kingdome of the Greckes, which beganne with the Dominion of SELEVEVS.

Hile Ptolomie followed his businesse with such prosperitie, Seleucus tooke leave of him, and went up to Babylon, to trie his owne fortune; which hee found to fauourable, that recouring first his owne Prouince, hee became at length mafter of the better part of Alexanders

This expedition of Selencus was very strange, and full of vnlikelihoods. Histraine confished of no more then eight hundred foote, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities. against which he carried it into the higher Asia. But little force is needfull, to make way into strong places, for him that alreadic stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of Selencus was enough; whom the Babylonians had found so good a Gouernour; that none of them would finde courage to relist 20 him; but left that worke to Antigonus his owne men, withing them ill to speede. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Enfignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and fubmitted themselves ioyfully to Seleucus. In a defection so generall, it was not a safe course for the Antigonians, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should iffue forth into the field, and trie the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who revolted to the enemie, with more then a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismaied the rest, that 30 they did no more than seeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that Antigonus held for his securitie in those quarters. This Callle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leifure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. Seleucus quickly tooke it; and so got the entire possession of Me-Sopotamia and Babylon.

Antigonus had bestowed in Media and Persia, forces convenient for defence of those Prouinces, that were the vtmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he had not done the like: for his owne great Armie lay betweene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victorie at Gaza had opened vnto Seleucus the way into those parts; hee found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. 49 Hauing now gotten what he fought, it behoused him to feeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too fmall, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. Nicanor, to whom Antigonus had committed his Armie in Media, joyning vnto himselfe, out of Persia and other Countries, all needfull helpe came with ten thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, either to sauc all from being lost, or to drive Se-

leuces out of that which he had wonne. Against this power, Seleucus had only foure hundred horse, and somewhat aboue three thousand foot, where with to oppose himselfe: his large conquest of vnwarlike Nations having yeelded him many louing subjects, but few souldiers. There-To fore when his enemies were neere to the River of Tigris, hee withdrew himselfe from the place where his refistance was expected, into certaine marishes not farre off; where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. Nicanor thought that hee had beene fled, and was the leffe carefull in fortifying his campe. In recompence of this vaine securitie, his campe was taken by surprise, the first night of his arrivall;

pared a kinde of Palisado, fastened together with chaines, and sharpened in such manner, that the Elephants could not feeke to breake vpon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces, which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that veere, whilest the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine iournies, or 10 long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein Demetrius was embattailed. The fight beganne, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part firining more to winne honour. than to satisfic any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of Demetrius, who vpon no necessitie would needs fight a battaile with disaduantage, beganne to appeare by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, having more to lose by her then he could get: but in this fight shee was idle, and left all to be decided by frong hands; vnleffe it may be faid, that the terror brought voon

his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kinde 20 of warre hardly to be relisted on plaine ground, and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst Ptolomies men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were forely hurt, and curry one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horsemen of Demetrius to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little. till now perceiuing that all must lie vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they beganne to shrinke, and many of them to prouide for their fasctie by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When Demetrius

had stroucn so long in vaine to make his men abide, that hee himselse was likely to be loft; he was faine to give place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as farre as to Azotus, which was about thirtie miles from the place of battaile. A great part of 20 his carriages was in Gaza, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to faue such goods, as in haste they could pack vp. This foolish couetousnes was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilest they forgetfull of the danger,

had filled the streets with sumpter Horses, & cloied vp the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch, others, to carrie out what they had alreadie loden, Ptolomies Armie brake in without relistance, taking them with their goods and the Citie altogether.

This victorie restored vnto Ptolomie the best part of Syria, a Prouince more easie in those times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of Selencus. For betweene Gaza and Phanicia no place offered resistance. In Calosyria 40 and Phanisia, some townes held out a while, but were soone taken in by Ptolomie. Among these were the great Cities of Tyrus and Sidon; of which Sidon was given up by the Inhabitants; Tyrus by the Garrison, falling to mutinie against their Captaine; who trufting to the firength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned

by Ptolomie, and honourably entertained, in respect of his fidelitie.

¿. VII. 50

the Satrapa, or Licutenant of Persia, together with sundry of the Captaines, were flaine, he himselfe was driven to fice for his life into the Desarts; and the whole Armic yeelded vnto Seleucus: whose gentle demeanour, after the victorie, drew all Media, Sustana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victorie of Seleucus gaue beginning vnto the new stile, of The Kinedome of the Greekes, an accompt much vsed by the Iewes, Chaldeans, Syrians, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeere of this Æra. The authoritie of that great Astrologer Ptolomie, from which there is Ptol. Almag List no appeale, makes it plaine, that the fine hundred and nineteenth yeere of NABON AS. SAR, was the fourescore and two yeere of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is L. Gauric, in an needleffe, than that note of the learned GAVRICUS, That the first of these reeres notal ad locum was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of four e hundred thirsic and eight veeres after NABONASSAR. With the observation of the Saturne, recorded by Ptolomie, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of Bunting; finding the same Planet to have beene so placed in the signe of Virgo, as the Chaldaans had observed it, in the same veere; which was from Nabonassar the fine hundred and nineteenth; from Seleucus the fourescore and two yeere; and the last of the hundred thirtie and seuenth Olympiad. These observations of the Celestial bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences 20 in Historic, and the yeeres of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of vnremembred fractions) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these yeeres of the Greekes were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainely appeares in the difference of one yeere, that is found betweene actions, related by the seucrall Authors of the two Bookes of the Machabees, who follow divers accompts. Hee that shall adhere to the time defined by Ptolomie, may apply the other supputations thereunto as being no farther from it, than a yeeres distance.

ð. VIII.

How PTOLOMIE lost all that he had wonne in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the Macedonians, by thefe that had beene Subject unto the Persian Empire. Of divers pettie enterprizes, taken in hand by ANTIGON V S and DEMETRIVS. with ill successe.



N a happy houre did Seleueus aduenture, to goe vp to Babylon, with fo few men as his friend could then well fpare: for had he staied longer 40 vpon hope of getting more Soldiers, Ptolomie could haue spared him noneat all. Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus, having lost the battaile at Gaza, received from Ptolomie all his ownegoods, his Pages, and

Servants, in free gift, and there with all a courteous message, to this effect: That no personall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which hee and his Confederates held with Antigonia; but onely termes of honour, wherein they would feeke to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of Ptolomie, did kindle in Demetrius an earnest desire of requiting him, with some as braue liberalitie. Which to effect, he gathered together so the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in Cilicia, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertising his Father of his misfortune, befought him to fend a new fupply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour loft. Antigonus, vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had said,

That the victory which Ptolomic wanne vpon a beardlesse Boy, should bee taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon defire that his sonne, whom hee tenderly loued, should amend his owne reputation. He was content to make a stand in Phrygia, Ptolome hearing of Demetrius his preparations, did neuerthelette follow his owne businesse in Calofyrus, thinking it enough, to send part of his Armie under Cilles his Lieutenant, against the commant of those, that had beene alreadic vanquished, when their forces were entire. This peraduenture would have beene sufficient : had not Cilles too much undervalued the power of fuch an Enemie. Hee thought that this yong Gallant, having lately faued his life by flight, would now be more carefull of to having a faire way at his back, than adventurous in fetting further forward, then vrgent reason should prouoke him. In this confidence he passed on without al feares as one that were already Master of the field, and should meete with none, that would iffue out of their places of strength, to make relistance. When Demetrius was

informed of this careleffe march; he tooke the lightest of his Armie, and made his iournie with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, hee came vpon Cilles vnexpected, and was on the fuddaine, without any battaile, Master of his Campe: taking him aline, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once. This exploit served not onely to repaire the credit of Demetring, which his loffeat

Gaza had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bountie of 20 Ptolomie, with equal fauor, in restoring to him Cilles, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich prefents. But neither was Ptolomie to weakned by this loffe, nor Demetrius fo emboldened by his victorie, that any matter of confequence their voon ensued. For Demetrius feared the comming of Ptolomie; and therefore hee fortified himselfe in places of advantage: Ptolomie on the other side was loth to engage himselfe in an enterprise, wherein he might perceive, that if the comming of Antigonus found him entangled, he should either bee driven to make a shamefull retrait, ora dangerous adventure of his whole chate, in hope of not much more than alreadie he possessed.

Antigonies, indeede, was nothing flow in his way towards Syria; whither hee 30 made all hafte, not so much to relieue his sonne, as to embrace him. For hee rejoyced exceedingly, that the yong man had fo well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victorie, he brought such forces, as might serve to re-conquer all Syria: meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred vnto the good foundation, layed by his fonne; whom from this time forwards, he imploied in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolomie had now leffe reason, to encounter with Antigonus, than before his comming to have affailed the Campe of Demetrius. Yet he made it a matter of confultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduited him 40 to retire into £gypt; alleaging many good arguments, to that purpose: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successe against Perdice as, in the like defentine warre. So he departed out of Syria, preserving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any fuddaine passion of seare; and hee departed at faire leifure, not onely carrying his treafures along with him, but flaying to difmantle some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countrie that hee left at his back, fell prefently to Antigonia, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: fo easie was it in those times, for the Captaine of a strong Armie, to make himselfe Lord of a great

We may jully wonder, that these Kingdomes of Syria, Media, Babylon, and manyother Nations, (which the victoric of Alexander had ouer-runne, with so hastie a course, as gaue him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not onely by himselfe, but by the Captaines of his Armie after him. The hot contentions for superioritie betweene the King of Israel, and those of Damaseus; betweene Agypt, and Babylon; Babylon, and Nineue; the Persians, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once beene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themselues to be distributed, sought for, wonne, lost, and againe recovered, by contentious Matters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appeare the more strange, if wee shall confider, how the scuerall States of Greece (many of which had never possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their Spirits to swell beyond their abilitie) did greedily embrace all occasions of libertic; and how these proud Conquerours were to glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather friends than servants, for seare of surther inconvenience.

The fourth Booke of the first part CHAP.5. S.S.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countries had alwaies beene subica vnto the rule of Kings, or pettic Lords, whom the Babylonians and Persians long fince had root ed out. & held them in such bodage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had vtterly taken from them al remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the Perlian Empire: fo that wanting within themselves all soveraignepower, or high authoritie, the life & spirit of enery Estate; they lay as dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had beene members.

Why the Persian Satrapa, or Princes of that Empire, did not when Dariss was taken from them, as the Macedonian Captaines, after the death of Alexander, flive to lay hold vpon those Provinces, which had many ages beene subject vnto them, and scarce foure yeeres in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossess them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein, who is not satisfied, may find no lesse reason to suspect the Historie, than authoritie to confirme it. For we seldome reade, that any small Kingdome, prevailing against a farre greater, hath made so entire a conquest, in the compasse of ten yeeres, as left vnto the vanquished no hope of rc- 30 concrie, nor meanes to rebell; especially when such disorders, or rather vtter confusion hath ensued, by the suric of civill warre among the Victors.

The cause why the Macedonians held so quietly the Persian Empire, is well set downe by Machianell; and concernes all other Kingdomes, that are subject vinto the like forme of Gouernement: the fumme whereof is this. Wherefocuer the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of flaues; there is the conquest easie, and soone assured: Where ancient Nobilitie is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is wonne. Examples of this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingdome of France. If any Inuader should preuaile fo farre vpon Turkie, that the great Sultan and his Children (for brethren hee 40 vieth not to suffer aliue) were taken or saine: the whole Empire would quickly bee wonne, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassass, how great focuer they may feeme, are meere flaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personall regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, where in hope of private gaine, should not countervaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwise, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though hee further got the better part of the Countrie, and were by farre the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royall bloud, there are in that Kingdome store of great men; who are mightie in their feuerall Countries, and having certaine Roy- 50 altics and Principalities of their owne; are able to raise Warre, in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobilitic, will alwaics stirre vp and inflame them, so that untill eucry one piece were wonne, and enery one (an endlesse work) of the chiefe Nobilitic,

brought under or deltroyed, the victoric were not compleat, nor well affured. It is true, that such power of the Nobilitie, doth often-times make way for an Inuader: to whom the discontentments of a few can callly make a faire entrance. But such affiliants are not fo eafily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to bee fatisfied at full in all their demands; and having what they would, they foone returne to their old ailegeance, vpon condition to keepe what they have, vnleffe they be daily hired with new rewards; wherein it is hard to pleafe one man, without offending another as good as himfelfe. The Turke, on the other fide, needes not to fear any perill, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greato tell mischiefe that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of fome frontier Towne, or the wilfull loffe of a battaile; which done, the Traitor hath fpent his sting, and must either flie to the enemie, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold, or elfe, in hope of doing fome further harme, he must aduenture to excuse himselfe vnto his Master, who seldome forgives the Captaine, that hath not thriven by desperate valour against missortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great Sultan, and so ioyning themselves vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such, as are subject vnto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth 20 leave vnto them no mean, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him assistance, if aductitie should make him stand in neede of them. For there is scarce any one among the Turkes Bassies, or prouncial! Governours, that knowes either from whence hee was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the loffe and vtter ruine of the Turkish Empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance, and it is the proper inheritance of the subiect, which is also a Kingdome vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerer, who hath no other denice painted on his Ensigne, than the picture

As is the Turkish Empire, so was the Persian, voide of libertie in the Subjects, 30 and vererly destitute of other Nobilitie, than such as depended upon meere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall bloud, and others, descended from the Princes that iouned with Darius, the Sonne of Hystaspes, in oppresfing the Magi: these were men of reputation in Persia; but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safetie in not medling with affaires of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these Persian Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Vncles, Coufin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, Their Slaves, and so did stile themselves, in speaking vnto these great Monarchs. That vpon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaues; it is easie to be discerned, in that example of crueltie, prachiled by Xerxes upon his owne brother M fiftes, which hath beene formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the Satrapa, or Governours of the Provinces, it is needleffe to cite examples, proping them to have beene meere flaves: it may fuffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuches, by whom the King was gouerned.

To this want of Nobilitie in Persia, may be added the generall want of libertie convenient among the people: a matter no lesse available, in making easie and fure the conquest of a Nation, then is the cause assigned by Machiauel. For as Afope his Asse did not care to runne from the enemies, because it was not possible, 50 that they should loade him with heavier burthens, then his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their owne Princes, are not greatly fearefull of a forraigne yoke; Nor will be hastie to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, then was that whereunto they had bee nelog

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accultomed. This was it that made the Gaseoignes beare such faithfull affection to the Kings of England; for that they governed more mildly than the French: this enlarged the Fenetian iurisdiction in Lumbardie; for the Townes that they wanne, they wanne out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: and this side cause the Macedonians, with other Nations, that had beene subject vnto the posterice of Alexanders followers, to serve the Romans patiently, it not willingly; for that by them they were cased of many burthens, which had beene imposed upon them by

their owne Kings.

So that of this tamenesse, which we finde in those that had beene subjects of the Persian Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could 10 not so callly be contained in good order by the Macedonians: for they had not indeede beene absolutely conquered by the Persian. Such were the Sogdians, Ba-Grians, and other Nations about the Caspian Sea. Such also were the Arabians bordering vpon Syria: against whom Antigonus sent part of his Armie; thinking therwith to bring them under; or rather to get a rich bootie. The Captaine that hee fent, fell vpon the Nabathaans, at such time as they were busied in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote Arabians, for Myrrhe, Frankinsenfe. and other fuch commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with fine hundred talents of filuer, and many prisoners, the Macedonians laid hold vpon: for their comming was suddaine, and vnexpected. But ere they could recouer Syria, 20 the Nabatheans ouertooke them, and finding them wearie with long marches, made Jucha flaughter, that of foure thousand foote, and sixe hundred horse, onely fiftie horseestaped. To revenge this losse, Demetrius was set out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not relifted by any Armic, but by the naturall defence of a vast Wildernesse, lacke of water, and of all things necessarie. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he loft not much honour; for they craved it, and gaue him presents. Returning from the Nabathaans, hee viewed the Lake As Chalittes, whence he conceined hope of great profit that might be raifed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandrie of his lonne, Antigonus was well pleased; and appointed mento the worke: but they were slaine by the Arabians, 20 and fo that hope vanished.

These pettie enterprises, with the ill successe accompanying them, had much impaired the good aduantage against Foloraie: when the newes of Seleucus his victories in the high Conntries, marred all together. For neither was the losse of those great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it sale to transfort the warre into the parts beyond Euphrates, whereby Syria and the lower Asia should have beene exposed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and Demetrius, with sifteene thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against Seleucus. These forces being sent away, Anusonus did nothing, and his sonne did lesse. For Seleucus was then in Media; his Licutenants about Bubylon withdrew themselves from necessitie of sight; some places 40 they fortisted and kept; Demetrius could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men then he could spare; neither did he get much; and therefore was faine to set out the brauerie of his expedicion, by burning and spoiling the Countrie; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemic, who thenceforth held it as his owne assured.

Antigorus had laid vpon his sonne a peremptorie commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seeme) that in such an vnsettled state of things, either the Warre might bee ended, by the surie of the sirst brunt; or else it would bee vaine to strive against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour, that so by length of time was like to become less terrible to the Enemie. Demetrius therefore leaving behind him sive thousand foote, and a thousand horse,

rather to make shew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himselfe, with greater forces could doe little more then nothing, for sooke the enterprise, and went backe to his Father.

#### ð. IX.

A generall peace made and broken. How all the honse of ALEXANDER was destroyed.

Hese ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselnes with vnesses stuall travaile, in seeking to get more then any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred, but meere desire of Empire had moved them to enter into the warre; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but onely a dulnessegrowing vpon the slow advancement of their several hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better

ferue to fight againe.

Besides that maine point, Of retaining the Proninces which enery one held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a salse colour, to the businesse: That the some of Alexander to peace, that gaue a faire, but a salse colour, to the businesse: That the some of Alexander by Roxane, some heef at libertie. The advancement of yong Alexander to his Fathers Kingdome, seemes to have been a matter, forceably extorted from Antigonus; in whom was discovered a purpose, to make himselfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more neerely touched Cassander. For in his custodic was the yong Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in fortanswirely to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had seen the old Queene olympias taken and murdered, that sought to have put them in possession of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and scare betweene them, rooted in these grounds, of iniuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this conclusion of peace, grew vp faster than any time before, in the heart of Cassander: who saw the Macedonians turne their fauourable expectation, towards the sonne of their later roowned King.

All this, either little concerned Antigonus; or tended greatly to his good. The yong Prince must first haue possession of Macedon: whereby Cassarder should be reduced to his poore office, of Cassarde euer a thous and men, it not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder Arideus; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne strength. He in the meane time, by his readinesses to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himself from that ill-sauoured imputation, of seeking to make himselfe Lord of all that

Alexander had gotten.

The like aduantage had he in that Article, of restoring the Greekes to their libertie. This libertie had hitherto beene the subject of much idle discourse: but it neuer tooke effect. Antigonus held scarse any Towne of theirs, Cassader occupied most of the Countrie: which if hee should set free; hee must be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the common peace.

In the meane feason, the Countries lying betweene Euphrates and the Greeke seas, so together with agreat Armie, and monie enough to entertaine a greater, might serue to hold up the credit of Antigonus, and to raise his hopes, as high as ever they had beene.

With much disaduantage doe many men contend, against one that is equal to Zzzz 2 them

Enemics.

them all in puissance, Cassanders friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe withall: for where every one mans helpe is necessarie to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are wearie. The belt was, that hee knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becomming Subjects vnto any man; much leffe to the sonne of an Astatique woman, of whom they had long since refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course, and caused both the child & his Mother to be slaine : freeing thereby himselfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessitie of yeelding vp his gouernement, which he must have done when the child had come to age, Roxane was a Ladie of fingular beautie, which was perhaps the cause, why Perdiceas delited to 10 have her fonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great Alexander. Immediatly vpon the death of Alexander, the had vsed the fauour (if it were not loue) of Perdicess, to the fatisfying of her own bloudy malice, vpon Statire, the Daughter of King Darius; whom Alexander had likewise married according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wines is held no crime. For having by a counterfait letter, in Alexanders name, gotten this poore Lady into her hands, thee did, by affistance of Perdiceas, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iust vengeance, were she and her sonne made away, in the like secret fashion; even at such time, as the necre approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, aftera 29 wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of Cassander was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing vnto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein every one perswaded himselfe of successe, that had worke enough at home) beganne to rowze themselves; as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his owne stock. Antigonus his Lieutenants were buse in Peloponness, and about Hellespont: while their Master was carefull in sollowing other, and some greater matters that were more secretly 30 to be handled. He pretended the libertie of Greece: yet did the same argument minister vnto Ptolomie, matter of quarrell, against both him and Cassander; Ptolomie complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that Antigonus had put Garrisons into some Townes, which ought, in faire dealing to be set at libertie. Vndercolour of redressing this enormitie, he sent an Armie into Cilicia, where he wan soure Townes, and soone after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his

After this, putting to Sea with a firong Fleet, hee ranne along the coast of Asia, winning many places: and in that voiage allured vnto him a nephew of Antigorius (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requitall of his services) whom finding shortly, as false to himselfe as he had beene to his owne Vnele, he was saine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the Greekes at libertic, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting Antigorius in Asia. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, He made at the last an expedition into Greece it selse: where having set free some little slands, and landed in Peloponnessus, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long desired worke, that Cratesspolis, the Widdow of Alexander, Polysserhous sonne, gave up into his hands the Townes of Sieyon and Corinih.

Prolomie had conceiued a vaine beliefe, that the Greekes emboldened by his countenance and affiftance, would all of them take heart, and rife vp in armes: where 50 by with little labour, their libertie might be gotten; and hee be acknowledged as Author of this immortall benefit. But long feruitude had wel-neere extingnished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recourt

recouer freedome, had fo tired their spirits, that they would no more stirre in purfuit thereof; but sate idly still, as withing it to fall into their mouthes.

The Lacedemonians, about these times, beganne to fortific their Towne with walls; truiting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the discipline that vpheld it were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Towne and Territorie.

The Athenians were become as humble feruants, as they had been, in times past, insolent Masters: crecting as many statuaes in honor of Demetrius Phalereus, as there were daies in the yeere. This Demetrius was now their Gouernour; and hee gouerned them with much moderation: but in spight of their hearts, as being set on uer them by Cassander. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is casse to gather, how the rest of the Countrie stood affected. Ptolomie could not get them, to set their helping hands, to their owne good; and to surnish him with the promised supplies of mome and victualls. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thrasdome; as sudging the commoditie that would arise by annexing them to his partie, a matter of mote weight, than the losse that Cassander should receive thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once Antigenus tooke the worke in hand. But when he found such difficultie in the businesse, hee changed his purpose; and renewing his former friendship with Cassander, he retained Sieyon, and Corinthin his owne possession.

Before the comming of Ptolomie into Greece, Cassader bad beene held occupied with very much worke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure vnto himselfe, the Lieutenants of Antigonus, that were in Peloponness, and about Hellespont: making his own aduantage, of their discontentments. By the like skilfull practice, Hee freed himselfe from a greater danger: and made those murders which he had committed sceme the lesse odious, by traching his enemies to doe the like. Old Possperchon, that had made so great a stirre in the raigne of Aridaus, did after the death of Roxane and her Child, enteragaine vpon the Stage: leading in his hand another some of the great Alexander,

and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this yong Prince was Hercules: hee was begotten on Barline, the Daughter of Artabazus a Persian; but had beene lesse esteemed than the sonne of Roxane, either for that his Mother was helde no better than a Concubine, or elfe perhaps, in regard of the fauour which Perdicers, and after him Olympias, did beare vnto Roxane. At this time, the death of his brother had moved such compassion. and regard of his being Alexanders only living child, had procured vnto him fuch good will, that the demand which Polyperchon made in his befalle, was deemed veryinft and honourable. There were indeede more hearts then hands, that joyned with this yong Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not beene most false. Cassander had raised an Armie, to 40 withstand his entrie into Mucedon : but little trust could hee repose in that Armie. whose wishes he perceived to be with Hercucles. Therefore hee assaied Polysperchon himselfe with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he preuailed so farre, that the old Vilaine was contented to murder his Pupill, choosing rather with many curses, and foule dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of Peloponnes and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a Noble same with dangerous trauaile, in maintaining his faith, vnto both his dead and living Soveraignes.

Antigonia had not all this while beene afteepe; though his losses were hitherto the chiefe witnesses, of his having beene a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for 50 the recoverie of those places, which Ptolomie had taken paines to winne. As for the rest, it no way grieued him, to see Cassader incurre the generall hatred of men by committing those murders, of which the profit was like to redound vnto him that was the most powerfull: or to see Polysperehon and Ptolomie sweat, in a busine warre

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again & Ciffand r. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have affoorded them leifure, and have thought the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For hee was throughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselues in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtie conceipts, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking big vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them, to renolt from him : but it was no great loffe to be for faken by those that looked with enuious eyes vpon that fortune whereon their owne should have depended. Against this enuie of his owne men, and the malice of others, Antigonus builty fought a remedie, such as was like to

to giuchim a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleapstra, Sifter unto the great Alexander, lay for the most part in Sardes; whom he had a great defire to take to wife. This his defire was not without good hope: for howlocuer thee discouered much willingnesse thereunto, yet was shee in his power and might therefore be entreated, were it onely for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpole, to get her by compulsive meanes: either because his fancie being an old man, was not ouer-violent; or rather because his ambition, wherevnto all his affections had reference, could have made finall vsc of her, by doing such apparent wrong. Shee had beene married vnto Alexander King of Epirus, atter whose death shee came to her brother in Asia; hoping, belike, to finde a new 20 husband in his Campe. But neither any of those braue Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in love with her, durft then a spire vnto her mariage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with providing her of an husband. Shee therefore, being a luftic widow, suffered her bloud, so farre to preuaile against her honour, that shee supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Parramours. Alex ander hearing of this, turned it to a ieft: faying, that shee was his sifter, and muft be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empirelay in a manner, voide, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had beene: then did many fecke to obtaine her, while she her selfe desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merric 30 life. To this purpose did shee inuite Leonatus vnto her; who made great haste; but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, shee had her choise of all the great Commanders : Antigones, Prolomie, Lysimachus, and Cassander, being all her carnest woocrs. All these (Antigonus excepted) had wives already, Ptolomic had many wives, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kinde. This hindred not his fute peraduenture it advanced it, by giving to Cleopatra, some hope of mutuall toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her selfe, and was taking her iournic from Sardes towards him; when Antigonus his Deputie in that Citic, made her to stay, vntill his Masters further pleasure should be knowne. Anti-40 gonus had now a Wolfe by the cares: he neither could well hold her, nor durft let her goe. Shee would not be his wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had beene the way by which he might have incurred agenerall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by Cassarder against Roxane (a Ladie leffe respected than Alexanders owne fifter) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wifest way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commoditie of so faire a title to the Kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Gouernour of Sardes; willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder; which women afterwards were put to death, as 50 mischieuous conspirers against the life of that good Ladie. So was Antigonus freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murther was detected, wee need not aske: for seldome

is that bloudie crime vnreuealed; and neuer foill (mothered, as when great perfons

Thus was the whole race of Philip and Alexander the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods justice, due vnto the crueltie of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, youn so wicked toundations of innocent bloud, were foone after call downe, ouer whelming themselves or their children, with the ruines, as the sequele will declare.

How. DEMETRIVS, the sonne of ANTIGONVS, gaue libertie to Athens. expelling the Garrisons of CASSANDER out of those parts. The immoderate honors decreed by the Athenians to ANTIGONVS and DEMETRIVS.

CHAP.5. S.10.

One being left alive, that had any title to the Kingdome; it flood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superior, should freely protesse themselues Kings in name, as they were alreadie in substance. Yet had this name ill beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did for beare it: nei-

ther feemed it convenient in the judgement of Antigonus, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatnesse by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plaufible enterprise, even the libertie of Greece: whereby it was apparent, that he might get fuch honour as would not onely drowne all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of royaltic, whereof in feeming modeftic, hee was not couctous. To this purpose, hee delivered a strong Ar-30 mic, with a Nauic of two hundred and fiftic faile, and five thousand talents of filuer, vnto Demetrius his sonne: willing him to beginne at Athens, and thence to proceed, in fetting all the Countrie free.

Demetrius came to Athens before he was expected: fo that without relissance he entred the Hauen; it being thought that a fleet of Ptolomie, Coffanders good friend, had beene arrived. But when it was knowne, both who he was, and what was the cause of his comming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; Demetrius Phalereus forfooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to Thebes, vnder fafe conduct; onely the Garrison in Munychia strone to make good that piece, which after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the fiege of Atunychia, Deme-49 trius went to Megara; whence he expelled the Garrison of Cassander, and so restored

the Citie to libertie. I thinke it not impertinent, fometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than meere trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly straine themselves, to the observance of general commended rules, in leffer things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Ladie Cratefipolis lay in Patras, and had a great defire to fee Demetrius; hoping, belike, that the might, by his meanes, better her estate, and recouer her Townes of Sycion and Corinth, detained by Ptolomie, to whose Lieutenant, in those places, Demetrius before his de-50 Parture out of Greece, offered monic for the furrender of them. Yet the onely buffnesse pretended was loue. He being aduertised hereof, lest his forces in the Countrie of Megara, and taking a companie of his lightest armed, for guard of his per-

fon, made a long journie to meete with her. This troupe also, hee caused to lodge a

great way from his Tent, that none might fee her when she came. As closely as the bufinesse was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might overthrow all the great preparations of Antigonie; and bring him to any termes of reason, by taking his deare some prisoner. I heir project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came fo fuddainly upon him, that hee had no better shift, than to muffle himfelte in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised; leaving them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreme difsolutenesse in wanton pleasures, and a painefull industrie in matter of warre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wir; excellent in deui- 10 fing Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, then how to rule his good. For advertitie made his valour more active: prosperitie stupissed him with an overweening, wherin he thought, that he might doe what he lifted. His fortune was as changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till shee had wound vp the threed of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at Megara; hee resolved no longer to attend the iffue of a fiege, to affaile Munychia by force, that fo hee might accomplish the libertie of Athens: which, vntill it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie. Munychia was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the 20 affault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the wals. premailed vpon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wanne the place in two daies. The walls, and all the defences of that piece against the Citic, were levelled with the ground, & so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was given their libertie, with promife to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory, gotten by Demetrius with greater skill and industrie. For the Athenians, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues : converting to base flatterie, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Ancestors had futed vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto Antigonus and Demetrius, the name of Kings; they confecrated the place, in which Demetrius leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of DEMETRIV sthe a-lighter; they called them by the Na nes of the gods their fautours, ordaining that every yeere, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embasfadors, but Theori, or Consulters with the gods; like 23 were they, whom they fent vnto the Oracle of Iupiter or Apollo.

It were a friuolous diligence, to rehearse all their flatteries; these being so grosse. Hereby they not onely corrupted the yong Prince; but made that acclamation, 40 which best would have pleased the old man, to bee of no vie. For hee could not handsomely take vpon him the name of King, as imposed by the Athenians; vnlesse hee would seeme to approve their vanitie, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was hee fo tickled, with this their fine handling him, that when their Theori, or Consulters came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with Corne, and Timber to build ships; he gaue them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weake is great power in resisting the assaults of flatterie.

The great victorie of DEMETRIVS against PTOLOMIE in Cyprus. How An-TIGONYS and DEMETRIVS tooke upon them the file of Kings; wherein others followed their example.



R om this glorious worke, Antigonus called away Demetrius, vnto a businesse of greater difficultie: meaning to imploy his service against Ptolomie in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willed to establish a generall Counsaile, that should treat of matters, concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the same time, An-

ticonus withdrew his owne Garrison out of Imbros, committing their liberty entire, into the peoples hands: whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other to oppresse the Greekes, so would he be farre from doing it himselfe. This was enough, to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased friends: it followed, that hee should convert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his

A pittifull Tragedic had lately hapned in Cyprus; through the indifcretion of Menelaus, Ptolomies brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. Nicocles, King of Pa-20 phos, was entred into some practice with Antigonus : yet not so farre that he thought himselfe past excuse; by which considence, hee was perhaps, the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, & the fulfe-hearted King of Paphos at one blow, Menelaus was fent thither: who furrounding Nicocles his house with Souldiers, required in Ptolomies name, to have him yelded to the death. Nicocles offered to cleere himselfe; but Menelaus told him, that die he must, and bade him come forth quietly. This desperate necessitie caused the vnhappie King to rid himselfe of life; and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that she not onely slew her selfe. but perswaded the wines of her husbands brethren, to doe the like. Also those brethren of Nicocles, vnto whom Ptolomie had intended no ill, being amazed with the 30 suddainenesse of this calamitie, did shut up the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

What soeuer the crime objected was; Nicooles perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answere. Of this sad accident, though Menelaus deserved the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet is it to be thought, that much dislike fell also vpon Ptolomie: as men that are grieued, cast an ill affection, euen vpon those, that gaue the farthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, Demetrius came into Cyprus, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that Ptolomie was like to make. The Cypriots did little or nothing against him: either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter 40 indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being fure that they should northemselues haue the rule of their owne Countrie. Menelans therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Ar nie, and fought with Demetrius. But hee was beaten, and driven to faue himfelfe within the walls of Salamis; where he was so hardly belieged, that without firong fuccour hee had no likelihood to make good the place, much lesse to retaine possession of the whole Iland. His greatest helpe at the present, was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could winne from him, norgood vsage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercinaries: but all their goods were in £gypt, which was enough to se keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their resolution have stood long, against theods of number, which Demetrius had of men as resolute, and again a his terrible Engines of batterie, if Prolomie had not halted to the rescue.

Ptolomie brought with him, a hundred and fortie Gallies, besides two hundred

(hips of burden, for transporting his Armie and Carriages. This fleet made a terrible shew, when it was descried a farre; though more than halfe of it, was vnfit for service, in fight at Sea. Wherfore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, Ptolomie sent vnto Demetrius, a threatning message: willing him to be gone, vnlesse he would bee ouer whelmed with multitudes, and transpled to death in a throng. But this yong Gallant repaied him with words of as much brauerie, promising to let him escape, vpon condition, that hee should withdraw his Garrisons out of Siegon and Corinth.

The fourth Booke of the first part CHAP.5. S.II.

Demetrius had no more then one hundred and eighteene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of Ptolomie; better stored, with weapons sit for 10 that service; and very well furnished with Engines in the prowes, to beat vpon the Enemie. Neuerthelesse he stood in great doubt of threescore Gallies that lay in the Hauen of Salamis. I less Menelaus with them should set vpon his back: in which case, it was likely that all should goe very ill with him. Against this mischiete, hee bestowed ten of his owne Gallies in the mouth of that Hauen, to keepe Menelaus from issuing forth, and setting his horse-men on the shore, to give what assistance

they could, he with the rest of his fleet, puts to Scaagainst Ptolomie.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with de ubtfull fuecesses. The Generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his ownesseet. Each of them prevailed against the squadron wherewith hee encountred; but the successe of Demetrius was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themselves wito speedic slight. As for Ptolomie, he was saine to leave his advancage upon the enemic in one part of the sight, that hee might relieve and animate those of his owne which needed him in another. Wherein hee found his losse over each of the such as a single street of that day; and therefore he laboured only to save himselfe, in hope of better event, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battaile no vnufuall accident; yet was the victoric greater then could have beene expected. The occasions whereof were, parily the great 30 skill in Sea-services, which the Greekes and Phenicians, that were with Demetrius, had, about those which followed Ptolomie: partly the good furniture of the Sbips, wherin consisted no lesse, than in the qualitie of those with whom they were manned. Further, were may reasonably judge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carying the strength of Ptolomies Armie, did not more encourage his owne men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight; than breede in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight, they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they should so doe; yet a multitude, prepossessed with vaine conceipts, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to thinke themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that Aevelaus issuing with his sleet out of Salamis, should charge the enemies in sterne, was viterly frustrate. Hee was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to barre up the mouth of the Hauen: which they manfully performed, as great necessitie required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in fight; especially of the affailants: whereas on the contrarie, they that finde some part of their searcs vaine, doe easily gather hopefull spirits, and conceine an opinion of their owne abilitie to doe more than they had thought upon, out of their not

fuffering the harmethat they had imagined.

What source the causes of this victoric were, the fruit was very ereat. For Ptolomie had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest 50 of his fleet was either taken, or sunk. Neither did Menelaus any longer striue against the violence of Fortune; but yeelded vp all that hee held in Cyprus, together with his Armie, consisting of twelue thousand soote, and a thousand and two hundred

horse, and those Gallies in the Hauen of Salamis. The same desection of Spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had serued the Egyptian by Land: none of them reposing any more confidence in Ptolomic, but willingly becomming followers of a new Lord, whose Armie they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the lile of Cyprus; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expe-Elation was great; especially Antigonus, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a veere, till hee were advertised of the islue. In this moode Aristodemus found him, a notable flatterer, whom Demetrius had honoured, with the Meffage of these good newes. Aristodemus had bethought himfelfe of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyfull errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; hee himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he fent immediately backe to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward, looking very fadly that no part of his tidings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arrivall (for it was not knowne where he had been) came prefently to Antigonia, who fent Messenger after Messenger, to meet him on the way, and bring speedie word how all went. But neither any answere, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could bee wonne from this de-20 mure Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and foftly forward, with a great throng at his heeles (that ferued well to fet out his Pageant) vntill he came in fight of Antigones; who could not containe himselfe, but went downe to meet him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did Aristodemus, vpon the suddaine, with a high voice falure Artigonus by the name of King; vetering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pompe, as before he had covered it with filence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to antigonus, and to his sonne Demetrius. Intigonus, in requitall of the long suspence, wherein Aristodemus had held him, said that it should also be long ere hee received his reward. But the title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did fet 30 on his head, he could not with a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his sonne.

When it was once noised abroad, that Antigonus and Demetrius called themselues Kings; it was not long cretheir sellowes were readicto sollow the good example. Provinsie his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought a man deiected for the losse of a fleet: therefore they saluted him also King. Lystamachus in Thrace had boldnesse enough, to put the Diademe about his owne head. Seleucus had, before this time, among the Barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he vsed the stile indifferently, as wellamong the Greekes and Macedonians, as in dealing with others. Onely Cassander held himselfe contented with hisowne name: whereby howsocuer he might shaddow his pride, he no way lesse to med the same of his crueltie, against his Masters house. But the name which he for bore, his sonnes, after him, were bold to vsurpe, though with ill successe, as wil appeare, when they shallenter upon the Stage; whereon these old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, beginne to play their parts, with bigger lookes, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and indgement,

than in the Scenes alreadic paft.

CHAP.

Of the warres betweene the Kings of Ægypt, Asia, Macedon, I brace, and others: untill all ALEXAN-DER'S Princes were consumed.

The Expedition of ANTIGONVS against Agypt, with ill successe.



LL the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, an imitation of Antigonus himselfe, as befeeming his greatnesse: which was such as gaue him hope to swallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne firength, hee resolued to single out Ptolomie, aud make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, 20 when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose hee prepared an Armie of eighteene thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with foure-score and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of a hundred and

fiftie Gallies, and a hundred thips of burden. The Land-forces hee commanded in

person: of the Name Demetreus was Admirall.

When all was readie for the journey, the Sea-men adulfed him to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the fetting of the Pleiades. But his hastie desire to preuent all preparations for relistance that Ptolomie should make, rejected this counsaile; imputing it rather to their feare than skill: wherefore he departed from Antigonia 30 (a Towne which he had built in Syria, and called after his owne name, that was foone changed into Sclencia, by his mortall Enemie) and came to Gaza; where hee met with his fleet. The neerer that he drew to £gypt, the more haste hee made: thinking by celeritie to prevaile more then by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie ten daies provision of victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the D. sarts, ouer which he marched with no small toile, though he met with no relissance. At Mount Cassus, which is neere adioyning to Wiles, he saw his Fleet, riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore; in ill case, and many thips wanting. It had beene forely beaten with foule weather, wherein some were loft, others driven back to G 1224, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks as they 40 could recouer. Demetrius himselfe, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it vp against the winde, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremitie, he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and Antigonus appeared in fight, from whom these ouer-wearied, thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received reliefe; After these painefull travailes there followed a Warre no lesse painefull than to little purpose; for Ptolomie had so fortified all the passages vponthe River of Nelus, as he affured himselfe either to ende the warrethere, or if his guards should happen to be forst, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakning of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) entertaine the Inuader vpon advantage enough. All that Antigonus 50 fought, was to come to blowes speedily: Ptolomie on the contrarie, to beat Antigonus by the belly. It is true that Wiles gave him water enough, but wood hee had none to warme it, and while Antigonus affaulted the Rampiers raised vpon the River in

CHAP. 6. S.Z. of the Historie of the World.

vaine, Ptolomie affaied the faith of his Souldiers with good successe, for with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them ouer so fast, as had not Antigonus thrust some assured Regiments, vpon the passages next the enemie, and in the meane while taken a resolution to returne, Ptolomie had turned him out of Agypt, ill at-

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Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those hee put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that Perdiccas had formerly done, when he inuaded Egypt: had he not readily remoued his Armie further off, from the noise of their entertainement, that had al-10 readie beene wonne from him. To preuent therefore as well the prefent danger of his stay, as the shame following a forst retrait, hee secretly practized the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burden must be laid of his entrance, and leaving

It is indeede lesse predudiciall in such like cases, that errours, dishonours, and losses, be laid on Councellours and Captaines, than on Kings, on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious. than that of a Vassall. Charles the fift, as many other Princes have done, laide the losse and dishonour hereceiued in the invasion of France, by the way of Province, to Antonie de Leua, whether iustly or no, I know not; but how soeuer all the Hi-20 storians of that time agree, that the forrow therof cost that braue Captaine his life. Certainely to give any violent aduice in doubtfull enterprises, is rather a testimonic of loue, than of wisedome, in the giver; for the ill successe is alwaies cast upon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime knowne it, that great commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, haue not only beene diffwaded, but held in a kinde by strong hand. from hazarding their owne persons, and yet have those kinde of Mutiners never beene called to a Marshalls Court.

How the Citie of Rhodes was befreged by DEMETRIVS.

ð II.



His departure of Antigonus left behinde it many dead carcasses, and a great deale of ioy in £gypt. Ptolomie held a solemne feast, and sent Messengers abroad, loaden with glad newes, to Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side with the report of this his late selicitie, though it appeared but in a

40 defendine warre. Antigonus on the contrarie flattered himselfe with another interpretation, calling the loyes of his enemies for witnesses of his owne greatnesse, seeing they arose but from so litle things: his enemies being but bare sauers by the last bargaine, and himselfe, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. How soeuer it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another fashion, for that which he could not cleaue a-funder by great blowes, he purposed by little & little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first; to fell the Tree it selfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, hee resolued (leauing the great ones to grow awhile) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates should be forst, either to relieves 50 or to loofe; and hereby he doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the aduantage of power, and of all other warlike prouisions, promised him victorie.

At this time the Cities of Rhodes was very mightie, being well gouerned, and having long held it selfe in good Neutralitie, it drew the better part of all the trade

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of those parts, and thereby a great deale of riches to it selfe, to maintaine which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed ships, by which it not only beat off all Pyrates and pettic Theeues, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought

their alliance and confederacie. In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either resuse all that sought them, and foliand friendleffe and apart, or joyne themselues to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the Agyptian: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that Antigonus his disposition, greatnes, & neighbourhood was sear- 10 full vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other pallages, more apparent; gaue argument of quarrel to Antigonus, who began to declare himselfe against them by pettic iniuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grieuances, while he made a more waightie preparation, to purfue the warre against them, openly & strongly. All things soone after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, hee employed his sonne Demetrius against them in their owne Iland, who brought fuch terrour vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their affiltance, and service against whom socuer. Demetries, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perfwaded by feare, and not by loue, raifed his demands to an intolerable height, re- 20 quiring a hundred Hostages to be deliucred him, and libertie to lodge in their Port as many ships of warre as himselfe pleased. These conditions more properly to be imposed vpon a State alreadie conquered, then on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained affistance, restored vnto the Rhodians their lost courage, and made them resolue to desend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselues fellow-slaues with them.

Demetrius having refused the faire conditions offered, (as the Rhodians the fearefull ones propounded vnto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and sinding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he fet in hand with his Engines of batte-30 rie; in the inuention and vie of which, he neuer shewed himselfe a greater Artisan, than in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the affaults given them for a whole yeere, after many brave fallies out of the Towne, and the famine which they endured within the Towne, which had proved farre more extreme, if Ptolomie had not with many hazards relieued them, Demetrius by mediation of the Grecian Embassadors, gaue ouer the siege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magi-

firates and officers of the Citie.

Hercunto Demetrius was brought by the vsuall policie of warre, and state: for while with the flowre of all his fathers forces, he lay before Rhodes, Caffander reco- 40 uered many of those places in Greece, which Demetrius had formerly taken from him, neither did Cassander make the warre as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which hee himselfeled as farre as into Attica, and therewith greatly distressed and indangered Athens it selfe. On the other fide (though with leffe successe) did Polysperchon inuade Peloponnesus. These dangerous undertakings upon Greece, aduised the Athenians and Atolians to dispatch their Embassadours towards Demetrius, and aduised Demetrius, rather to abandon the enterprise of Rhodes, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by fetting all Greece at libertie.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Iland, then that the Rodians creeked statues 50 in honour of Lysimachus, & Cassander, but for Ptolomie, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most reliefe, they co sulted with the Oracle of Iupiter, whether it were not lawfull to call him a God. The Priests which attended in the Temple

Temple of Hammon, gaue the same faire answere for Ptolomie, which they had formerly done for Alexander his Master, for as Alexander consulted the Oracle with an Armie at his heeles; fo was Ptelomie at this time Lord of the foile; and yet was this a farre more cleanly creation, than that done by the Athenians, who Deified Antigonus and Demetrius, by decree of the people. A madage it was, when so many of Alexanders Captaines could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needes be called gods.

How DEMETRIVS prevailed in Greece. C ASSANDER desires peace of ANTIGONVS, and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against ANTIGONVS.



EMETRIVS comming with a strong Fleet and Armie into Greece: quickly draue Cassander out of Attica; and pursuing his fortune, chaled him beyond the straits of Thermopyla. Herein his reputation did much auaile him; which was fo great, that fixe thousand of his ene-

mies Souldiers revolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recovered in thort space all that Cassander held in those straits, and giving libertievnto the people, he bestowed upon the Athenians those peeces, which had beene fortified against them, to blocke them up. Then went he into Peloponnesus, where he found the like, or more casie successe: for hee suddainely tooke Argos, Corinth, Sicyon, and the most of the Countrie, bestowing libertie vpon such as needed it. The Towne of Sugar hee translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old feat into another place, and called it after his own name Demetrias. This done, he betook himselse to his pleasure: At the Ishmian games, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of Greece, as Philip and A-20 lexander had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as Alexander) he despised all others, making it a matter of iest, that any, sauchimfelle or his father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behauiour hee was so farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, hee deserued none other name then of a drunken Palliard. Yet were the Athenians as readic as ever to devile new honours for him: among which they made one decree, that what focuer King Demetrius should command, ought to bee held facred with the gods, and just with

All Greece being now at the disposition of Antigonus, Cassander stood in great feare, left the warre should fall heavily vpon him in Macedon: which to avoide, he 40 knew no better way, then to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose hee sent Embassadors; but had no better answere from Antigonus, then that he should sub nit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in folliciting his friends, both to affift him, and take heede to themselves; neither found hee them slow in apprehending the common Danger: for Lysimachus knew, that if once Cassander had lost Macedon; Denetrius would soone be Master of Thrace. Neither were Piolomie and Seleucus ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if Antigenus were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Provinces in Europe. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joynt forces they should all together set upon the common E-70 nemie.

Hereof Antigonus had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saving, That hee would as easily scatter them, as a flocke of Birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceipts hee pleased himselfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of Antigonia (a name Aaaaa 2

that it must shortly loose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glorie. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of Lysimachus his victories about Hellespont. For Cassander had committed vnto Lysimachus part of his forces, where with to passe our into A-sia, while himself with the rest should oppose Demetrius on Europe lide. So Lysimachus passing the Hellespont, beganne to make hot warre vpon the subicess of Antigonus; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to some with him, by faire meanes; winning others by force, and wasting the Countrier ound about.

To represse this vnexpected boldnesse, Antigonus made hastie iournies, and came soone enough to recouer his losses, but not strong enough to drive Lysimachus 10 home, or compell him to come to battaile. Lysimachus waited for the comming of seleucus, keeping himselse the whilest from necessitie of fighting. But Babylon was farre off; and seleucus his preparations were too great to be soone in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his iourney: which inforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrellin open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not Antigonus beene so froward, that hee resuled to yeelde vnto any peaceable conditions. At length Seleucus drew neere with a mighty Armie of his owne (for hee had gathered strength in that long time of leisure, which Antigonus had given him) and with great 20 aide from Ptolomie, that was ioyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, Demetrius was called ouer into Asia by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeied Before his departrue out of Greece, he made peace with Cassander, upon reasonable termes to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Armie for defence of the Countrie; and that his iournie might bee without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of Greece should be at libertie. Cassander was glad to be so rid of an Enemy, that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise then they did in Asia; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto Antigonus. It 30 sufficed, that for the present, every one found meanes to cleare himselfe of all incumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each might freely apply himselfe to the triall of the maine controversie in Asia.

# d. IIII.

How Antigonvs was flaine in a great battaile at Ipfus, neere unto Ephefus; wherein his whole estate was lost.

pounded a great Armie, which was (all confidered) not inferiour to that of the Enemie. In greatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the Ciuill) they were rather vnanswerable, than equall to their aduersaries: for Antigonus had of long time kept them with a massering spirit, and had beene reputed a King indeede, when the rest were held but Vsurpers of the title. Likewise Demetrius was generally acknowledged a brane Commander, hauing given proofe of his worth in many great services of all kinds, and inriched the Art of war with many inventions, which even his enemies, & particularly Lyssmathus, did much admire. Seleucus, who had sometimes flattered Antigonus, and fearfully stolen away from him to save his life; with yong Antiechus, a Prince not heard of before this iournie; and Lyssmathus, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde Thracians; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their opposites: yet so, that as

ancient Captaines under Philip and Alexander, two of them were held worthee enough, to receive any benefit that fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for themost part hardie and well exercised: many of them having served vnder \*\*lexander\*; though of those old Companies; the long space of two and twentie yeeres had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections; the followers of \*Selencus\* were easily perswaded, that in this battaile they must either get the vpper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged vnto the Consederate Princes: whereas \*Antigonus\* his men could discorne no other necessitie of sighting, than the obstinate qualitie of their Lord, that needes would be Master of all. \*Antigonus\* had about three-score and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three-score and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were fixe thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the ods of sine hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and a hundred and twentie armed Chariots of warre; which helps, though they little had availed the \*Persans\*; yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the vnexpested greatnesse of his enemies forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew very pensue, communing much in private with his sonne whom he commended to the Armie as his Successes for whereas in former times he had never been so iocund; as towards the houre of battaile, nor had been accustomed to make his sonne, or any other, privie to his counsaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards devised, I hold it needlesses to recount: Diana of Ephesus dwelt neere to the place of battaile, a busic Goddesse in many great fights, and therefore likely to have been thrust into the sable, if any matter, neerly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to be lecue, that the set wo so gallant Armies, containing well-neere all the strength of Alexanders whole Empire, performed a notable sight, being led by such worthic Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are sew of the particulars recorded: an easie losse in regard of the much variety, where with enery storie aboundeth in this kinde. The most memorable things in the battaile, were these: Demetrius with his best force of horse, charged valiantly vono yong Antiochus; whom when hee had broken, and put to slight, hee was so transported with the heat of his good successe, that he neuer gaue ouer his pussifit, but less his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victoric. For when Seleucus; perceived this advantage, he enterposed his Elephants, between Demetrius and the Phalanx of Antigonus: and with many troups of horse offering to breake vponthe enemies battaile, wheresoeuer it lay most open, he did so terrisie the Antigonians, that a great part of them rather chose to revolt from their Lord, whilst they were fairely invited, than to sustaine the furic of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all in the same streams.

cowardize or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into slight; exposing their Generall to the last end of his destinies. Antisonus was then soure-score yeeres old, very fat and vnweildy, so that he was vnapt for slight, if his high spirit could haue entertained any thought thereof. Hee had about him some of his most trustie followers, and as many others as hee could hold together. When one that perceived a great troupe making towards his person told him, Sir King, yonder companie meanes to charge you; he answered, Well may they; for who defends me? but anon DEMETRIVS will relieve vs. Thus expecting, to the very last, to that his some should come to the rescue, he received so many Darts into his body, 30 astooke away his lately ambitious, but then searcfull hopes, together with his trouble some life.

His great abilitic in matter of Armes, together with his vnsatiable desire of Empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his action. Hee was more teared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate

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his fortune, but vsed insolence towards all alike, as if it had beene some vertue neerestrepresenting a Kingly Maiestie. This was the cause that so many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Armie for soke him in his last necessitie. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indenours of their Vassalls, onely dutie and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest services: shall finde themselves upon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is loue only that staies by adversitie) not only the most friendlesse, but euen the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This Antique nus found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified vpon his fon.

d. V.

How DEMETRIVS for Jaken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to SELEVCUS and PTOLOMIE, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entring into new quarrells.



Or Demetrius, at his returne, from the idle pursuit of yong Antiochus. finding all quite loft, was glad to faue himselfe, with foure thousand horse and flue thousand soot, by a speedy retrait vnto Ephesus, whence 20 here made great haste towards Athens, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whiles he was in the middest of his would suffer any extremity. But whilest he was in the middest of his

course thither, the Athenian Embassadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their Citic. These were Embassadours, not Theori, or Consulters with the Oracle. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the Athenians, to reward their Benefactor, in his miscrie, with such a decree : neither did any part of his calamitie more afflict the vnfortunate Prince, than to see his adversitie despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he faine to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Hauen, of which he now flood in great neede, and therefore was faine to speake them faire, 30 that fometimes had grofly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old language, and speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he failed to the 15thmus, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrifons were every where broken vp; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Armie and Fleet, without monie or meanes wherewith to sustaine him and his followers any long time. All the rest or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relicue, for to put himselse into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power, and to inclose him- 40 selfe in any of them, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to buric himselfe and his estate: Hee therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briers, fell vpon a corner of Lysimachus his Kingdome, whereof he gaue all the spoile, that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses having beene too great to be repaied againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Gonfederate Princes had where withall to busie themfelues, in the partition of those Prouinces, of which their late victoric had made them Lords, wherein Seleucus had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field, for neither Ptolomie, nor Cassander were at the ouerthrow given, having only sent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Armie which Seleucus led, who so tooke hold of a part of Asia the lesse and all Syria, being no otherwise denided from his owne Territorie, than by the River of Euphrates. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect fo prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made onely in

their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for Seleuens, to make the best benefit that he could of the victory, at which, neuertheleffe others did repine, and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet feeing the ouer-greatnesse of Seleneus brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of Antigonus had done, they consulted upon the same reason of flate as before, how to oppole it in time. Neither was Seleucus ignorant of what they had determined, for he read it in the Law vniuerfall of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendship on all sides, and cure themselues of all unprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues 10 being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so farre too light, as Seleucus, who had to day flaine Antigonus the father, and driven Demetrius the sonne out of Asia, sought to morrow how to match himselfe with Stratonica, Demetrius his daughter, and so by Demetrius to serue his turne against Lysimachus.

The storie of this Stratonica, with whom young Antiochus, the sonne of Selencus fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as Seleucus his father, to save his fonnes life, gaue her (though the were his wife) vnto him, and how his paffion was discoucred by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this aliance betweene Seleucus and Demetrius; betweene Ptolomie and Lysimachus; betweene Demetrius and Cassander; betweene Demetrius and Piolomie; though for the 20 present it brought him againe into the rancke of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betweene Christian Kings have done in later times namely betweene the Austrians, the Aragonians, the French, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those elder times beene found more faithfull then those of the same later times have beene; as in the stories of Charles the eighth of France, and of Charles the Emperour, of Francis the first, and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Millan and others, the Reader may observe: betweene whom from the yeere of our Lord, One thousand, foure hundred, ninetie and fine, when Charles the eighth vndertooke the Conquest of Naples, to the yeere one thousand fine hundred filtic and eight, when Henrie the second died, the Histories of those times tell vs, 20 that all the bonds, either by the bed or by the booke, either by weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did Demetrius reape this profit by giving his daughter to his enemie Seleveus, that he recovered Cilicia from Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander; who had gotten it as his share in the division of Antigonus his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to holde it by his proper forces from him, that entred vpon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would Seleucus lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacie he should have done against the common enemie. So Plistarchus with very angry complaint. as well against Seleucus as Demetrius, went vnto Caffander; whither Phila, their fister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that 40 purpose by Demetrius her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with Case fander, and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of aliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperitie, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the fame time he tooke to wife a daughter of Ptolomie (pluralitie of wines being familiar with these Macedonians, that had learned it in their Easterne conquests) and so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, then strengthened with two friends, for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise then might seeme to aduance their owne ambitious desires.

Seleucus and Ptolomie could both of them have beene contented better, that Demetrius, with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune som what farther 50 off, than settle his estate under their noses. Particularly, Selevens thought that Cilicia lay very fitly for himselfe; and Ptolomie had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of Cyprus. Now whether it were so, that Seleucus would faine haue fet his new father in law vpon the neck of Lysimachus; or whether hee were indeede greedie of the bargaine, he offered to buy of Demetrius for ready monie,

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his late purchase of Cilicia. Hercunto Demetrius would not harken, but meant to keepe as much Land as hee could, having already found in Cilicia twelve thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serue him to make sport a while. This refusall so displeased Seleucus, that in angrie termes he demanded the Citic of Tyre and Sidon, to bee furrendred vnto him; which were the only places in Syria, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. In flead of giving them vp. Demetrius tooke present order to have them better manned; and spake it stoutly, That were hee ouer-come a thousand times, yet would hee not hire Seleucus to become his fonne in law. In this quarrell Seleucus was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his father-in-law for 10 two Townes, from whom he had already taken more then well hee knew how to governe. But the fire confumed it felfe in words, which had it falined vpon armes, like it is that the weaker should have found friends out of envie to the stronger.

#### d. VI.

How DEMETRIVS wanne the Citie of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Alia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of CASSANDER.

ON the meane while, the Athenians not knowing how to vie the liber-Tie, which Demetrius had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, vnder the tyrannie of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their distribution of the flempered Citic was so weakned, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their lateingratitude. This advantage haste-

ned him, whom they had once called their God and Sautour, to prefent himselfe vnto them, in the habit of a revenging furic. Hee brought against them all the force that he could wel spare from other emploiments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were vnwilling to giue impedi- 30 ment to any businesse, that might entangle him in Greece. His first enterprise in Athens had ill successe; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in Peloponnesus, where hee wanne diuers Townes that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the Countrie of Attica, and cut offall reliefe from the Citic, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feede the great multitude within it, any long time; for it stood in a barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Hands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victualls; being also destitute of meanes to keepe such a Nauie, as might bring in supply, or dare to doe any thing at Sca, against that of Demetrius. Yet was there some hope of succour from Ptolomie, 40 who (trusting thereby to winne the loue of Greece) had loaden a hundred and fiftie fhips with corne, and fent them to relecue the hungrie Citie. But these hundred and fiftie were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which Demetrius had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore halted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come so necre, that they might be discried. This brake the heart of the people; among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Sonne did fight for a dead Moule, which dropped downe betweene them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embasfadours to yeeld up the Towne, and craue pardon, having so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. 50 Yet were they faine to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to doe, then because they hoped to be forgiuen.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victoric, did not only forbeare to take away the lives of these vnthankefull men; which they had submitted vnto his

mercie; but out of his liberalitie gaue them foode, and placed in Office among it them such as were most acceptable to the people. Neuerthelesse hee was growne wifer then to trust them so farre as he had done in times past. And therefore, when Camong other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, and difpose of them at his pleasure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a fore Garrison within their walls, to keepe them honest perforce. After this he went into Peloponnesus, vanquished the Lacedemonians in two battailes, and was in very faire possibilitie to take their citie: when the dangerous news called him in all haste. of Lylimachus and Piolomie; that prevailed faster vpon him elsewhere, than himselfe 10 did voon his enemies in Greece. Lysimachus had wonne many Townes in Asia; Ptolomie had gotten all the Isle of Cyprus, except the Citie of Salamis, wherein Demetrius had left his Children & Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilest he was bethinking bimselfe which way to turne his forces, a notable piece of businesse offered it selfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Callander was lately dead in Macedon, and soone after him, Philip his eldest sonne; whose two yonger brethren, Antipater and Alexander, sought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell The flatonica the Daughter of King Philip, whom Caffander had married, seemed better affected to Alexander, then to her elder sonne: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousnesse 20 of this fact gaue a faire lustre to Alexanders cause: drawing the generalitie of the Matedons to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queenes death, vpon that wicked parricide Antipater. But Antipater was so strongly backed by Lysimachus, whose Daughter he had married; that Alexander could not hope to make his party good withour some forraigne aide. For which cause he called in both Pyrrhus and Demetrius; who how they dealt with him, it will foone appeare, in the following Tragedie, of him and his brother. Their Father Cassander had beene one that shifted well for himfelte, at such time as every man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered diuision of the Empire. Hee was cunning in practize, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing then were his Companions, but with all more impudent, rudely 30 killing those, whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memorie of Alexander, that had knocked his head against a wall, vpon some opinion of contempt. With Olympias he had an hereditarie quarrell, derived from his Father, whom thee could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by crueltie, that shee vsed against his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure vpon shedding the Royall bloud; wherewith, when once hee had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. Hiscarefulnesse to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindred his purpose, argues him to have beene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: fuch crueltie being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a farre off the dan-40 gers, that may quietly passe away: and seekes to avoide them by base and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it selfe safe enough, untill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of Olympias and Roxane it may bee faid, that they had well descrued the bloudy end which over tookethem; yet ill beseemed it Cassander to doe the office of a Hang-man. But Alexanders children had by no law of men deserued, to die for the tyrannie of their Father. Wherefore, though Cassander died in his bed, yet the divine Iustice brought swords upon his wife and children, that well reuenged the crueltie of this bloudy man, by deftroying his whole houle, as he had done his Mafters.

O/PYRRHUS and his doings in Macedon. The death of CASSANDERS children. DEMETRIVS gets the Kingdome of Macedon; prenailes in warres against the Greeks: Loofethreputation in his warre against PYRRHVs, and in his Citill Couerne. ment, and prepares to win Afia. How all conspire against DEMETRIVS. PYRRHVS and LYSIMACHVS inuade him, his Armie yeelds to PYRRHVS, who shares the Kingdome of Macedon with LYSIMACHVS.



YRRHVS, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince £acides, which perished in warre against Cassander, was hardly preserved, being a sucking Insant, from the surie of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conveighed him to Glaucias, King of Illyria; the deadly hattered of Cassander would have bought his life with the price of two

hundred talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire. Glaucias was so far from betraying Pyrrhus, that hee restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeeres of age. Within the compasse of fixe yeeres, either the indifcretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went hee to Demetrius (who married his fister) became his Page; followed him awhile in his wars; 29 was with him in the great battaile of Ipfus, whence hee fled with him to Ephelus; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with Ptolomie. In Egypt he so behaued himselfe, that he got the fauour of Berenice, Ptelomies principall wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with monie and men, into Epirus; more beholding now to Ptolomie, than to Demetrius. When he had fully recourred the Kingdome of Epirus, and was settled in it, then fell out that businesse betweene the children of Cassander, which drew both him and Demetrius into Macedon.

Antipater, the elder of Cassanders sonnes, was so farre too weake for Pyrrhus, that hee had no desire to attend the comming of Demetrius, but made an hastic agree- 30 ment, and divided the Kingdome with his yonger brother Alexander; who likewife felt the aide of Pyrrhus fo troublesome, that he was more willing to fend him away, than to call in such another helper. For Pyrrhus had the audacitie to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, Ambracia, Acarnania, and much more of the Countrie, as the reward of his paines: leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessitie enforced the brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie Demetrius, who tooke the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a foole, to come so farre with an Armie, and finde no worke for it. This was a friuolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that Demetrius had a purpose to doe as Pyrrhus had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to Alexander a wise course, to remove this overdiligent friend, by murdering him vpon some advantage. Thus Demetrius reported the storie, and it might bee true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wifest, beleeved it not. But the iffue was, that Alexander himselfe was seasted and slaine by Demetrius; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; exculing the fact fo well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughtie man Cassander had been, that all the Macedonians grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time Lysimachus was busied in warre with a King of the wilde Thracians: for thereby he was compelled to seeke peace of co Demetrius, which to obtaine, he caused the remainder of Macedon to bee given vp; that is, the part belonging to Antipater, his sonne in law. At this ill bargaine Antipater grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it; yet stil he stormed; vntill his Father in law, to faue the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his

troublesome life. Thus in haste, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to avoide molestation, were slaine the children of Cassander: or Cassander that had slaine his owne Masters children, in a wife course of policie, with careful meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to creet his owne house, that fell downe vpon his graue, ere the earth on it was throughly fetled.

It might be thought, that fuch an accesse of Dominion, added much to the greatnesse of Demetrius. But indeede it shewed his infirmitie; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of civill Governement: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the vie and fruit of to a Kingdome, to be none other, than to doe what a King lifted. He gaue himfelfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those that offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing justice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxuric his nature. By long rest (as fixe yeeres raigne is long to him, that knowes not how to raigne one yeere) he discouered so much of his worst condition, as made both the people wearie of his idlenesse; and the Souldiers, of his vanitie. He was freed from care of matters in Asia, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that Ptolomie had with great honor, entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This affoorded him the better leifure, of making warre in Greece : where 20 hevanquished the Thebans, and wonne their Citie twice in short space, but vsed his victorie with mercie. Against Lysimachus he would faine haue done somewhat (the peace betweene them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the Thracians; but Lysimachus was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere Demetrius came; so as this iourney purchased nothing but enmitie. Another expedition he tooke in hand against Pyrrhus, with no better, or rather with worse cuent. Pyrhus held somewhat belonging to Macedon; which hee had indeede as honefly gotten, as Demetrius the whole Kingdome; he had also made excursions into Thef-Talie. But there needed not any hand some pretence of quarrell, seeing Demetrius thought himselfe strong enough, to ouer-runne his enemies Countrie, with two 20 great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have knowne raw Nouices in that facultic, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinarie. Pyrrhus was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great Hannibal, placed higher in the ranke of Generalls, than either Demetrius, or any of Alexanders followers. At this time, he missed that part of the Armie, which Demetrius led, and fell vpon the other halfe: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, thewed in fingle combat against Pantauchus, Demetrius his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of body, challenged this yong Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vtterly beaten. The loffe of this battaile did not so much offend the Macedonians, as the gallant be-40 hauiour of Pyrrhus delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of Alexander in his best qualitie. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of Alexanders graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (faid they) none, faue Pyrrhus, is like him indeede, in performing the office of a

These rumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the Epirot, than by diflike of their owne King; whom they began to difference, not so much in regard of his ynprofitable iourney into Epirus (for he had wasted much of the Countrie, and brought home his Armie in good case ) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparell scemed, in the eyes of the Macedons, not 50 only too fumptuous and new-fangled, but very vnmanly; and feruing chiefly to be a daily witnesse, how much be contemned them and their good opinion. Of his

Souldiers lives he was rechleffe, and fuffered vnwisely this vn-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. Hee madea mockerie of inftice; and (asit were, to publish vnto all his Subjects, how

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little he esteemed it or them) having by a shew of popularitie invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poore surers after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, hee threw all their writings into the River; pleasing himselfe, in that hee could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that Pyrrhus gathered audacitie, and invading Macedon, had almost wonne it all with little resistance. Demetrius lay then sicke in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great oddes of strength, as made Pyrrhus glad to for sake his winnings and be gone.

At length he beganne to have some feeling of the generall hate; which to redresse, he did not (for he could not)alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on worke in such an action, wherein
his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great warre. His intent was to invade

Assa, with a Royall Armic: wherein the fortune of one battaile might give him as
much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, hee first made
peace with Pyrrhus; that so hee might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did
he compose a mighty Armie, of almost a hundred thousand soot, and twelve thousand horse: with a Nauie of sine hundred saile, wherein were many ships, sarre exceeding the greatnesse of any that had beene seene before; yet so swift and vsefull
withall, that the greatnesse was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made Seleucus and Ptolomie suspect their owne forces, and labour hard with Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, to joyne against this ambitious sonne of Antigonus; that was like to proue more dangerous to them all, than euer was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if Demetrius once preuailed in Asia, there could be no securitie for his friends in Europe; what league source were of old concluded. Therefore they resoluted to beginne with him betimes, and each to inuade that quarter of Macedon, that lay next his owne Kingdome. Lysimachus came first, and against him went Demetrius with a great part of his Armie: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Campe, that Pyrrhus had won Berrhaa. The matter was not ouer-great: were it not, that mindes prepared with 30 long discontent, are ready to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the camp was in vp-rore: some wept, others raged, sew or none did sorbeare to vtter seditious words, and many desired leaue of Demetrius, to goe to their owne houses, meaning indeede to have gone to Lysimachus.

When Demetrius perceived the bad affection of his Armie, hee thought it the wifest way, to lead the Macedonians further off from Lysimachus their owne Countrieman, against Pyrrbus that was a stranger: hoping by victorie against the Epirot, to recouer the loue of his followers, in such fort that hee might afterwards at leisure deale with the other. But herein his wisedome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hastie as he, to meet with Pyrrhus; not intending to hurt him, but longing 40 to fee that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armor, and other tokens whereby hee might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his creft. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ranne ouer into Pyrrhus his campe; where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the Macedonians might once get fight of Pyrrhus, they would all falute him King. To trie this, Pyrrhus rode forth, and presented himselfe bareheadedin view of the camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcom. The newes of his arrivall found a generall applause, and every one began to looke 50 out, with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well knowne as his helmet; therefore hee was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their service; neither were there any that spake for Demetrius; only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes; and shift for

himselfe. So Demetrius threw aside his maskers habit, and attiring himselfe poorly, did searefully steale away out of his owne Campe: descruing well this calamitie, whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsaile of his friends, or whether his behauiour depriued him of such friends, as would dare to let him heare the vnpleasant sound of necessaries truth.

CHAP.6. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

Whilest Pyrrhus was making this triumphant entric into the Kingdome of Macedon; Lysimachus came vpon him very vnscasonably, and would needs have halter saying, that he had done as much as Pyrrhus in the warre, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gaines. The bargaine was quickly made, and the duito son agreed vpon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quictly, than to sight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, ypon better oportunitie.

### VIII.

How DEMETRIVS gathering forces, enterprifed many things with ill fuccesse, in Greece and Asia. How he was driven upon SELEVCVS, and compelled to yeeld himselfe. His imprisonment and death.

as they had beene in former times. For they presently torsooke his friendship, and called Pyrrbus out of Accedon to be their Patron.

Demetrius, when he went against Lysimachus, had left a great part of his forces in Greece, vnder his sonne Antigonus. Therfore it is like, that he had soone gotten an Armie; though Phila his wife (who is highly commended for a wise and vertuous Ladie) did poison her selfe, vpon desperate griefe of his missorume. The first, vpon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the Athenians, that had well deserved it. Hee beganne to lay siege to their Towne: but was pacified by Crates the Philosopher, whom they made their spokesman; and taking faire words instead of satisfaction, passed ouer into Asia, with eleven thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against Lysimachus, for the Provinces of Lysia and Caria.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yeelded to his obedience. There were also some Captaines, that fell from Lysimachus to him, with their companies, and treasures. But it was not long, ere Agathoeles the sonne of Lysimachus, came vpon him, with an Armic so strong, that it was not for Demetrius his good, to hazard his last stocke against it. Wherefore, he resoluted, to passe through Phrygia and Armenia, into Media, and the Provinces of the higher Asia; trusting to finde a 40 Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuously impeached by Agithoeles: who pursued him close, and cut offall his prouisions, driving him to take which waies he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes, Demetrius vanquished this troublesome enemie: neuerthelesse, hee could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titularie King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the River Lycus, so many of Demetrius his men were loft, that the rest could no longer make resistance : but were driven to travaile with fuch speede, as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Captaine, escaped into 50 Cilicia. Seleucus had gotten possession of Cilicia, whilest Demetrius was occupied in Greece: yet was it no part of Demetrius his errand, to lay claime to the Countrie; but with vehement and humble letters he befought his fonne in law, to call to minde their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These letters at the first wrought wel with Seleucus, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how Bbbbb

CHAP. 7. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Demetrius had carried himfelte, when he recoursed firength after the battaile at Ip.

(111), he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Armie.

Many treaties were held betweene them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealoufie of Seleucus. Therefore, meere desperation enforced Demetrius, to fight like a mad man; and his furie got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sicknesse tooke and held him fortie dayes, in which time, a great number of his tew men, ranne to the enemie. This notwith standing heef still held out, and once had like to have taken Seleucus in his bed, had not his comming been discoursed by fugitives, that gave the alarme. Finally, when all his Armie had for saken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himselfe, hee was compelled to by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few for sooke him) to yee:d ynto Seleucus.

Scleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad and fent him very comfortable meffages. But the approbation of his owne humanitie, by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting Demetrius to his presence, though otherwise he vsed him with as much fauor, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vnder surguard in a demie iland, wherein were goodly walks, Ochards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked roially, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his libertie was reserved vnto the comming of yong Antiochus and Stratonica, out of the high Countries. In this 20 fort he spent three yeres, living merrily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happinesse, which with so much travaile and bloud-shed, he had sought in vaine) and then died, leaving to his sonne Antigonus, the same which his father had lest vnto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His asserted honourably buried in Corinth; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places convenient.

# Q. IX.

The death of P tolomie, of L ysimac Hvs, and of Selevevs, that was last of A lexanders Captaines: with other occurrences.



Bout the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolomie* King of Ægypt; a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (whichin those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. Hee had, by many Wiues and Concubines, many children, out of whom

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he selected Ptolomie Philadelphus, and caused him to raigne together with himselfe, two or three yeares before he died, that so he might confirme him 40 in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, Ptolomie Ceraumus (for all of that house assumed the name of Ptolomie) was grieuously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to Seleucus, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of Aexanders Captaines lest, Seleucus and Lysin achus. These two needes would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave Companie. The true ground of their quarrell was, their near equalitie of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which Lysinachus had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poisoning Agathoeles his eldest sonne: whose wife and children fled unto Seleucus soraide.

The Muccdons after seuen Moneths pause, having spent their first heat of admiration, beganne to hearken so well to Lysimachus, their natural Countrie-man, that they for sooke Pyrrhus, upon none other ground than because hee was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, which they lightly gaue him. Lysimachus had raigned

about fine yeares alone, when the Citie of Lysimachia (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by cuents, to have foreshewed the fall of his house. His owne icalousie, and the instigation of a mother in law, caused him to poison his Sonne Agatheeles, which drew upon him that warre, wherein (after the losse of all his fifteene children, that were taken away by divers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountred by Lysimachus on Asia side, where one battaile concluded the warre, with Lysimachus his death. It pleased Seleucus more than the victorie. that he was the last of all the great Heroes which had followed Alexander. For now to be feemed to himselfe, as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So he passed ouer into Macedon, to take possession of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his daies, and within seuen moneths followed Lysimachus, and other of his fellows, by a bloudie death; being treacherously slaine by Ptolomie Ceraunus, whose friend and Patron he had beene. Seuentie and seuen yeare old he was, when hee fought with Lysimachus, and Lysimachus was seuentie and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had scene the daies, as it were of another world vnder the Persian: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of warre; even Pyrrhus the Epirot, of whom we fpake before that is now readie to enter into warre with the Romans, a more warlike people, than 20 Alexander himselfe euer did encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a storic more important, than any likely to ensue in Greece, or in the great Kingdomes, that were held by Alexanders Succeffors, with leffe (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

# CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome: and setling of the Easterne Kingdomes.

ò. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of T vllvs

Hostilivs, unto fuch time at they were affailed by

PYRRHVS.



Ow Rome was founded by Romilus; setled in good order by Numa Pompilius; and by many, though small victories, it pathered strength; vitto sich time as it became the stead of Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the raighe of Tulus Hostilus; it hath been alreadie noted, in the order of time. But whereas now the Roman greathesse, beginness to checounted the power of Greece; and extending it selfse out of thate; to outer whelme the Dominions of other States and Printess: I hold the bourning it safe like cases thate done) briefly to set downe the growth of this migh-

tie Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not have been delivered in the ages, wherein they were leverally performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

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After the death of Tullus Hostslius (who when hee had raigned two and thirtie yeares, was burnt together with his house by lightning ) Ancus Martius, Grandchild to Numa Fompilius by his daughter, and not much valike him in disposition. fucceeded in the Kingdome of Rome. He walled the Citie about; enlarged it with the hill Auentine, which hee enclosed; built a bridge ouer Tybru, and the Citic of Ostia vpon the Sea, fixteene miles distant from Rome. Finally, having raigned foure and twentie yeares, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one Lucumon, the sonne of Damaratus a Corinthian, who avoiding Cypfelus King of Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, and dwelt in Tarquing, by the name of which Towne hee was afterwards called Tarquinias. From that Citie in Hetruria 10 comming to Rome, and encouraged by some ominous occurents, together with his wife Tanaquils prophecie, hee grew a fauorite of Ancus Martius; by his Gracian wit humoring the factions of the Roman Court, in so much that after his Lecease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Gouernour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centuries of Horse-men:neither was he leste eminent in warre, than in peace: for he prevailed often against the Tuscans, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this Lucius Tarquinius had raigned eight and thirtie yeares, he was slaine by the sonnes of Ancus Martius, to whom he had been left Guardian. But Tauaquil his wife, perceiping what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, 20 that her Husband was wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the interim of his ficknes, one Seruius Tullius, whom from his birth she alwaies prophecied to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of P. Corniculanus and Ocrifia, a well descended, but captine woman) brought vp in her house, and hufband vnto her daughter, should supplie her husbands place, in gouerning the State, vntill his reconerie: which gouernment, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignitics, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the King- 30 dome in as good fort, as if it had beene a private household, Atlength, having two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding also that the two sonnes of Tarquinius Priscus, Sextus and Aruus. which had been committed to his tuition, were of different dispositions, proprotionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oile, to fire) gaue the milde daughter to Sextus the hot-headed sonne; and the violent, to Aruns, the gentle, in mariage. But whether by inteded courses, or by accident, it happened: the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily ioyned in marriage: who foone concurring, and calling the Senate together, beganneto lay claime to the Kingdome. Vponthis tumult, Servius Tullius hasting to the Senate, 49 (where he thought by authoritic to have bridled infolencie) was throwne downe the staires, and going home fore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had raigned fortie and foure yeare. Then Tullia his daughter, first proclaiming her husband Tarquinius Superbus King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to drive his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This Tarquine, exercising crueltie without justice, and tyrannie without mercie, vpon the people and Senators; having tired himselfe and them at home, vied the same rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke Ocriculum, Suessa Pometia, and the Gabij. The issue of besieging Ardea, a towne eighteene miles distant from Rome, was of bad successe. In the heate of which warre, his sonne Sextus Tar- 50 quinius violently rauished that chaste Ladie Lucretia, his kinsman Collatines wise: who in way of expiation for so vnchastea deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamie with her owne bloud; so (having first bequeathed the renenge unto her father Sp. Lucretins Tricipitions, her husband Collatine, and Iunius Brutus)

the killed her felfe: whereupon (chiefly by *Iunius Brutus* his refolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depoted and banished; and fled to *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria* for succour, in the flue and twentieth years of his raigne, and the two hundred fortie and fourth from the building of their Citie: in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten full possession of fifteene miles round about her.

Iunius Brutus by the helpe of Collatine, having expelled Tarquine, and freed his Countrey from that heavie yoake of bondage, inforced the people by folemne oath neuer to admit any gouernment by Kings amongst them : whereupon they to ranfacked their Kings goods, confecrated their fields to Mars, and conferred the gouernment of the State vpon Brutus and Collatine. But because the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their gouernment, from perpetualito annuall, and from a fingle gouernour to a double; lest perpetuali or sole dominion might be some motiue to vsurpation; and in stead of Kings they called them Confuls, fignifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwaies mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard setling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne securitie, enforced Tarquinius Collatine to refigne vp-his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie 20 would be hereditarie, and supposing that the very name & affinity with the house of Tarquin, fauoured alreadie of their condition. In his roome was substituted Valerius Publicola, who that he might (as his name reporteth) be gratious in the peoples cies, gaue liberty, in matters of controuersie, to appeale from the Consuls to the people; and that he might as well in goods as in person, auoyde occasion of suspition, caused his owne house to be pulled downe, because it was built in a place defenlible, as if it had beene a Citadell. Neither was Brutus any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples fafetic, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne fonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to restore the banished Kingse 30 he caused them, publikely in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

Hithertothe Romanes, having by the vnblemished integritie of Brutus, well appealed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereaster imploy their militarie designements, against Forrainers; first, for their libertie; secondly, for inlarging of their possessions; and lastly, for desending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For Rome, situated as it were in the mid-way between exterian and the Tuscans, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minoritie, could not but give occasion of offence to her neighbours; vntill by maine opposition, having prevailed against her borderers, shee vsed them as instruments, whereby to obtaine 40 the rest.

Their first warre, in the first yeare of *Confuls*, was against *Porsenna* King of *Heterra*: who being ouer-perswaded by *Tarquines* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seate him agains in his Kingdome.

In the first conflict, Horatius Cocles, having long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge over Tibris; at length, feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into the River, like a bunted Stagge, refreshed his hote spirits, and returned safe to his fellowes, with the like resolution to sustaine a new charge. Porsona, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill Inviculus, which is the verie entrance vnto the Citie, and found the victorie, in a manner, assuredly his own: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of Mutius Secuolus (who having by errour slaine Porsenna his Secretarie, instead of the King himselfe, didins sorne of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) bee thought it not Bbbb 3

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any wait prejudiciall, either to his satetie, or credite, to enter league with them at the world hand. And yet the edge of Tarquenew his spleene, was not quite abated, though Aruns his sonne, and brutes his enemie, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the Romans, although they lost Brutes, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion thee was, for their chattitie, not for beautic, mounted the losse of him one whole yeare. Into his place, for the residue of his yeare, was sub-rogated Sp. Lucreties Iriciptimus, sather to Lucretia: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) Horatius Pulvillus.

Tarquine, vpon his ouerthrow, feeling the fates disaftrous, thought it no boot to firing against the streame, and spent the residue of his time; which was about four- 10 teene yeares, privately at Tusculum. Yet his sonne-in-law Mamilius Tusculanus, stomaching afreil at those old repulses, because Porfenna had made peace with the Romans and denied further fuccour vnto the Tarquines, mustered vp his Latines, and gaue battaile to the Romans, at the Lake Regidum; where the conflict was fierce, and the iffue vnccrtaine, vntill Aulus Post humins, the Roman Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consulls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exaperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Enfignes amidft the Enemies; and Collus or Spurius Calsius (master of the Horse men, an assifrant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might runne with free violence, to recour againe their Enfignes. This fight was fo well 20 performed, that a report went current of Castor and Pollux, two Gods, who came on mi ke-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow helpers of their victorie; for the Generall confecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the Romans fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themselues at home; and the fixteenth yere after the Kings expulsion, vpon infligation of some desperate banekrouts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Confulls, they made an vproare in the holy Mount, vntill by Meuenius Agrippa, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whome 30 they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in their controuerlies, the Confuls authori ie notwithstanding. This was enacted; and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among it themselves, they had continual Warre with the Latines, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. A mongst these, the Volsai and Agus held them longest; who made warre, of themselves, vpon the Romans: whereby they lost the best Citie in their whole jurisdiction, Corioli.

In this conquest, T. Martius got the sirname of Coriolanus: a name honorable then, as deriued from a great victorie: although, by reason of the pouertie of the Towne, a Roman Generall, in after times, would have beene ashamed of that title. But yet 40 these graces had been eno occasion of disparagement, had hee not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, aduled to sell corne, which they procured from Sicil, at too high a rate, to the people: whereupon, Decius Mus, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, and after judgement, banished him. Coriolanus flying to the Volci, whom lately beforehe had vanquished incensed them to renue their forces againe; which being committed vnto him, and to Attius Tullus, he prevailed in field, to farre forth, that he was come within foure or fine miles of the Citie. Incamping there hee made so sharpe warre, and was at such defiance, with his Countrie, that hee would not relent by any supplications of Embassadours, vntill his Mother Veturia, and Volumnia his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves bet- 50 ter Subjects to their Countrie, than friends to their sonne and husband, were more availeable to Rome, then was any force of armes. Hereupon Coriolanus dismissing his Armie, was after put to death among the Volsei, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunitie: or (as others furmise) living with them vntill old age, hee died naturally.

Not long after this, the *Veij* in *Hetruria*, prouoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabij*, three hundred and fixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained, that they only might be imploied, as it had been in a private quarrell. These *Fabij*, after some good services, lying incomped at *Cremera*, were circumvented and all slaine: one only of that whole house, had beene lest, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who yanquished *Hamibal*.

In processe of time, the Romans were also troubled with the Volsa, at the hill Algidum, two miles from Rome; where Lucius Minucius their Consull, with his whole Armie, had beene discomsticed, had not L. Quintius Cincinatus chosen Dietator, and taken from the plough to the highest honour in Rome, with successe answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Countrie in the space of fixteen dayes. In the continuance of this Volsain warre it was, that Appins Claudius, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before chosen Governours of the State, and inactors of Solons lawes amongst them, procured from Athens (abrogating in the meane while the Consuls, and all other Magistrates) would have ranished Virginius, the daughter of T. Virginius, Captain of a Companic, and lying then in campe at Azidum. Hercupon the people, in an vproare, tooke the Hill Auentine, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to resigne vp their authoritie againe, to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or defire to reuenge old losses, drew the Romans into a new warre, against the Vetentes, and their adherents, vpon whom having tried their forces, with diversitie of Captains, and varietie of event, they vanquished the Falger, and the Fidenates, and vtrerly subdued the Vetentes. In conquering the Falses, Fun ins Camillus showed no lesses in gritic then fortisude. For when a Schoolemaster, by trayning forth into the Roman campe, many children of the principall Gitizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all vp as Hostages: Camillus delivered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him back into the Citie; which forthwith yeelded vnto him in reverence of his justice. The slege of Vey was tenne yeares, and so troublesome, that the Romans were there first on once to winter abroad vnder beasts skinnes (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) and to make vowes never to returne without victoric.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got so large spoiles, that they confecrated their tenths to Apollo Pythins: and the whole people in generall, were called to the ransacking of the Citie. But yet they were no lesse vnthankefull to Camillus for his service, then before they had beene to Corrolanus; For they banished him the Citie, vpon some occasion of inequalitie in dividing the spoiles: yet herequited their vnkindneffe with a new peece of feruice, against the furie of the Garles: who being a populous Countrie, and veric healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes 40 now) lived fo long, that the fonnes, deftitute of meanes, were enforced to roave abroad, feeking some place, where to set up their rest: and withall being a Nation vast in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rouers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on Italie, let vpon Clusium, a Towne in Hetruria: whereof Rome having information (and being carefull of her Confede rate Townes) sent Embassadours, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, vpon some injurie offered by the Roman Embailadours, converted their forces from Clusium towards Rome; and giving a great overthrow to the Romans, by the River Allia, voon the fixteenth day before the Calends of Jugust (which day was after branded for vn-30 luckie, and called Alliensis in the Roman Kalendar) they hastened towards the Citie. Then was Rome the true map of miserie and desolation. For some leaving the citie: fome creeping into holes; Priefts hiding their reliques; and every one shifting for himselfe, ere the enemie came; Rome was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were fafely convaied away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering boidnesse out of desperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave or the world, did seate themselves in Thrones, in their severall houses, hourely expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in State. The younger fort, with M. Manlius their Captaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the Gaules were entred the Citie, who feeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoile, committing all

to the fire and fword. As for the old Senators, that fate in their Majestie, with a grave resolution: having first renerenced them as Gods, anon they tryed whether they would die like men. When the Citie was throughly rifled, they attempted to the Capitoll: which held them worke for the space of seuen Moneths. Once they were like to have surprised it by night, but being descried by the gagling of Geefe, M. Manleus did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the Gaules being wearie, and the Romans hungrie. The bargaine was, that the Gaules should take a thousand pound waight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilest the gold was in waighing, the Gaules, with open insolencie, made their waights too heavie: Brennus, their Captaine, casting his sword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, faying, that the vanquished must bee patient perforce. But in the midst of this cauilling, came Furius Camillus, with an Armie, from Ardea, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell vpon the Gaules, 20 with such violence, that hee dispersed their troups, quenched the fire of the Citie with their bloud, forcing them to restore the spoiles with aduantage, and forbeare the gold, in accepting which, they had lately beene so nice. Further, having rid the Citie of them, he so hotly pursued them, through a great part of Italie, that the remainder of their Armie, which cleaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the Gaules, which followed this first, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the Romans; especially the victories of M. Torquatus, and of M. Valerius Cornenus (each of which in fingle fight, flew a Champion of the Gaules) abated their prefumption, and reftored courage to the Romans. Camillus, for his notable feruice, was afterwards accompted a second Romulus:

The people, after this dettruction of their Citie, were carneftly bent to goe to

the Ven to inhabite; but Camillus dissiwaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of Veij, they changed their gopernment from Confulls to militarie Tribunes. The government of these also, after some yeares, was by civill diffension interrupted: so that one while Consulls ruled: another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were restored and ru'ed againe, till after many yeares expired, the Consular authoritie was established; it being enacted, that one of the Consults should alwaies bee a Plebeian. This was after the building of the Citie, three hundred fixtie fine yeares. And now Rome by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her 40 Minoritie, dares fet forth against the warlike Samnites, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirtie miles off: fituated betweene Campania and Apulia. These did so firongly invade the Campanians their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themselves subjects to Rome, and vindergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatfocuer else to obtaine protection: which the Remans, although both Countries had beene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should deuour the leffe, eafily allowed off; aiming themselves at the good situation of Campania, the aboundance of Corne and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially Capua it selfe, the fairest Citie then in all Italie.

The Families of the Papyrii and Fabii were most imployed in the managing of 50 this warre, which indured the space of fiftic yeares. And in this scason were the Romans oftentimes dangerously encountred by the Samnites, as when T. Veturius, and Sp. Posthumius were Consulls, and discomfitted by Pontius at Caudium, with no small ignominie: and when Q. Fabius Gurges lost the field with three thousand men.

But for these losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by L. Papyrius, and by Quintus Fabius Maximus.

The Samnites drew the Hetrurians into their quarrell. But the force of the Samnites was well broken, ere the Hetrurians (the greater and richer, but leffe warlike Nation) beganne to stirre. So the one and the other of these two Countries, becarre at length, tributarie to Rome.

In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce betweene the Romans and Samnites) that the Latines beganne to challenge equal freedome in the Corporation of Rome, and right in bearing Office, so that they required to have

10 one of the Consuls yearely chosen out of them.

This demand, of the Latines, was not unreasonable. For the Romans themselves were a Latine Colonie; belides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called Romans. But the Romans were too proud, to admit any fuch capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them: wherein the fortune of

Rome prevailed, by the vertue of the Confulls.

Manlins Torquatus, and the elder Decius, were then Confulls, whom the Soothfavers advertised, that the side should be victorious, which lost the General in fight. Hereupon, Desius the Confull, exposed his life to the Enemie, and purchased victor rie (as was beleeued) by his death. In which kind of denoting himfelfe for his Ar-20 mie, the sonne of this Decius, being after Consull, did imitate his father, in the Hetrarian warre. But (as Tullie well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these Decij, that purchased victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherin their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of fuch a religion, as required the lines of so worthic Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Countrie. The discipline of Manlius was no lesse resolute, than the valour of Decius. He forbad any one to for fake his place, and fight fingle with an enemie. For breach of which order, he caused his owne some to be put to death, who had slaine a Captaine of the Latings, being challenged in fingle fight.

When the Latines, the Aqui, Volsci, Hernici, Campani, Samnites, and Hetrurians, 3° with fome other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vaine labour for

any people of Italie, to contend against the Romans.

Yet the Sabines adventured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For Curius Dentatus, the Roman Confull, wasting all their Countrie with fire and sword, from the River Nar and Velia, to the Adriatique Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the Italians, that made triall of the Roman Armes, were the Tarentines, and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as Mediatours, betweene the Romans and Samnites; with a peremptoric denunciation of warre, vnto that partie, which should dare to refuse the peace by them tendred. These threats, which discouered their bad affection to Rome, ended in words; but when the Sam-40 nites were veterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their

abilitie of performance.

The Romans complained, that certaine ships of theirs were robbed; and sent Emballadours vnto Tarentum, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the Lucans, Messapians, Brutians, and Appulians, joyning with the Tarentines, procured the Samnites, and other Subjects of Rome, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the Roman firength, taught all these people to know their owne weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to fend for Pyrrhus, by whose aide (being a Grecian, as the Tarentinesalfo were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of Rome should bee 50 confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all Italie, which alreadie, in a manner it did ouer-spread.

How Pyrrhys warred upon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battailes.

YRRHVS, for faken by the Macedonians, and vnable to deale with Lysimachus, was compelied a while to line in rest: which he abhorred no lesse than a wifer Prince would have desired. He had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vnsetled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of Demetrius had so encreased 10

the power of Lysimachus, that it was no point of wisedome, to make an offensiue warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. Antigonus, the sonne of Demetrius, held Corinth, at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. V pon him it is like that Pyrrhus might have wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that hee might ferue to give some

hinderance to Lysimachus.

In this want of imploiment, and couetous delire of finding it, the Tarentine Embassadours came very fitly to Pyrrhus: and they came with braue offers, as needing noncother aide then his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselues under his protection. They had in their companie, some of the Samnites, 20 Lucanians, Messapians, and others; which promised in behalfe of their seuerall Nations, as much as could be defired. This encouraged Pyrrhus, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as Alexander had gotten Eastward; and still by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is faid, that once he answered Cyneas his chiefe Counsailour, asking what he meant to doe after enery of the victories which hee hoped to get: that, hauing wonne Rome, he would soone be Master of all Italie; that, after Italie he would quickly get the Isle of Sicil; that, out of Sicil hee would passe ouer into Africk, and winne Carthage, with all the rest of the Countrie, & being strengthned with the force of all these Provinces, thee would be too hard, for any of those, 30 that were now so proud and troublesome. But Cyneas enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all : Whereunto Pyrrhus (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would line merrily ; a thing (as Cyneas then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Neuerthelesse, this Italian expedition seemed vnto Pyrrhiu, a matter of such consequence, as was not to bee omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armie; of almost thirtie thousand men, well forted; and well trained Souldiers: part of which he fent ouer before him vinder Cynews, with the rest he followed in person: At his coming, he found the Turentines very prompt 40 of tongue, but in matter of execution, vtterly carelesseto provide for the Watre. Wherefore he was faine to shut up their T heater, and other places of pleasure and refort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strickt muster, as was to

them very unpleasing, though greatly behoouing to their estate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, Laninus the Roman Consul drew near, and beganne to wast Lucania, a Province confederate with the Tarentines in this Warre.

The Lucanians were not readie to defend their owne Countrie; the Sammites were carelelle of the harme, that fell not (as yet) voon themselhes; the Tarentines were etter prepared than they would have beene, but their valour was little: all 50 of these had been accustomed to shrinke, for feare of the Roman fortifude and therefore it fell out happily, that Pyrrhus relied more vpon his owne forces, than the iffue of their vaunting promises. Hee was now driven, either to set forward, with those that himselfe had brought into Italy, and the affistance of the Tarentines, wherein

wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his owne sutficiencie, which by all meanes he was carefull to vp-hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had beene scattered by foule weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resolued to assay the valour of the Romans, against whom hee proudly marched.

Leainus the Confull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great Kings but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battaile, ere all his adherents should be ready to joyne with him. This boldnesse of the Roman, and the slacknesse of the Messapians, Lucanians, Samnetes, and others, whom the danger most to concerned, caused Pyrrhus to offer a treatic of peace; requiring to have the quarrel. betweene the Romans and his Italian friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the Samnites and their fellowes might arrive at his Campe; or whether, confidering better at neare distance, the weight of the builnesse, which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the fhort answere, that was returned to his proposition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the Romans fent him this word, that they had neither chosen

bim their Iudge, nor feared bim their enemie.

Hereupon, both Armies hastened their march vnto the River of Siris: Levinus intending to fight, before the arrival of the Samnites; Pyrrhus, to hinder him from 20 passing that River, vntill his owne Armic were full. V pon the first view of the Roman Campe, it was readily conceined by Pyrrhus, that he had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue discipline of warre: which caused him to set a strong Corps de garde, vpon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, vntill he faw his best advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemie was not only skilfull in the Art of war, but couragious in execution. For the Roman Armic entred the Foord, in face of his Corps de garde; and their horse, at the same time, beganne to passe the River, in sundrie places: which caused the Greekes to forsake the defence of their banke, and speedily retire vnto

This audacitie forced Pyrrhus to battaile; wherewith he thought it best to prefent them, ere their whole Armie had recoursed firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battailes; himselfe with the horse, charged upon the Romans: who stoutly received him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the dutie of a carefull Generallanor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behooved him indeede to doe his best; for he neuer met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine under him : afterwards, he changed armour with a friend, but that friend paid his life for the vse of his Kings armour, which was torne from 40 his backe. This accident had almost lost him the battaile: but he perceiuing it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and tooke from the Ro-

mans their vaine iov. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on Pyrrhus his side, as long as only speare and sword were vsed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose vnvsuall forme and terrible aspect, the horses of the Romans (vnaccustomed to the like) were not able to fustaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the Roman battailes, perceiuing their horse putto rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselues both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force, and huge bulke, of these strange beasts; gaue way to necessitie, and saued themselues, as well as they To could, by haftie flight in which consternation, they were so forgetfull of their dif-

cipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ranne quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to Pyrrhus.

The fame of this victorie was soone spread ouer Italie; and the reputation was no lesse than the same. For it was a matter very rare to bee heard, that a Roman Confull, with a felect Armie, should loofe in plaine battaile, not only the field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely wonne by Pyrrhus, for that hee had with him none of his Italian friends, saue the vnwarlike Tarentines. Neither could he well diffemble his content that he tooke, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his owne, at fuch time as he blamed the Lucans and Samnites, for comming (as we fay) a day after the faire. Neuerthelesse, he wisely considered the strength of the Romans, which was such as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victo. ries. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose hee sent vnto them Cyness his Embassadour; 10 demaunding only to have the Tarentines permitted to live at rest, and himselfe accepted as their especiall friend. This did Cyneas, with all his cunning, and with liberall gifts, labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in Rome, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their defire of recourring their captiues, or their danger, by the rifing of many States in Italie against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of Appius Claudius, an old and blinde Senator, did stirre them vp to make good their honour by warre. So they returned answere, that whilest Pyrrhus abode in Italie, they would come to no agreement

Such was the report, that Cynews made, at his returne, of the Roman puissance 20 and vertue, as kindled in Pyrrhus, a great desire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices passed betweene them: but still when hee vrged his motion of peace, the answere was, He must first depart out of Italie, and then

treat of peace.

In the meane feafon, each part made provision for warre; the Romans leaving a more mightic armie than the former; and Pyrrhus being strengthned with accesse vnto his forces, of all the East parts of Itali. So they came to triall of a second battaile, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boifterous violence of the Elephants, gaue to Pyrrhus a second victorie. But this was not altogether so joyfull as the former had beene: rather it gaue him cause to say, that such another vi- 30 Goric would be his ytter undoing. For he had loft the flower of his Armic in this battaile: and though he draue the Romans into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor faw any likelihood of prevailing against them, that were like to be relieued with daily supplies, whilest he should be driven to spend upon his old Rock. Neither could hee expect, that his Elephants should alwaies stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soone teach the Romans, that were apt Scholers in such learning, how to make them unseruiceable. Wherefore hee defired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour fafe out of Italie: which to doe(seeing the Romans would not helpe him, by offering or accepting anie faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a flight occasion, presented by 40 fortune, that followeth to be related.

ò. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How PYRRHVS, being inuited into Sicill, for fooke Italie; wanne the most of the Isle; and lost it in short space. PYRRHV s returnes into Italy; where he is beaten by the Romans, and fo goes backe to his owne Kingdome.

Hen Ptolomie Ceraunus had traiteroully murdered his Benefactor and Patron Seleucus, he presently seized vpon all the Dominions of Lysimachus in Europe, as if they had beene the due reward, vnto him, that had flaine the Conquerour. The houses of Cassander and Lysimachus were then fallen to the ground : neither was there in Macedon any

man of strengthand reputation enough, to advance himselfe against Ceraunes. The friends of Lysimachus were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as hee professed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousnes of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in Ceraunus: perswading themselves that his raigne might proue good, though his entrance had beene wicked. These 20 affections of the Macedonians did serve to defeate Antigonus the sonne of Demetriu. that made an attempt vpon the Kingdome. As for Antigonus, the sonne of Selencus, he was farre off, and might be questioned about some part of Asia, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neare vnto Europe. Yet hee made great shew of meaning to reuenge his fathers death: but being stronger in monie then in armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three strone about the Kingdome, Pyrrhus, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vse of their diffention: threatning warre, or promising his asfistance, to every one of them. By these meanes he strengthned himselfe, and greatly advantaged his Italian voiage, which he had then in hand: requesting monie of 30 Antiochus, ships of Antigonus, and souldiers of Ptolomie, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of Macedonian Souldiers, and of Elephants (couenanting to haue them restored at two yeeres end) more for seare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, & quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus Ptolomie grew mightie on the suddaine; and the power that by wic-

ked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he increased. All Macedon and Thrace being his, the strong Citic of Cassandria was held by Ar-

since his sister, the widow of Lysimachus, who lay therin with her yong children. Her hee circumuented by making loue to her, and (according to the falhion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of confanguinitie) taking her to wife, 40 with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for

it was not long, ere he flew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found; vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that hee had never heard of. Belgius a Captaine of the Gaules, having forced his paffage through many Countries, vnto the confines of Masedon, sent a proud message to Ceraunus, commanding him to buy peace with monie, or otherwise, to looke for all the miseries of warre. These Gaules were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrie, to seeke new seates in that great expedition, wherein Brennus tooke and burnt the Citie of Rome. They had diuided themselues, at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell 50 vpon Italie; the other passing through the Countries that lie on the Northerne side of the Adriatick Sea, made long aboade in Pannonia, and the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redceme peace with tribute; as now they would have compelled Ceraums to doe, vnto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight yeares after fuch time as their fellowes had taken Rome.

When their Embassadors came to Ptolomie, asking what he would give: His answere was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must bee with condition, that they should put into their hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld vp their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor give any credit to their words. At this answere, when it was returned, the Gaules did laugh, faying that they would foone confute with deedes, the vanitie of fuch proud words. It may feeme frange, that he, who had given away part of his Armie vnto Pyrrhus, for very feare; should bee so consident in undertaking more mightic encmies. The King of the Dardanians offred to lend him twenty thousand men against the Gaules; but hee scorned the offer; saying, that hee had the children of those, to which under the conduct of Alexander, had subdued all the East. Thus hee issued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous Macedonians, as if the victoric must needs have followed the reputation of a great name. But he soone found his great errour, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and ficrcenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the Macedonians in numbers, that few or none escaped their furie, Ptolomie himselfe grieuously wounded, fell into their hands, whileft the battell continued; and they prefently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter

The report of this great ouer throw filled al Macedon with such desperation, that 20 the people sled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countrie as lost. Only Sostienes, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which he many times got the vpper hand, and hindred Belgius from wing the victoric at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King, which title he refused, & was content with the name of a Generall. But (as mischiefs doe seldome come alone) the good successe of Beigius, drew into Mesedon, Breanus, another Captaine of the Gaules, with an hundred and fitte thousand foot, and sifteen thousand horse, against which mightie Armie, when Sosthenes with his weake troups made opposition, he was casily beaten, and the Macedonians againe compelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving all their Countrie to the spoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the Macedonians destitute of a King, and troden downe by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in lesse then fiftie yeares after the death of Alexander, who sought to discouer and subdue vnknowne Countries, as if all Greece, and the Empire of Persia had beene too little for a King of Macedon.

Very seasonably had these newes been carried to Pyrrhus in Italie, who sought a faire pretext of relinquishing his warre with the Romans; had not other tidings out of Sicil distracted him, and carried him away in pursure of nearer hopes. For after the death of Agathoeles, who ragined ouer the whole lland, the Carlhaginians sent an Armie to conquer Sicil, out of which, by him, they had been expelled. This 40 Armie did so fast prevaile, that the Sicilians had no other hope to avoide slauerie, than in submitting themselves to the rule of Pyrrhus; whom, being a Grecian, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, then to line vnder the well knowne heavile yoake of Carthage. To him therefore, the Syracusans, Leontines, and Agragentines, principall Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieued Pyrrhus exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so valuekily, both at one time. Yet whether hee thought the businesse of Sieilmore important, or more full of likelihood for whether perhaps he believed (as came after to passe) that his advantage vpon Macedon would not so hastily passe away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, ouer into Sieil he transported his Armie, leaving the Tarentines to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Gatrison in their Towne, to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of Italie, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature aduice; so were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto Epirus, rather many and tumultuous, then well ordered, or note-worthie. The Armie which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirtie thousand foot and two thousand fine hundred horse with which, soone after his descent in Sieil, he fore the Carthaginians, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also wonne the strong Citie of Eryx, and having beaten the Mamertines in battaile, hee beganne to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he drane Sostratus (to whom his cruckie was suspect) out of the Iland, and put Thenno of Syracuse to death, being jealous of his greatnesses which two persons had saithfully served him, and delivered the great and rich Citie of Syracuse into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so tast, as hee served himselfe, and salved the disreputation of his leaving Sicili, by an Embassage sent him from the Tarentines, and Samnites, imploring his present helpe against the Romans, who since his leaving Italie, had well-neare disposses them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, hee imbarked for Italie; but was first beaten by the Carthaginian Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in Italie it selfe, by eighteene hundred Mamertines, that attended him in the straits of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recovered Tarentum, hee sought a third battaile with the Romans, 20 ledby M. Curius, who was victorious over him, and forc't him out of Italie, into his

A Prince he was farre more valiant then constant, and had hee been but a Generall of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had been directed to have conquered any one Country or Kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no less home than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valianter man, hath beene no where sound. But he neuer shaid vpon any enterprise; which was, indeede, the disease hee had, whereof not long after he died in Argos.

How Antigonvs, the sonne of Demetrivs, delivered Macedon from the Gaules. How Pyrrhy's wonne the Kingdome of Macedon from . Antigonvs.

d. IIII.

Hevertue of Sosthenes being too weake, to defend the Kingdome of Macedon; and the fortune which had accompanied him against Belgius, failing him in his attempts against Brennus: the Macedonians were no lesse glad to submit themselves vnto the governmet of Antigonus, than they had formerly beene desirous to free themselues from the impotent rule of his father Demetrius. His comming into the Countrie, with an Armie, Nauie, and treasure beseeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to vie against the Barbarians, only those forces, which he brought with him, having none other than good wishes of the Macedons, to take his part. Brennus, with the maine firength of his Armie, was gone to spoile the Temple of Apollo at Delphos, having left no more behinde him, than he thought necessarie to guard the borders of Macedon, and Pannonia; which were about fifteene thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of 50 their fellowes: and therefore fent vnto Antigonus, offering to fel him peace, if hee would pay well for it; which by the example of Ceraunus, hee had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. Antigonus was vinwilling to weaken his reputation by condescending to their proud demads: yet he judged it vnfit to exasperat their furious choler, by vncurteous words or vsage, as Ceraunus had ouer-fondly done. Wherfore Gcccc 2

he entertained their Embassadors in very louing and sumptuous maner, with a roiall feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such aboundance of masse gold and silper, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the veffells, wherein it was ferued. He thought hereby, to make them vnderstand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if need required, to wage a mighty Armie.

To which end, he likewise did shew vnto them, his Camp and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this braueric ferued only to kindle their greedie appetites; who feeing his ships heavy loaden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified. himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferiour vnto the Gaules, thought all time loft, wherein they suffered the present possessions, to to spend the riches which they accompted assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of spoile and purchase: which tale, carried the Gaules head-long, to Antigonus his camp, where they expected a greater bootie, then the victoric ouer Cerannus had given to Belgius. Their comming was terrible and suddaine; yet not so suddaine, but that Antigonus had notice of it, who distrusting the courage of his owne men, dislodged fomewhat before their arrival, and conveighed himfelfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adjoyning, where he lay close.

The Gaules, finding his Camp for faken, were not hastie to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the emptie Cabbines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was 20 either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched enery place in vaine, angrie at their loft labour, they marched with all speed toward the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon him, whilest he was busic in getting his men and carriages a Thip-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought vpon Antigonus, they were fo carelesse of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoile of what they

found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left Antigonus, where he lay in couert; and had faued it felf by getting aboard the fleet:in which number were some well experienced men of warre: who discouering the much advantage offred vnto them, by the desperate 30 presumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manlie hold vpon the opportunitie. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered Gaules, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great flaughter, driven to cast themselves into the sernice of Antigonus.

The fame of this victoric, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the Macedonian valour: by which, the terrible

and reliftlesse oppressors of so many Countries, were overthrowne.

To speake more of the Gaules, in this place; and to shew how, about these times, 40 three Tribes of them passed ouer into Asia the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armes of the Romans, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, shall give better occasion, to rehearfe these matters briefly.

How soeuer the good successe of Antigonus got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victorie, could not thereupon be perswaded to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct

was no better, then creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto Pyrrhus: though as 60 yet he knew not so much. For Pyrrhus, when his affaires in Italie stood upon hard termes, had sent vnto Antigonus for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he fure to get, either a supply, wherewith to continue his war against the Romans, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake Italie, under colour of

making his word good, in seeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in brauerie, meere necessitie forced him, at his returne into Epirus, to put in practife.

He brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and fine hundred horse: an armie too little to be employed, by his restlesse nature, in any action of importance; vet greater then he had meanes to keepe in pay: Therefore he fell vpon Macedon; intending to take what spoile he could get, and make Antigonus compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thoufand of Antigonus his Soudiers, revolted vnto Pyrrbus; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such faire beginnings, easily perswaded the 10 courage of this daring Prince, to set upon Antigonus himselfe, and to hazardhis for-

tune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole Kingdome of Macedon.

It appeares, that Antigonus had no desire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Countrie. For Pyrrhus ouertooke him in a straight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the Gaules, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his ftrength: a manifest proofe that he was in retrait. The Gaules very brauely sustayned Pyrrhus his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it seemes, that Antigonus keeping his Macedonian Phalanx within the ftreight, and not advancing to their succour, tooke away 20 their courage, by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken soone after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had confumed so many of the Gaules, yeelded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of Antigonus, and his Macedonians, to their great discomfort: which emboldened Pyrrhus, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the Phalanx could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficultie (if not impossible) to force it. But the Macedonians had seene so much, that they had no defire to fight against Pyrrhus; who discouered so well their affections, that hee adventured to draw nearein person, and exhort them to yeeld. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. 30 All for fooke Antigonus, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to Thessalonica; where he had some small forces left, and monie enough to entertaine a greater power, had he known where to leavie it. But whilest he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the Gaules into his service; whereby hee might repaire his losse: Ptolomie, the sonne of Pyrrhus, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weake forces, draue him to flie from the parts about Macedon, to those Townes a farre off in Peloponne sus, in which hee had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe revived the spirits of the Epirot, and caused him to forget all forrow, of his late mil-fortunes in the Roman warre: fo that he fent for his fonne He-40 lenus (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of Tarentum) willing him to come ouer into Greece, where was more matter of conquest, and let the Italians

shift for themselves.

#### ð. V.

How PYRKHVS affailed Sparta without successe. His enterprise vpon Argos, and his death.



YYRRHYS had now conceived a great hope, that nothing should bee able to withstand him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the Gaules, beaten Antigonus, and won the Kingdome of Macedon; There was not in all Greece, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that Alexander had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as described to be set up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what

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be pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of fine and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentic Elephants; pretending warre against Aniegonus, and the giving libertie to those Towns in Peloponnesus, which the same Antigonus held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important. then warre against a Prince alreadie vanquished, and almost vterly dejected. Especially the Lacedamonians feared this expedition, as made against their State. For Cleonymus, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himselte to Pyrrhus: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would Pyrrhus make shew 10 of any displeasure that he bare unto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne yonger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entred vpon Laconia; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemie: excusing himselfe and his former dissembling words, with a jeast , That he followed herein the Lacedamonian custome, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the Lacedamonians, to deale in like fort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they sought to oppresse but now they complained of that, as falsehood, in Pyrrhus, which they alwaies practifed as wisdome, till it made them distrusted, for saken, and almost contemptible. Neuerthelesse, they were not wanting to 20 themselues in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; cauling such as could beare armes, to reserve themselves fresh against the assault: which Pyrrhus had vnwisely deserred, vpon assurance of

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise then with armed Citizens: foone after this (it being built vpon vneuen ground, and for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with walls; at the prefent, only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance feemed most easy. Three daies together it was assailed by Pyrrhus, exceeding fiercely; and no lesse soutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved 30 the Towne the first day, wherinto the violence of Pyrrhus had forced entrance the fecond day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of fauing the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though alreadic they had torne in funder the barricadoes. Presently after this, one of Antigonus his Captaines got into Sparta with a good firength of men; and Areus the King returned out of Crete (where he had been helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his owne countrie flood vntill he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the Spartans, then kindle in Pyrrhus a delire to prevaile against all impediments. But the third daies worke shewed, how great his error had beene, in forbearing to assault 40 the Towneathis first comming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious

course he had no desire to spend his time.

Intigonus had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meet the enemie in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made Pyrrhus doubtfull what way to take; being diucrsly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilest hee was thus perplexed, letters came from Argos, inuiting him thither; with promise, to deliver that Citie into his hands.

Civill dissension raging then hotly in Argos, caused the heads of severall factions to call in Pyrrhus and Antigonus; but the comming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hand of such powerfull Assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselfe to be. Antigonus told the Argines, that he came to save them from the tyrannic of Pyrrhus; and that hee would

be gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other side, Pyrrhus would needes perswade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from Antigonus; offering in like manner, to depart if they so desired.

The Argines tooke small pleasure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickins from his enemie: and therefore prayed them both, to divert their powers some other way. Hereunto Antigonus readily condefcended, and gaue Hollages to assure thought it enough to promise: Hostages he would give none, to his inferiours: especially, meaning deceipt. This made them suspects his purpose to be such, as, indeede, it was. Yet he lesse regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthie of assured:

breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citic should be opened by night vnto Pyrrhus, by his Complices within Argos: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie, without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Gate. The taking off, and setting on againe, of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarme to the Citie, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully master it. Argos was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the Gaules (that had the Vanigarde) being ignorant of the waies, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-passe and setting upon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse, and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore, vnderstanding by the confused noise, and vnequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefe, and assure of the place. But the darkenesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill breake olday. Then beganne he to make his passage by force, and so farre prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such posture as if they had been combattant, hee called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he should behold a Bull

fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeede, the comming of Antigonus to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reasonable cause to have retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had been away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gaue back, so did others thrust forward, and the Argines pressing hard vpon him, forced Pyrrhus to make good his retrait, with his owne sword. The tops of the houses were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne sone in dangerous case, sighting with Pyrrhus. Wherefore, shee tooke a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently downe on the head of Pyrrhus, that hee fell to ground a-

ftonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restlesse ambition of Pyrrhus, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of Macedon to Antigonus; who forthwith possessed the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enemie. The bodie of Pyrrhus had honourable sunerall, and was given by Antigonus vnto Helenus his sonne; which yong Prince he graciously sent home, into his Fathers Kingdome of Epirus. From this time forwards, the race of Antigonus held the Kingdome of Macedon; the posterite of Seleucus raigned over Asia and Syria; and the house of Prolomie had quiet 50 possesses with the possesses of the possesses when the sun of Egypt: vntill such time, as the Citie of Rome, swallowing all vp, dige-

fled these, among other Countries, into the bodie of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.



# FIRST PART THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the fetled rule of ALEXANDER'S Successors in the East, untill the ROMANS, preuailing ouer all, made Conquest of Asia and
MACEDON.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

# CHAP. I. Of the first Punicke Warres

A discussion of that probleme of LIVIE; Whether the Romans could have relisted the great ALEXANDER. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the English.



HAT question handled by LIVIE, Whether the great ALEXANDER could have prevailed against the Romans, if after his Easterne conquest, he had bent all his forces against them, hath beene, and is, the subject of much dispute; which (as it feemes to me) the arguments on both fides do not fo well explane, as doth the experience that Pyrrhus hathgiven, of the Roman power, in his daies. For, if he, a Commander (in Hannibals judgement) inferior to Alexander, though to none else, could with small strength of men, and little store of monie, or of other needfull

helps in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their estate, when it was well setled, and held the best part of Italie, vnder a confirmed obedience: what would Alexander have done, that was aboundantly provided of all which is need-

full to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of emploiment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe so well setled. It is easie to say, that Alexander had no more, than thirty thousand foot, and soure thousand horse (as indeede, at his sirst passage into Asia, he carried ouer, not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate Asiatiques. But he that considers the Armies of Perdiccas, Antipater, Craterus, Eumenes, Ptolomie, Antigonus, & Lysimachus, with the action's by them performed, euery one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power; shall casily finde, that such a reckning is farte short of the truth.

It were needlesse to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batterie, 10 and the like: of all which, the Macedonian had aboundance; the Roman having nought, save men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what fort the Romans, in their first Punick warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting upon the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practife the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceive, how farre too weake they would have proved in such services.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not see, why all Greece and Macedon, being abfolutely commanded by Alexander, might not well deserve to be laid in ballance, against those parts of Italie, which the Romans held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthie, indeede, than 20 valiant, could have affoorded vnto the Macedonian: let vs only conjecture, how the States of Sicill and Carthage, nearest neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would have flood affected. The Sicilians were, for the most part, Gracians, neither is it to bee doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves vnto him, that ruled all Greece besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shal appeare anon. Sure it is, that Alexanders comming into those parts, would have brought excelline joy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of Pyrrhus, by offering to become his subjects. As for the Carthaginians; if Agathocles, the Tyrant of Syracuse, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to faile into Africk, 30 put their Dominion, yea and Carthage it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall wee thinke that they would have beene able to withstand Alexander? But, why doe I question their abilitie, seeing that they sent Embassadours, with their submission, as farre as Babylon, ere the warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the Romans must, without other succour, than perhaps of some few Italian friends (of which yet there were none, that for sooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) haue opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would have maderess fance. How they could have sped well, in vndertaking such a match; it is vneasie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is a- 40 gainst cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate; for who soeuer contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemie goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouer-come, and to be cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the Roman, or the Macedonian, were in those daies the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armie, which followed not onely Philip and Alexander, but also Alexanders Princes afrer him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of warre; before any, that Rome either had, or in long time after did fend forth. Concerning 50 fortune; who can give a rule that shall alwaies hold? Alexander was victorious in euery battaile that he fought: and the Romans in the issue of euery warre. But forasmuch as Linie hath judged this a matter worthic of consideration : I thinke it a great part of Romes good fortune, that Alexander came not into Italie: where in

three yeares after his death, the two Roman Confulls, together with all the power of that State, were furprized by the Samnites, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit Liuie to admire his owne Romans, and to compare with Alexander those Captaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our judgement, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding such a controuersie, me thinks it were not amisse, for an Englishman, to give such a sentence between the Macedonians and Romans, as the Remans oncedid (being chosen Arbitrators) between the Ardestes and Ariemi, that Linie Decas, light from about a piece of land; saying, that it belonged ynto neither of them, but yn-

to the Romans themselues.

CHAP. I. S.1.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the Macedonian, or the Roman, were the best VVarriour? I will answere: The Englishmen. For it will soone appeare, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no aduantage of weapon; against no sauage or vinnanlie people; the enemie being sarre superiour vinto vs in numbers, and all needfull provisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

In what fort Philip wanne his Dominion in Greece; what manner of men the Perfians and Indians were; whom Alexander vanquished; as likewise of what force the Macedonian Phalanx was, and how well appointed, against such armes as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storic of them, doth sufficiently understand. Yet was this Phalanx neuer; or very seldome, able to it and, against the Roman Armies: which were embattailed in so excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation besides them have vsed, either before or since. The Roman weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater vse, than those with which any other Nation hath served, before the sierie instruments of Gunne-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which Rome had to doe: we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom she had little ad-30 uantage in armes, had as little aduantage of her in multitude. This also (as Plutarch well observed) was a part of her happinesse; that shee was never over-laied with

Hereby it came to passe, that having at first increased her strength, by accession of the Sabines; having wonne the State of Alba, against which shee adventured her owne selfe, as it were in wager, vpon the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her selfe Princesse of Latium: shee did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all Italie. The Carthaginians had well-neare oppressed her: but their Souldiers were Mercinarie; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The Etolians, and with 40 them all, or the most of Greece, affished her against Philip the Macedonian: hee being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the same Etolians. The warres against Anisothus, and other Asiatiques, were such as gave to Rome small cause of booss, though much of joy: for those opposites were as base of courage, as the lands which they

held were aboundant of riches. Sicil, Spaine, and all Greece, fell into her hands by ving her aide, to protect them against the Carthaginians and Macedonians.

I shall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when thee had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the Roman valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many samous victories: I am not so idle. This I say; that among all their warres, I finde not any, wherein their

50 valour hath appeared, comparable to the English. If my judgement seems ouerpartiall; our warres in France may helpe to make it good.

First, therefore it is wellknowne; that Rome (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any so braue a Commander in warre, as Iulius Casar: and that no Roman armie was comparable vnto that, which served vnder the same Casar. Likewise, it

a The Dolof Majorca.

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is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had given faire proofe of the Roman courage, in good performance of the Heluetian warre, when it first entred into Gaule: was neverthelesse vtterly disheartned, when Casar ledit against the Germans. So that we may justly impute, all that was extraordinarie in the valour of Cafars men. to their long exercise, under so good a Leader, in so great a warre. Now let vs in generall, compare with the deeds done by these best of Roman Souldiers, in their principall service the things performed in the same Countrie, by our common English Souldiers, leavied in haste, from following the Cart, or sitting on the shop-stall: so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and beleeue Casar, in relating the acts of the Romans: but will call the French Historians to witnesse, what a- 10 Rions were performed by the English. In Casars time, France was inhabited by the Gaules, a stout people, but inferiour to the French, by whom they were subdued; euen when the Romans gaue them affistance. The Countrie of Gaule was rent in sunder (as Calar witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were gouerned by pettie Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in fuch fort as might make it appliable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in generall through the whole Countrie, but betweene the pettie States, yea in euery Citie, and almost in euery house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. Arionistus, with his Germans, had ouer-runne the Countrie, and held much part of it in a subjection, little different from meere 29 flauerie: yea, so often had the Germans prevailed in warre vpon the Gaules, that the Gaules (who had sometimes beene the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had France beene so prepared vnto our English Kings, Rome it selfe, by this time, and long ere this time, would have beene ours. But when King Edward the third beganne his warre vpon France, hee found the whole Countrie fetled in obedience to one mightie King; a King whose reputation abroade, was no leffe than his puissance at home; vnder whose Ensigne, the King of Bohemia did serue in person; at whose call, the Genowayes, and other Neighbour States, were readie to take armes: finally, a King, vnto whom one 2 Prince gaue away his Dominion, for loue; b another fold away a goodly Citie and Territorie 30 for monie. The Countrie lying so open to the Roman, and being so well fenced against the English; it is note-worthy, not who preuailed most therein (for it were meere vanitie, to match the English purchases, with the Roman conquest) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of militarie vertue. Cafar himselse doth witnesse, that the Gaules complained of their owne ignorance in the Artof warre, and that their owne hardinesse was ouer-mastered, by the skill of their encmies. Poore men, they admired the Roman Towers, and Engines of batterie, raifed and planted against their walls, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that fuch a people was beaten by the Roman; than that the Caribes, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the skie, are commonly put to the worse, 40 by small numbers of Spaniards? Besides all this, we are to have regard, of the great difficultie that was found, in drawing all the Gaules, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppose their assailants : as also the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to passe, that they were neuer able to make vie of oportunitie: but sometimes compelled to flay for their fellowes; and fometimes driven, to give or take battaile, vpon extreme disaduantages, for feare, least their Companies should fall asunder: as indeede, vpon any little disaster, they were readie to breake, and returne every one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little leffe than all this) great oddes in weapon, gaue to the Romans, the honour of many gallant victories. What 50 fuch helpe? or what other worldly help, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our English Kings against the French? Were not the French as well experienced in feats of VV arre? Yea, did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours? VVerethey not in armes, in horse, and in all prouision, exceedingly beyond vs?

Let vs heare, what a French writer faith, of the inequalitie that was betweene the Iohn de Serres. French and English, when their King John was readic to give the on-fer, upon the Blacke Prince, at the battaile of Poitiers. IOHN had all advantages over EDW ARD, IEAN avoit both of number, force, shew, Countrie, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration pardessive EDOof no small importance in worldly affaires) and with all, the choise of all his horse-men (estee-VARD, le nummed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wifest Captaines of his whole Realme. bre, laforce, le luxre, legars,

And what could he wish more? I thinke, it would trouble a Roman antiquarie, to finde the like example in their n'est pas commu-Histories; the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to Rome, by an Armie fideration de oeu 10 of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with fortie thousand, better appoin- d'importace aux ted, and no leffe expert warriours. This I am fure of that neither Syphax the Nu- affaires du monmidian, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as Liuie rightly tearmes them, nor l'elite de sa cau those cowardly Kings Perfeus and Gentius, are worthie patternes. All that have "allerie, tors eread of Cresse and Agincourt, will beare me witnesse, that I doe not alleage the bat-leure de tout son taile of Poitiers, for lacke of other, as good examples of the English vertue: the proof Royaume, whereof hath left many a hundred better marks, in all quarters of France, than euer did the valour of the Romans. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the French Croffe-bow: my answere is readie; that in all these respects, it is also (being 20 drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon

of more vse. The Gunne, and the Crosse-bow, are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakenesse, or sickenesse, or a fore finger, makes the Long-Bow vnseruiceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, point blanck: and so shall he perceine, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battaile. This takes away all objection: for whent wo Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the most can be deliuered before they close. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Crosse-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie 30 arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How

then came it to passe, that the English wanne so many great battailes, having no aduantage to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestic, referre him to the French Historian: who relating the victorie of our men at Creuant, where they passed a bridge, in face of the enemie, vieth these words; The English comes with a 10hn de Serres. conquering brauerie, as he, that was accustomed to gaine every where, without any stay: hee forceth our garde, placed upon the bridge, to keepe the passage. Or I may cite another place of the same Authour, where hee tells, how the Britons, being inuaded by Charles the eighth, King of France, thought it good policie, to apparel a thousand and two hundred of their owne men in English Cassocks; hoping that the very fight of 40 the English red Croffe, would be enough to terrifie the French. But I will not stand

to borrow of the French Historians (all which, excepting De Serres, and Paulus Amylius; report wonders of our Nation) the proposition which first I undertooke to maintaine; That the militarie vertue of the English, preuailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of Romans, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired. If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as Cæsar had done? my answere may bee (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the Lacida, of whom the old Poet Ennius gaue this note; Belli potentes sunt mage quam sapienti potentes; They were more warlike than politique. Who so notes their proceedings, may finde that none of them went to

50 worke like a Conquerour: saue only King Henrie the fift, the course of whose victories, it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be sirst made. Why did not the Romans attempt the conquest of Gaule, before the time of Cefar? why not after the Macedonian warre? why not after the third Punick, or after the Numantian? At all these times they had good lei-

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CHAP. I. S.2.

fure : and then especially had they both leifure, and fit oportunitie, when under the conduct of Marius, they had newly vanquished the Cimbri, and Teutones, by whom the Countrie of Gaule had been epittiously wasted. Surely, the words of Tallie were true; that with other Nations, the Romans fought for Dominion; with the Gaules. for preservation of their owne safetie.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of Gaule, untill they were Lords of al other Countries, to them knowne. We on the other side, held only the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vnleffe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men fomewhat inferiour) euery way equal to our felues: a Nation anciently & strongly allied to our enemies the French, and in that regard, 10 enemie to vs. So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs : and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwaies we feared, a fronger invalion by land than we could make vpon France, transporting our forces over Sea

It is viual, with men, that have pleased themselves, in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient Histories; to hold it a great injurie done to their judgement if any take vpon him, by way of comparison, to extoll the things of later ages. But I. am well perswaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Iland, hath given more noble proofe of it felfe; than under fo worthie a Leader, that Roman Armie could doe, which afterwards could win Rome, and al her Empire, making Cafar a Monarch; fo hereafter, by Gods bleffing, who hath converted our greatest hindrance, into our 20 greatest helpe, the enemie that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde cause to wish, that avoiding vs, he had rather encountred as great a puissance, as was that of the Roman Empire. But it is now high time, that laying a-fide comparisons, we returne to the rehearfal of deeds done: wherein we shall finde, how Rome began, after Pyrrhus had left Italie, to ftriue with Carthage for Dominion, in the first Punick warre.

# Q. II. The estate of Carthage, before it entred into warre with Rome.

He Citie of Carthage had stood aboue fixe hundred yeares, when first 20 it beganne to contend with Rome, for the mastrie of Sicil. It forewent Rome one hundred and fifty yeares in antiquity of foundation: but in the honour of great atchiuements, it excelled farre beyond this aduantage of time. For Carthage had extended her Dominion in Africa

it selfe, from the west part of Cyrene, to the streights of Hercules, about one thousand and five hundred miles in length, wherein flood three hundred Cities. It had subiested all Spaine, euen to the Pyrenean Mountaines, together with all the Ilands in the Mediterran Sea, to the west of Sicil; and of Sicil, the better part. It slourished about seuen hundred and thirtie yeare, before the destruction therof by Scipio: who besides other spoiles, and all that the Souldiers reserved, carried thence source hun-40 dred & seuentie thousand weight of silver, which make of our monie (if our pounds differ not) fourteene hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citie ranne the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and fince. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world, fore-shewes the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after such time as it was cast downe, the Senate of Rome caused it to be rebuilt: and by Gracchus it was called Junonia: it was againe and againe abandoned and repeopled, taken and retaken; by Genfericus the Vandal, by Bellisarius under Instinian, by the Persians, by the Agyptians, & by the Mahometans. It is now nothing. The feat therof was exceeding strong: and, while the Cartha- 50 ginians commanded the Sea, inuincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which passage had two mile and more of breadth (Appian faith, three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced, to beleeue the common report, that the Citie it selfe was aboue twentie mile in compasse;

compasse; if not that of Strabo, affirming the circuit to have beene twice as great. It had three walls, without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults under ground, of thirty foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: ouer these they had stables for toure thousand horse, and Granaries for all their prouender. They had also lodging in these streets, betweene these out-walles for foure thousand horse-men and twentie thousand foot men, which (according to the discipline vsed now by a In Pol. Arif. 1,2 c.o. those of China) neuer pestered the Citic. It had towards the South part, the Castle day, doe also take the of Byr/a; to which Servius gives two and twentie furlongs in compasse, that make one half of the poore 10 two mile and a halfe. This was the same piece of ground, which Dido obtained of mans corne, that lathe Libjans, when shee got leave to buy only so much land of them, as shee could they take tribut bork compaffe with an Oxe hide. On the west side it had also the salt Sea, but in the na- of the bodies, and of ture of a standing poole; for a certaine arme of Land, fastned to the ground, on the soules of the Christian their Vassals, by which the Citie stood, stretched it selfe towards the west continent, and left but se bereauing them of uentie foot open for the Sea to enter. Ouer this standing Sea was built a most their ablest children,

fumptuous Arfenall, having their ships and gallies riding under it. The forme of their Common weale resembled that of Sparta; for they had titu- ligion. The Irish take larie Kings, and the Ariflocraticall power of Senators. But (as Regius well obser-the fourth sheate; & were wont to cate up ueth) the people in later times vsurped too great authoritie in their Councells, with their horse, en, 20 This confusion in gouernement, together with the trust that they reposed in hi. footemen, and dog, red Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more the other three parts forcible causes of their ruine, were their auarice and their crueltie. a Their auarice remaining. The hufwas shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinarie tributes) the one bandman & the yeo-basse of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpon gentle the frees of all the and mercifull persons, but vpon those who could best tyrannize ouer the people, to World: And reason augment their treasures. Their crueltie appeared, in putting them to death without have the bodies of mercie, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendred them odi. our victorious armies ous to their vailalls, whom it made readie, vpon all occasions, to reuolt from them:

heene compounded.
And it is the free man. the other did breake the spirits of their Generalls, by presenting in the heat of their & not the slaue, that 30 actions abroade, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that hath courage, & the actions abroade, the teare of a crue il death at nome. Hereby it came to pane, that fende of theme determined good Comanders of the Carthagnian forces, after some great losse received, and by cowardise. have desperally cast themselves with all that remained under their charge, into the How free the English throat of destruction; holding it necessaries, either to repaire their losses quickly, or yeomen haue beene, in times, not long to ruine all together: and fewe of them have dared, to manage their owne best pro- fince past, Fortestage jects, after that good forme, wherein they first conceived them, for searce less the hath shewed in his pets, after that good forme, wherein they irrit conceiled their not care left the praife of our Counmaner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted. It being the Carthaginian rule, tries lawes, But I may to crucifie, not only the vnhappie Captaine, but euen him, whose bad counsaile had say, that they are prosperous euent. The faults, wherewith, in generall, they of Carthage are taxed, more free now than by Roman Historians, I find to beethele; lust, crueltie, avarice, craft, vnfaithfulnesse, litie & Gentrie more 40 and periurie. Whether the Romans them selves were free from the same crimes, let servile. For since the the triall be referred unto their actions. The first league betweene Carthage and excessive brauerie Rome, was very ancient: having been made, the yeare following the expulsion of our Grandes, hath Tarquine. In that league, the Carthaginians had the superioritie, as imposing upon the taught them to raise their Rents, since by Romans, the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the Romans should not so Inclosures, and difmuch as haue trade, in some part of Africk, nor suffer any ship of theirs to passe be membring of Manyond the headland, or cape, then called the faire Promon ory, vnleffe it were by force nours, the Court Baoftempest: whereas on the other side, no Hauen in Italie was forbidden to the Car- Leet, the Principalithaginians. A fecond league was made long after, whi. h (how focuer it hath pleafed ties of the Gentrice of Angland, haue beene \* Livie to fay, that the Romans granted it, at the Carthaginians intreatie) was more diffound, the Tenders of the Carthaginians intreaties when the control of the Carthaginians intreaties was more diffound to the Tenders of the Carthaginians intreaties. \*Lime to lay, that the Komans granted it, at the Carrong rade in any part of Africa, names, having paied of Africa, names, having paied ynto their than the former: prohibiting the Romans to have trade in any part of Africa, names, having paied ynto their Lords their or in the Iland of Sardinia.

By the fetwo treaties it may appeare, that the Carthaginians had an intent not only now no fernice at all, to keep the Romans (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge and (perchance) as of the state of Africk; but to countenance & vphold them, in their troubling al Italie, \* Livie Dec. 14.7. Ddddd 2

whereby they themselves might have the better meanes to occupie all Sicil, whill that Iland should be destitute of Italian succours. Hercupon we finde good cause. of the joy that was in Carthage, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twenty & fine pound, sent from thence to Rome, when the Samnites were ouerthrowne. But the little state of Rome prenailed faster in Italie, than the great power of Carthage did in Sicill. For that mightie Armie, of three hundred thousand men, which Hannibal conducted out of Africk into Sicill, wanne only two Cities therein; many great fleets were deuoured by tempests; and how socuer the Carthaginians prevailed at one time, the Sicilians, either by their owne valour, or by affiftance of their good friends out of Greece, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, and take reuenge vp- 10 on these Inuadours. But neuer were the people of Carthage in better hope, of getting al Sicel, than when the death of Agathodes the Tyrant, had left the whole Iland in combustion; the estate of Greece being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilest the Carthaginians were busie, in making their advantage, of this good opportunitie; Pyrrhus, invited by the Tarentines, and their fellowes, came into Italie, where hee made sharpe warre vpon the Romans. These newes were unpleasing to the Carthaginians, who, being a subtile Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition, which had brought this Prince, out of Greece into Italie, would as easily transport him ouer into Sicil, as soone as he could finish his Roman warre. To preuent this danger, they sent Mago Em- 20 bassadour to Rome; who declared in their name, that they were forry to heare, what miladuenture had befallen the Romans, their good friends, in this warre with Pyrrbus; and that the people of Carthage were very willing to affift the state of Rome, by sending an Armie into Italie; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the Epirots.

It was, indeede, the maine defire of the Carthaginians, to hold Pyrrhus fo hardly to his worke in Italie, that they might, at good leifure, pursue their businesse in Sicil: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the Romans were too highminded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. 20 Yet the message was taken louingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene Rome and Carthage renued, with coucnants added, concerning the present businesse; That if either of the two Cities made peace with Pyrrhus, it should be, with reseruation of libertie, to assist the other, in case that Pyrrhus should inuade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same Mago went and treated with Pyrrhus, vling all meanes to found his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon enery new occasion changeth his owne purposes) yet Pyrrhus found leisure to make a step into Sicill: where, though in fine he was neither getter nor fauer, yet hee cleane descated the purposes of Carthage, leauing them at his departure thence, as farre from any end, as when they first be- 40

So many disasters, in an enterprise, that from the first undertaking, had beene so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the Carthaginians to beleeue, that an higher prouidence resisted their intendment. But their desire, of winning that fruitfull Iland, was so inueterate; that with vnwearied patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an haruest, by how much their cost and paynes therein buried had beene the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses, and by force or practice, recouered in few yeeres, all their old possessions: making peace with Syracuse, the chiefe Citic of the Iland, that so they might the better enable themselves to deale with 50

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of Campanian Souldiers, that had served under Agathoeles, being intertained within Messana as friends, and finding themsclues too strong for the Citizens, tooke advantage of the power, that they had to doe wrong; and with perfidious crneltie, flew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wines, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercinaries called themselves Maniertines. Good Souldiers they were : and like enough it is, that meere desperation, of finding any that would approue their barbarous treacherie, added rage vnto their floutnesse. Having therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than the law of the stronger, they ouerranne the Countrie round about them.

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In this course, at first, they sped so wel, that they did not onely desend Messiena against the Cities of Sicil Confederate; to wit, against the Syracustans, and others, but 10 they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the Carthaginians, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to these Mamertines, the Syracusians wan fast vpou them, and finally, confining them within the walls of Messana, they also with a powerful Armic besieged the Citic, It happened ill, that about the same time, a contention began, betweene the Syracustian Souldiers, then lying at Megara, and the Citizens of Syracuse, and Governours of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so farre, that the Armie elected two Gouernours, among themselves ; to wit, Artemidorus, and Hicron, that was afterward King. Hieron, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrarie to the policy of that State, to approue any election made 20 by the Souldiers, yet for the great elemencie hee yied at his first entrance, was by

generall consent established and made douernour. This Office, hee rather vsed as a Scale, thereby to clime to some higher degree, than rested content with his pre-

CHAP. I. S.2.

In briefe, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtayning, and fafe keeping, of the place he fought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and eafily moued to fedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, hec tooke to wife the daughter of Leptines, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the 30 Syracustans. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege Messana, he quartered all those Companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citic, and lea-

ding the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would have affaulted it in two feueral parts, he marched away under the couert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the affieged: So returning home, and leavying an Armie of his owne Citizens, well tray ned and obedient, he hafted againe towards Messana, and was by the Mamertines (growne proud by their former victorie ouer the Mutiners) incountred in the plaines of Mylaum, where hee obtained a most signall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captine into Syracuse, himselfe by common consent was elected and faluted King. Hereupon the 40 Mamertines, finding themselues vtterly infeebled, some of them resolued to give themselues to the Carthaginians, others to crave assistance of the Romans: to each of whom, the severall factions dispatched Embassadours for the same purpose.

The Carthaginians were soone readic to lay hold vpon the good offer: so that a Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of Messana, wherof they that had sent for him gaue him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the Romans, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of dores, and the Towne re-

ferued for other Masters.

These newes did much offend the people of Carthage; who crucified their Cap-50 taine, as both a Traitour and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to besiege Mef-Sana, as a Towne that rebelled, having once beene theirs. Hieron, the new made King of Syracufe (to gratifie his people, incenfed with the smart of injuries lately receiucd) added his forces to the Carthaginians, with whom hecentred into a league, for exterminating the Mamertines out of Sicil. So the Mamertines on all sides were Ddddd 2

CHAP.I.S.3.

closed up within Messana: the Carthaginians lying with a Nauie at Sea, and with an Armic on the one side of the Towne, whilest Hieron with his Syracusans, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came Appius Claudius the Roman Confull, with an Armie to the streights of Sicil: which paffing by night with notable audacitie, hee put himselse into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the Carthagmians, and to Hieron, required them to depart; fignifying vnto them, that the Mamertines were now become confederate with the people of Rome, and that therefore hee was come to give them protection, even by force of warre, if reason would not prevaile.

This message was veterly neglected; And so beganne the warre betweene Rome 10 and Cottage; wherein, it will then be time to shew, on which part was the justice of the quarrell, when some actions of the Romans lately foregoing this, have beene first considered.

## ò. III.

The beginning of the fift Punick warre. That it was uninftly undertaken by the Romans.



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Hen Pyrrhus beganne his warres in Italie, the Citie of Rhegium, being well affected to Rome, and not onely fearing to be taken by the Epirot, but much more distrusting the Carthaginians, as likely to scize vponit in that busic time, sought aide from the Romans, and obtained from them a Legion, confifting of foure thousand Souldiers, under the

conduct of Decius Campanus, a Roman Prefect; by whom they were defended and affored for the present. But after a while this Roman Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the Mamertines, committed in Messana, (a Citie in Sicil, situate almost opposite to Rhegium, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, which feuereth it from Italie) and rather weighing the greatnesse of the bootie, than the 30 odiousnesse of the villanie, by which it was gotten; resoluted finally, to make the like purchace, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the Mamertines, they entertained their Hofts of Rhegium, after the same manner; dividing the spoile, and all which that State had among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate & people of Rome, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more scuere profession of justice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatnesse) resolued, after a while, to take revenge vpon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in Italie, by Pyrrhus. For, notwithstanding that those Romans in Rhegium (as men for 40 the foulenesse of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinateresolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present furie, were brought bound to Rome, where after the vsuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrie, they had their heads ftricken from their shoulders; and the people of Rhegium were againe restored to their former liberties and estates.

This execution of justice being newly performed, and the fame thereof founding honourably through all quarters of Italie: messengers came to Rome, from Messana, desiring help against the Carthaginians, and Syracusians, that were in a readineffe to inflict the like punishment voon the Mamertines, for the like offence. An 50 impudent request it was, which they made: who having both giuen example of that vilanie to the Roman Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good, intreate the Iudges to give them that affishance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-theeues. The

The Romans could not suddenly resolue, whether the way of honeslie, or of profit, were to be followed; they enermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They confidered, how contrarie the course of succouring the Mamertines was, to their former counsells, and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the fword, their owne Souldiers, and reftored the oppressed to their libertic. Yet when they beheld the description of the Carthaginean Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best parts of Africa, of the Mediterran Ilands, of a great part of spaine, and some part of Sicil it selfe: whilest also they feared, that Syracuse therein seated (a Citie in beautie and riches,

to little, at that time, inferiour to Carthage, and farre superiour to Rome it selfe) might become theirs; the safetie of their owne estate spake for these Mamertines: who, if they(driven to despaire by the Romans)should deliver vp Messana, with those other holds, that they had, into the hands of the Carthaginians, then would nothing fland betweene Carthage, and the Lordship of all Sicil: for Syracuse it selfe could not, for want of fuccour, any long time fubfift, if once the Carthaginians, that were Mafters of the Sca, did taften upon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the oportunitie of Mesana was such, as would not only debarre, all succours out of the continent, from arrivall in Sicil; but would ferue as a bridge, wherby the Carthaginians might have entrance into Italie, at their owne pleasure.

These considerations, of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatned from a farre, did so prevaile, aboue all regard of honestie, that the Mamertines were admitted into Confederacie with the Romans, and Ap. Claudius the Confull, presently dispatcht away for Messana: into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arriuall; and lesse moued, with his requiring them, to desist from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Iland was readie to relieue them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this Appius himselfe well understood: and against all this, he thought the stiffe metall of his Roman Souldier, a sufficient reme-30 die. Therefore, herefolued to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his comming was to fend them away from the Towne; not to be befreged by

them within it. In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemie lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in distresse. Hieron was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto hee had wilfully cast his owne mutinous followers, not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought fo) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him Ap. Claudius issued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected sallie, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith hee presented him. 40 The Syracufian wanted not courage to fight, but furely, hee wanted good advice:

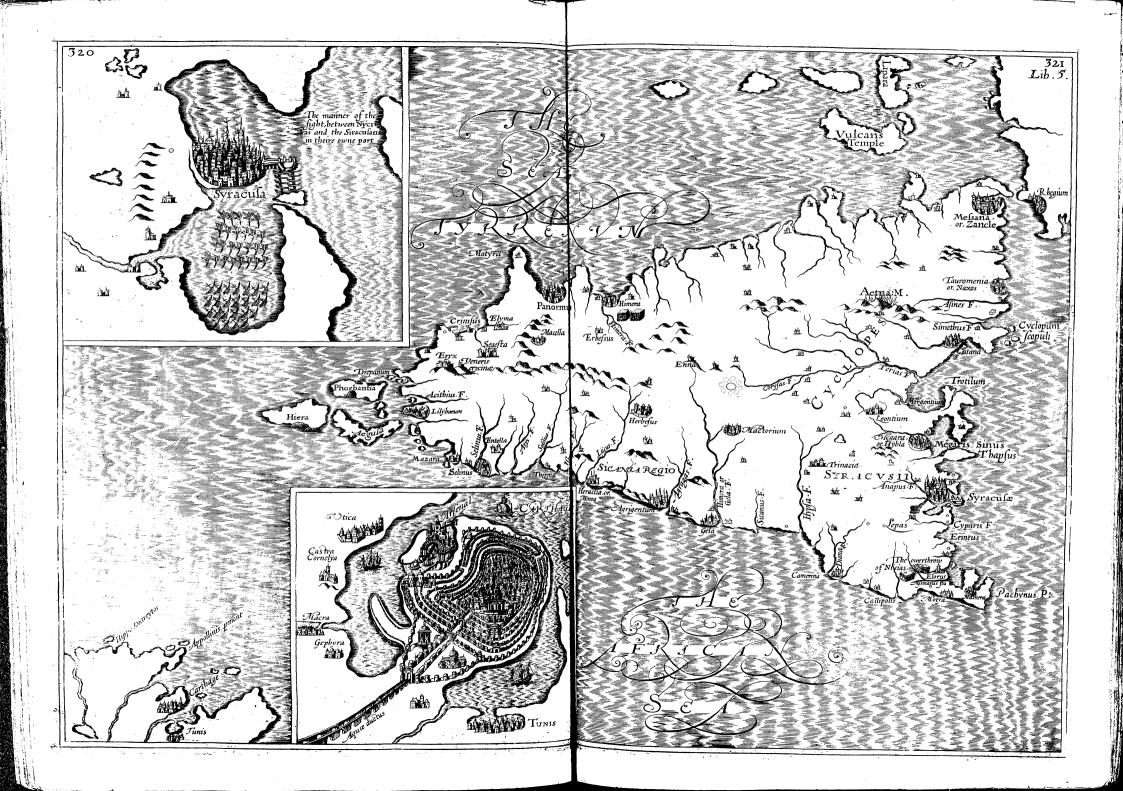
else would he not have hazarded all his power against an enemie, of whom he had made no triall; when it had beene easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his raigne. But he was well beaten; and driven to faue himfelfe within his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisedome, that stood him and his Kingdome in good stead, all the daies of his life. It was a foolish desire of reuenge, that had made the Syracusians so busie, in helping those of Carthage, against the Mamertines.

Had Messana beene taken by the Carthaginians, Syracuse it selfe must have sought 50 helpe from Rome, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. Hieron had (in respect of those two mightie Cities ) but a small stock, which it behooved him to gouerne well: such another losse would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their aduentures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargaine. The next day, Claudius perceiuing the Sicilian Armic gone, did with great courage, and with much alacritic of his fouldiers, giue charge vpon the Carthaginians: wherein he sped so well, that the enemie for sooke both field and campe, leaving all the Countrie open to the Romans; who having spoiled all round, without resistance, intended to lay fiege vnto the great Citic of Syracule.

These prosperous beginnings, how soeuer they animated the Romans, and filled them with hopes, of attaining to greater matters, than at first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of Carthage, that had wel enough repaired greater losses than this, in which no more was lost, than what had beene prepared against the Mamertines alone, without any suspicion of warre to

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the Romans entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honestie (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulnesse; whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the Mamertines did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the Romans hands (as the Campanes, distressed by the Samnites, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the messengers of those folke, wheref one part had alreadie admitted the Carthaginians, could be enabled to make any fuch furrendric, in the publike name of all 20

If therefore the Mamertines, by no lawfull furrendric of themselves and their possessions, were become subject unto Rome, by what better title could the Romans affilt the Mamertines, against their most ancient friends the Carthaginians, than they might have aided the Campanes, against the Samnites, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves consessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point seruing to cleare this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no companie, of Pirates, Theeues, Outlawes, Murderers, or fuch other malefactours, can by any good successe of their vilanie, obtaine the priviledge of civill societies, to make league or truce, yea, or to require faire warre: but are by all meanes, 30 as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some Civilians, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith, with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is ving the sword of vengeance against them, without becomming accessarie to their crimes. Wherefore, we may effecmethis action of the Romans, so farre from being justifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Theeues, into their protection, they justly descrued to be warred vpon themselues, by the people of Sicil; yea, although Mes-Sana had beene taken, and the Mamertines all flaine, ere any newes of the Confede- 40 racie had beene brought vnto the beliegers. The great Alexander was so farre perfwaded berein; that he did put to fword all the Branchiada (a people in Sogdiana) and razed their Citie, not withstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were descended from a Companie of Milesians, who to gratifie King Xerxes, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countrie, which these of their posteritie enjoyed. Neuerthelesse, in course of humane justice, long and peaceable possession gives ius acquisitum, a kinde of right by prescription, vnto that which was at first obtained by wicked meanes: and doth freethe descendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose vilanies they doe not exercise. But that the same generation of Theeues, which by a dete- 50 stable fact hath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vnlesse by



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fome alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime: as did our King Henrie the first, by his marriage with Maude, that was daughter of Malcolme, King of the Scots, by Margaret, the Neece of Edmund Ironside, Wherefore I conclude, that the Romans had no better ground (if they had so good) of juflice, in this quarrell, than had the Gothes, Hunnes, Vandalls, and other Nations, of the warres that they made upon the Roman Empire, wherein Rome her felfe, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to ground.

thole of Gibralter.

# ð. IIII.

Of the Iland of Sicil.

### t. I.

The qualitie of the Iland: and the first Inhabitants thereof.

He defence of the Mamertines, or the possession of Messana, being now no longer, fince the first victories of Appius Claudius, the objects of the Roman hopes; but the Dominion of all Sicil being the prize, for which Rome and Carthage, are about to contend: it will be agreeable vnto the order, which in the like cases we have observed, to make a briefe collection, of things, concerning that noble Iland, which hath beene the

stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present

That Sieil was sometimes a Peninsula, or Demie-Isle, adjoyned to Italie, as a part of Brutium in Calabria, neare vnto Rhegium, and afterward by violence of tempest se-10 uered from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuision happened, there is no memoriall remayning, in any ancient writer. Strabo, Plinie, and Dionyfius, affirme, that it was caufed by an carthquake; Si- Plinitage at lius, and Cassiedorus, doe thinke it to have beene done by the rage and violence of silling the tide, and surges of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was Euba scuered from Baotia; Atalante and Macri, from Euba; Sillie here in England. from the Cape of Cornewall; and Britaine it selfe (as may seeme by Verstegans arguments) from the opposite continent of Gaule. But for Sicil, they which lend their cares to fables, do attribute the cause of it to Neptune (as Eustathius witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in fauour of Iscastus, the sonne of Eolus, divided it 40 from the maine land, and so made it an Iland, which before was but a Demie-Ille; that by that meanes, hee might the more fafely inhabite, and possesse that came. Diodorus Siculus, moued by the authoritie of Hesiodus, ascribeth the labour of sun-orionda, site. dring it from Italie, to Orion : who, that he might be compared to Herenles (cutting Diod.l.o. through the rocks and mountaines) first opened the Sicilian streights, as Hercules did Ouid de Fast. 40

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as Enstatbins and Strabo, who affirme this. not only to excell the reft for bigneffe, but also for goodneffe of soile. As concerning the forme of this Iland, Pomponius Mela faith, it is like that Capitall letter of 50 the Greeks, which they call Delta, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was confecrated to Geres and Proferpina, all old writers with one consent affirme. To Ceresit was dedicated, becauseit first taught the rules of setting and sowing of Corne to Proserpina, not so much, for that thee was from hence violently taken by Pluto, as because (which Plu-

girabel.6.

tarch and Diodorus doe report for truth) that Pluto, as soone as shee, vncouering her selte, first she wed her selfe to be seene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrie, there is a famous testimonie written by Cicero, in his second Oration against Verres, where he faith, that Marcus Cate did call it the Granarie, and Store-house of the Common-wealth, and the Nurse of the vulgar fort. The fame Cicero doth adde in that place; that it was not only the store-house of the people of Rome: but also that it was accounted for a well furnished treasurie. For without any cost or charge of ours (faith he) it hath vsually cloathed, maintained, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparell, and corne. Strabo reporteth almost the same thing of it. What soeuer Sicilie doth yeeld (faith Solinus) 10 whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the industrie and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that arc of best estimation: were it not, that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely ouer-growne with faffron. Diodorus Siculus faith, that in the fields, neere vnto Leontium, and in divers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it selfe, without any labour, or looking to, of the husbandman. Martianus sheweth, that there were in it sixe Colonies, and fixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authours.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace as warre, there be many other things, which have made it very renowned, as the 20 birth of Ceres; the rauishing of Proferpina; the Giant Enceladus; the mount Eina. Scylla and Charibdis, with other antiquities, and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble Mathematician Archimedes, the famous Geometrician Euclides; the painful

Historian Diodorus; and Empedocles the deepe Philosopher.

That Sicil was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants Lastriagones, and Cyclopes, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all histories and fables doe joyntly with one consent auerre. Yet Thucydides saith, that these sauage people dwelt onely in one part of the Hand. Afterward the Sicani, a people of Spaine, possessed it. That these Sicani were not bred in the Isle (although some doe so thinke,) Thueydides and Dio-

dorus doe constantly auouch.

Of these it was named Sicania. These Sicani were inuaded by the Sicali; who, inhabiting that part of Latium, whereon Rome was afterward built, were driven by the Pelasgi from their owne seates, and finding no place vpon the continent, which they were able to master and inhabite, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred yeares before the Greekes sent any Colonies thither: and (faith Philistus) eightic yeares before the fall of Troy. These Siculi gave the name of Sicilia, to the Iland; and making warre vpon the Sicani, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie Zancle, afterward called Meffena; and after that, Catana, Leontium, and Syracuse it selfe, beating from thence the Etolians, who long before had fet vp a Towne in that place. 40 As for the name of Syracuse, it was not knowne, till such time as Archias of Corinth (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the Siculi; Neither did the Siculi at their first arrivall dispossesse the Atolians thereof, but some hundred yeares after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with Nea, Hybla, Trinacia, and divers others.

After these Siculi came another Nation out of Italy, called Morgetes; who were thence driven by the Oenotrians. These sate downe in that part of Sicil, where they afterward raised the Cities of Morgentum, and Leontium. For at this time the Sicula were divided, and by a civill warre greatly infeebled. Among these ancient Rorles, see finde the last voiage, and the death of Minos, King of Creet. Thuey dides, 50 an Historian of unquestionable finceritie, reports of Minos, that he made conquest of many Hands: and some such businesse, perhaps, drew him into Sicil. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of Dadalus. The tale goes thus: Dadalus flecing the revenge of Minos, came into Sicil to Cocalus, King of the Sicani,

and during his aboade there, he built a place of great strength, necre vnto Megara, for Cocalus, to lay vp his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ramme in gold, that was set up in the Temple of Fenus Erycina; which he did with so great arte, as those that beheld it, thought it ra-

ther to be living, than counterfait.

Now Minos, hearing that Cocalus had entertained Dedalus, prepares to inuade the Territorie of Cocalus; but when he was arrived, Cocalus doubting his own strength, promiseth to deliuer Dadalus. This he performes not, but in the meane while, kills 10 Minos by treason, and perswades the Cretans, Minos his followers, to inhabite a part of Sicil; the better (as it feemes) to strengthen himselfe against the Siculi, Hercunto the Cretans (their King being dead) gaue their consent, and builded for themselves the Citie of Minoa, after the name of their King Minos. After, they likewise built the Towne of Engyum, now called Gange: and these were the first Cities, built by the Greeks in Sicil, about two ages before the warre of Troy; for the grand children of Minos serued with the Greeks at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the Cretans vnderstood, that their King had by treason beene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to invade Cocalus; and landing neere vnto Camicus, they belieged the same fine yeares, but in vaine. In the 20 end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coast of Italie; and having no meanes to repaire their ships, nor the honor they had loft, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built Hyria, or Hyrium, betweene the two famous Ports of Brundusium, and Tarensum. Of these Cretans came

those Nations, afterward called Tapyges, and Messapi.

After the taking of Troy, Ageftus and Elymus, brought with them certaine troups into Sicil, and feated themselves among the Sicani; where they built the Cities of Leefta and Elyma.

It is faid, that Aneas visited these places in his passage into Italie: and that some of the Troianes, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of Sicil: 30 whereof there want not good Authours, that make Aneas himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the Phanicians seised upon the Promontories of Pachinus, and Lilybaum, and vpon certaine small Isles adjoyning to the maine Iland: which they fortified to fecure the trades that they had with the Sicilians; like as the Portugals have done in the East India, at Goa, Ormus, Mosambig, and other places. But the Phanicians staied not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly Citie of Panormus, now called Palerma.

These we finde, were the Nations, that inhabited the Isle of Sicil, before the warre of Troy, and ere the Greeks in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance feeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes 40 one and the same beginning of Nations, after the floud; and that the first planters of all parts of the World, were faid to bee mightie and Giantlike men; and that, as Phanicia, Agypt, Lybia, and Greece, had Hercules, Orefles, Intaus, Typhon, and the like; as Denmarke had Starchaterus, remembred by Saxo Grammaticus: as Scythia, Saxo G.iapra-Britanie, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of Sicil had her Lestrigones and Cyclopes. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous; did not Moses make vs know, that the Zamzummims, Emims, Anakims, and og of Basan, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Defarts of Mosb; Ammon, and Mount Seir, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants : and were it not, that Tertullian, St. Augustine, Wi- furr. 50 sephorus, Procopius, Isidore, Plinie, Diodore, Herodotus, Solinus, Plutarch, and many o- Aug.de civit. ther Authours, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, Vefputius, in his second Nauiga- Deilis. Et

tion into America, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like men in those Niceph.l.2.6.37. parts. Againe, whereas the selfe-same is written of all Nations, that is written of Procop. 1. a.de any one ; as touching their simplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on a- Bello Golb.

cornes and roots, their poore cottages, the coucring of their bodies, with the skins of bealts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first pasfages ouer great Rivers, and armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together; and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oares, and then with faile; that they esteemed as Gods, the first finders out of Arts: as of Husbandric, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all liued in the same newnesse of time, which we call old time, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the Hebrewes, who inherited the knowledge 10 of the first Patriarchs, than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophie Naturall; as the Morall did from disorder and consusion; and the Law from crueltie and oppression.

But it is certaine, that the Age of Time hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For we have now greater Giants, for vice and injustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength; for cottages and houses of clay and timber, we have raised Palaces of stone; we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; infomuch as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkennesse; from the couering of our bodies with the 20 skinnes of beafts, not only to filke and gold, but to the very skinnes of men. But to conclude this digression, Time will also take reuenge of the excesse, which it hath brought forth; Quamlonga dies peperit, longiorá, auxit, longisima subruit; Long time brought forth longer time increased it, and a time, longer than the rest, shall over throw it.

### t. II.

## The plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

Hen the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all Sicil: it happened, that one Theocles, a Greeke, being driven vpon that coast by an Easterly winde; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had beene thought fabulous, being deliuered onely by Poets; gaue information to the Athenians of this his discouerie, and proposed vnto them the benesit of this case conquest, offering to become their guide. But Theoeles was as little regarded by the Athenians, as Columbus, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the English. Wherefore hee tooke the same course, that Columbus afterwards did. 40 Hee ouer-laboured not himselfe in perswading the Noble Athenians ( who thought themselves to bee well enough alreadie) to their owne profit; but went to the Chalcidians, that were needie and industrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of Naxus, and a Colony planted of Eubwans.

But the rest of the Greeks were wifer than our westerne Princes of Europe: for they \* Syracufe, as had no Pope, that should forbid them, to occupie the voide places of the World. was the grea- Archias of Corinth followed the Eubwans, and landed in Sicil, neare vnto that Citie, tell, and most called afterward \* Syracuse: of which, that part onely was then compassed with a goodly Citie of all that the

Greeker posses. For the situation is both strong, and of an excellent prospect, from every entrance, by Land, or Sca. The Port was (for the most part) environmed with beautifull building: and that part which was without the Citic, was on both sides bankt vp, and sufficiently with beautifull walls of Marble. The Citic is Gets. on both sides bankt vp, and sustained with beautifull walls of Marble. The Citie it selfe was one of the greatest of the World : for it had in compasse (as Strabo reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 180. surlongs; which made of our miles about 18. It was compounded of four e Citees, (Strabo saith, of fine) to wit, Insila, Acradina, Tycha, and Neapolis: of which greatnesse, the ruines and foundations of the walls doe yet witnesse.

wall, which the Ltolians called Homothermon; the Greeks, Nafos; the Latines, In-Afterfuchtime fula. He with his Corinthians having over-come the Siculi, drave them vp into the as the Dores of Countrie; and after a few yeares, their multitudes increasing, they added vnto the Peloponess had Citie of the Iland, that of Acradina, Tycha, and Neapolis. So as well by the comdriven out the
modity of the double Port, capable of a many thing, and Neapolis. modity of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Hauen of that part of goodly Citie, Europe, as by the fertilitie of the foyle; Syracuse grew vpin great haste, to be one of for a long time became the the goodliest Townes of the World. In short time the Greekes did possess the bet-feat of Tyrants ter part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the Sicilians to withdraw themselves into the Thesist wherfast and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall residence in The second,

CHAP.I. S.4. 1.2.

Some seuen yeares after the arrivall of Archias; the Chalcidians, encouraged by derribe third, the successe of the Corinthians, did affaile, and obtains the Citie of Leontum, built The fourth, and possest by the Siculi. In briefe, the Greekes winne from the Siculi, and their and fift, Dieny-Affociates, the Cities of Catana, and Hybla, which, in honour of the Megarians that fins, the elder, forcist show called Magare.

About five and fortie yeares after Archias had taken Syracufe; Antiphemus and The fewenth Entimus, the one from Rhodes, the other from Crete, brought an Armie into Sicil, eight, Physbus and built Gela; whose Citizens, one hundred and eight yeares after, did creet that The ninth, magnificent and renowned Citie of Agrigentum, gouerned according to the Lawes hiere the yon-of the Deviane 20 of the Dorians.

The Syracustans also, in the seuentieth yeare after their plantation, did set vp the nymus: who be-Citie of Acra, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth yeare Casmena, in the Playnes Lontium, at adjoyning; and againe, in the hundred and thirtieth years of their dwelling in length the Ro-Syracuse, they built Camerina; and soone after that, Enna, in the very Center of the mans conque Iland. So did the Cumani, about the same time, recouer from the Siculi the Citie of the conduction Zancle, which they had founded in the streight betweene Sicil and Italie. They of Marcellus. of Zancle had beene founders of Himera.

Not long after this Dorieus the Lacedemonian built Heraclia; which the Phanicians, and Carthaginians, fearing the Neighbourhood of the Spartans, soone after in-30 naded and ruined, though the same were againe ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colonie of Megara: and Zancle was taken by the Messenians; who having lost their owne Countrie, gaue the name thereof vnto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest Cities in this

### t. 11.

# of the government and affaires of Sicil, before DIONYSIVS bis Tyrannie.

THe most part of the Cities in Sicil, were gouerned by the rule of the people, till such time as Phalaris began to vsurpe the state of Agrigentum, and to exercise all manner of tyrannie therein.

This was that Phalaris, to whom Perillus, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of braffe, wherein to enclose men, and scortch them to death: prayling the denice with this commendation; That the noise of one tor-50 mented therein, should bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a due reward to the Inuentour; by causing the first triall to be made vpon himselfe. Heeraigned one and thirtie yeares, faith Eulebius; others give him but fixteene: Howfoeuer it were, one Telemachus, in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of Agrigentum, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by Zeno,

30

Pausan 1.6.

enen whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the same Zeno, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracie.

After the death of Phalaris, the Citizens recovered their libertic, and enjoyed it long, till Thero viurped the governement of the Common-weale: at which time also Panetius made himselfe Lord of Leontium; and Cleander, of Gela: but Cleander, having ruled seven yeares, was slaine by one of the Citizens. Cleander being dead, his brother Hippoerates succeeded in his roome, and greatly afflicted the people of Naxos, of Zancle or Messen, and of Leontium; whom with divers other of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. Hee also made warre with the Syraussand, in the end, got from them, by composition, the Citie of 10 Camerina. But when he had raigned seven yeares, he was slaine in a battell against the Sieuli, before Hybla.

At this time did the Syracustans change their forme of Gouernement, from Popular to Aristocraticall; a preparation towards a Principalitie, whereinto it was soone after changed. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon (descended from the Rhodians, which together with the Cretans had long before, among other of the Greeks, seated themselves in Sieil) that had commanded the forces of Hippocrates, in the former warre, with notable successe, became Lord of Gela. Hee, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed with him by Hippocrates over his children, and being in possessing the trust committed with him by Hippocrates over his children, and being in possessing the trust committed with him by Hippocrates over his children, and being in possessing the trust committed with one case of a contention in Syracuse, 20 betweene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Armie to the succour of the Gouernours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and sindeede) the most famous, that ever gouerned the Syracustins. This change hapned in the second yeare of the threescore and twelsth o-lympiad; wherein the better to establish himselfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of

Thero, who had also nsurped the state of Agrigentum.

Now this Gelon, the sonne of Dinomenes, had three brethren; Hiero, Polyzelus, and The assume to the first of which hee gaue up the Citic of Gela, when hee had obtay ned the Principalitie of Syracus. For, after that time, all his thoughts trauelled in the strengthning, beautifying, and amplifying of Syracus. He defaced 30 Camerina, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the Syracus who built it, and brought the Citizens to Syracus. The Megarians that had moved a warre against him, he ouer-came; the richer fort he brought to Syracus and the people he sold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon like occation. Not long after this, Thero, a Prince of the Agrigentimes, having dispossific Terillus, of his Citic Himera; the Carthaginians were drawne into the quarrell by Anaxilus, Lord of Messens, father-in-law to Terillus: and Gelon was also sollicited by his Father-in-law, Thero. Gelon was content, and in fine, after diversions the Carthaginians, and other Asircans, led by Amilear, were overthrowne by Ge-Merod. & Diod. lon: and an hundred and fiftie thousand of them left their bodies in Sicil.

This Gelon it was, to whom the Athenians and Lacedemonians sent for succour, when Xerxes with his huge Armie past the Hellespont. Hee, for their reliefe having armed thirtie thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, resusted neuerthelesse to send them into Greece. heecause they resusted him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or by Land. So he vsed to their Embassadors onely this saying, That their Spring was withered; accompting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the slower of the Greeke Nations.

The Carthaginians, after this great losse received, searing the invasion of their owne Countrie, sent to Gelon by their Embassadors, to desire peace; who grants it them on these conditions; That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their 50 children to Saturne; That they should pay him two thousand talents of silver; and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the Carthaginians, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousands talents, and the ships for warre, they sent unto Demarata; Gelon's wise, a crowne, valued at an

hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended; and Sieil in peace; Gelon beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subiects, he left the World, and left for his Succession his brother Hiero. Philiss and Plinie report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered him-felse to be burnt with him.

To Gelon, Hiero his brother succeeded, a man rude, cruell, couetous, and so suto spicious of his brethren Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus, as hee sought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conversation which hee had with simonides, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the studie of good Arts. Divers quarrells he had, as well with Theron of Agrigentum, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Carthaginians, whom Nerves had incited to inuade Sicil, fearing the fuccours which Gelon had prepared, to aide the Gracians, against him. Hee also overthrew in battaile Thrasydeus, the sonne of Theron, and thereby restored the Agrigentines, to their former libertie. But in the end, hee lost the loue of the Syracusians; and after he had raigned eleuen yeares, he left the Kingdome to his brother Thrasphulus, who 20 became a most vnjust and bloudie Tyrant. Thrasybulus enjoyed his Principalitie no longer then ten moneths. For, not with standing the force of mercinarie Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of Syracufe by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in Acradma, hee restored the government, and was banished the Hand. From whence he sailed into Greece, where he died a private man, among the Locrians.

And now had the Syracusans recoursed againstheir former libertie, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had neuer sought, had the Successours of Gelon inherited his vertue, as they did the Principalitie of Syracus. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answere the acquisition. Where a 30 liberall, valiant, and adulted Prince, hath obtained any new Signiorie, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a private man, to the dignitie of a Prince; it behouseth the Successour to maintaine it by the same way and arte, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, Syracuse (though not without blowes, cre shee could clense her selfe of the creatures and louers of Gelon) was now againe become Mistresse of her selfe, and held her selfe free, well-neare threescore yeares, to the time of Dionysius; though she were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called Tindario.

Now, to preuent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they 40 deuised a kind of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking parterne from the Athenian Oftracifme. They called this their new denifed judgement of exile, Petalismus, wherein every one wrote vpon an Olive leafe (as at Athens the v wrote vpon shells) the name of him, whom hee would have expelled the Citie. Hee that had most suffrages against him, was banished for fine yeares. Hereby, in ashort time, it came to passe, that those of judgement, and best able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worst able, either supprest, or thrust out of the Citie. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could: seeking some place of more securitie, wherein to maintaine themselues. And good reason they had so to does 50 seeing there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not long. For their necessitie taught them to abolishit, and restore againe the wifer fort to the Gouernment; from which, the Nobilitie having practifed to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by Ducetius, King of the Sicilians,

Eccec 3

that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had alreadie taken Enna, and some other of the Grasian Cities, and ouerthrowne the Armie of the Agregentines the Syracustans sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs called Bolcon. This their Gaptaine made nothing so much haste to finde Ducetius, against whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Armie he led. as foone as Ducetius presented him battaile. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the Syracusians perished.

But making better choice among those, whom they had banished, they leuie other troups: by whom, inconclusion, Ducetius being beaten, submitteth himfelfe, and is constrained to leave the Hand for a time. Yet it was not long, ere hee

returned againe, and built the Citic Collatina on the Sea-side.

Dusetius being dead; all the Greeke Cities did in a fort acknowledge Syracufe: Trinacia excepted; which also by force of armes, in the fourescore and fift olympiad,

they brought to reason.

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But they doe not long enjoy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of Leontium, being opprest by them, secke aide from the Athenians, about the sixt yeare of the Peloponnesian Warre. In this suite they prevailed by the eloquence of Gorgias their Orator; and got an hundred Athenian Gallies to succour them, vnder the leading of Laches, and Charades. To this fleet, the Leontines, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought 20 by Sophooles, Pythodorus, Eurymedon, and other Athenian Captaines, they inuaded the Territories of the Syracusians, and their Partisans, wanne and lost divers places: tooke Messana; and, in the seuenth yeare of the Peloponnesian Warre, lost it againe. They also at the same time, attempted Himera, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which inuaded each others Territorie with great violence. But when they had wearied themselues on all hands, and yet could fee none issue of the warre; the Leontines, without the aduice of the Athenians, came to an accord with the Syracusians, and were admitted into their societie, with equall freedome. So the Athenians, who hoped to have greatned themselves in sicil, by the division and civill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by 30 the good agreement of the Sicilians, and faine to bee gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banillaed Pythodorus, and Sophocles, and layd an heany fine vpon Eurymedon. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable Warre, that euer was made by the Greekes in Sicil: which was that of the Athenians, against the Selinuntines, and Syracusians, in fauour of the Cities of Egesta, Leontium, and Catana. They of Selinus had oppress the Egestans; and they of Syracuse, the Leontines, and the Catanians: which was the ground of the warre. For, the Athenians undertooke the protection of their old friends: And, in hatred of the Athenians, aide from Lacedamon was fent 40 to the Syracusians. The Lacedamonians dealt plainely, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to helpe a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their succour, being in distresse. The Athenians scarce knew what to pretend : for their preparations were so great, as discouered their intent to be none other, then the conquest of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleeue their owne eies, which presented vnto them a Fleet, and Armie, farre greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the Citic of Athens had engaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatnesse of the enterprise, but the necessitie of finishing it in a short 50 space of time. For the Lacedamonians (as hath alreadic beene shewed in due place) flood at that time in such broken termes of peace with Athens, as differed not much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought necessarie, either to spare cost in this great expeditio, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindred by wars

at home, if their proceedings were flacke abroad. And furely, had not the defire of the Athenians beene ouer-paffionate, the arguments of Nicias had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a businesse, and to referue their forces for a more needfull vse. But yong counsailes prevailed against the authoritic of ancient men, that were more regardfull of safetie than of honour.

Of this businesse, mention hath beene alreadie made, in that which wee have written of the Peloponnesian warre, But what was there deliuered in general termes, as not concerning the affaires of Greece, otherwise than by consequece; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of Sicil

10 was like to have felt a great conversion.

Though Alcibiades had prevailed against Nicias, in exhorting the people to this great voiage; yet Nicias, together with Alcibiades, and Lamachus, was appointed to

be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succour the Segestans, and to reestablish the Leontines, cast out of their places by the Syracusians, as also, by force of armes, to subject the Syracusians, and all their adherents, in Sicil, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the Athenians for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were fent off, with an hundred and thirtie Gallies, and flue thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirtie ships of burden, which 20 transported their victualls, engines, and other munitions for the warre: and these were Athenians, Mantineans, Rhodians, and Candians: there were, besides these, sixe

thousand Megarians light armed, with thirtie horse-men.

With these troups and fleets they arrive at Rhegium, where the Rhegians refuse to giuethem entrie; but sell them victualls for their monie. From thence they sent to the Egestans, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing for their fakes, they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answeres; that these Egestans were poore, and that they had abused the Athenian Embassadors with falle shewes of gold, having in all but thirtie talents. The Atherians further were discouraged, when they found that the Rhegians, their ancient friends, and 30 allied vnto the Leontines, refused to trust them within their walls. Hereupon Nicias aduleth to depart towards the Selinuntines, and to force them, or perswade them, to an agreement with the Egestans; as likewise to see what disbursements the Egeflans could make; and so to returne againe into Greece, and not to waste Athens in a needlesse warre. Alcibiades, on the other side, would sollicite the Cities of Sieil to confederacie against the Syracusans and Selinuntines, whereby to force them vnto restitution of all that they had taken from the Leontines. Lamachus, hee perswades them to affaile Syracuse it selfe, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surprize Catana: & there they take new counfaile, how to proceede. Thence they imploied Nicias to those of Egista, who 40 received from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred & twentietalents more there were of the spoiles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Summer being spent in idle consultations, & vaine attempts, the Athenians prepare to affaile Syracus. But Alcibiades having been caccused at home, in his absence, was sent for backe by the Athenians, to make his answere: and the Armie was left to the conduct of Nicias and Lamachus. These Commanders obtaine a landing place very neare vnto Syracuse, by this deuice.

They imploy to Syracuse an inhabitant of Catana, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise vnto the Syracusans, that he would deliuer into their hands all the Athenians, within Catana. Hereupon the Syracusians draw thitherward with their 50 best forces. But in the meane while, the Athenians, setting saile from Catana, arrive at Syracuse, where they land at faire case, and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the Syracufians had the loffe: but the Ashenians, wanting horse, could not pursue their victorie to any great effect. They then retire themselues, with a resolutio to refresh their Armie at Catana, for the winter-season.

Eecec 2

From thence they made an attempt vpon Messana, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vaine. For Alcibiades had discouered such as were Traitors within the Citie to the Messenians. This he now did, in despight of his owne Citizens. the Athensans; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof heing affured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the Lacedamonians, and to them hee gaue mischieuous counsaile against his countrey. While this winter yet lasted, the syracustans send Embassadours to Lacedamon, and Corinth, for aide: as likewise the Athenian Captaines in Speil, fend to Athens, for Supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth years of the Pelopennesian warre) the Athenians in Sicil, saile from the Port of Catana, to Megara, forfaken of the Inhabitants; from whence forraging the Countrie, they obtaine some small victories over the straggling Syracusians: and at their returne to Catana, they receive a supply of two hundred men at armes, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Iland, from the Segestans, and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a companie of Archers and with three hundred

talents in monie.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neere Syracuse, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the Syracustans, that sallied to impeach their intrenchments, 20 They also received from their Confederates foure hundred horse-men, with two hudred other horse to mount their men at armes. Syracuse was now in effect blockt vp, fo, as hardly any fuccours could enter, but fuch as were able to force their paffage: yet the Athenians receive divers loffer; among which it was not the leaft, that

Lamachus, one of their best Commanders, was slaine.

In the meane while, Gylyppus, and Python, with the Lacedamonian, and Corinthian forces arrive, and take land at Hymera. The Citizens of Hymera, and of Gela, together with the Selinuntines, joyne with them; fo that with these and his own troups, Gylippes aduentured to march over-land towards Syracuse. The Syracusians send a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The Athenians prepare to en- 30 counter them, expecting his arrival neere vnto the Citic, vpon a place of advantage. At the first encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the Syracusian horse-men could not come to fight in those streights: but soone after, Gylippus charging them againe, brake them, and constrained Nicios to fortifie himselfe within his Campe, Whereupon Nicias made the state of his affaires knowne, by his letters, to the Athenians, shewing, that, without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost together with the small Armic remaining. These letters received, the Athenians appoint two other Generalls, Eurymedon, and Demosthenes, to joyne with Wicias: the one they dispatch presently with some supply; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, Gylyppus at Syracuse, fights with the Athenians, both by Sea

and Land, fomtimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he tooke from them their Fort, neere vnto Syracuse, at the Promontorie, called Plymmyrium; wherein the Athenians loft their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which losse, and that the Athenians themselves, in Greece, were (in effect) belieged within Athens, by the Lacedamonians; yet were they most obstinate in profecuting the Warre in Sicil, and dispatched away Demostheres with new fuccours. Demosthenes, in his way towards Sicil, encountred with Polyanthe sthe Cornthian, with his flecte: both the Captaines being bound for Sicil; the one to succour Nicias; the other, Gylippus. The losse betweene them was in effect e- 50 quall, and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the fuccours arrived to either, Gylppus and Arifton had affailed the Athenians in the great Port of Spracufe, and in a Sea-fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the Athenians. On the neck of this, Demosthenes arrived with three-score and thirteene Gallies, charged with foot-men; and (blaming the flouth of Nicias) he inuaded the Syracufians, the same day that he arrived. But he made more hafte, than he had good speede, being shamefully beaten. and repulfed with great loffe. Hereupon Demosthenes and Enrymedon, determine to rile vo from before Syracuje, and returne to the succour of Athens: but Nicias disputed to the contrarie, pretending that hee had good intelligence within Syracule. whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

of the Historie of the World.

What soener Nicias his intelligence was; vpon the arrivall of a new supply into the Towne, the Athenians had all consented to depart, and to lodge at Catana: had 10 not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill successe, caused them to deferre their departure. But this superstition cost them deare. For the Syracusans. Lacedamonians, and Corinthians, with threefcore and seventeene saile of Gallies, entred the great Port of Syracuse, wherein the Athenians kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themselves. The Athenians, in the same Port encountred them with fourescore and fixe Gallies, commanded by Eurymedon; in which the Athenian flect was beaten, by the leffer number, and Eurymedon flaine. Now, though it were fo, that the Syracufians received the more losse by Land (for the fight was generall) yet when the Athenians were beaten by Sea, in which kinde they thought themsclues inuincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For it was well said of Gylip-

20 pus, to the Syracusians; When any people doe finde themselues vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they perswade themselves that they exceede all others, they not only loofe their reputation, but their courage. The Athenians, besides the Gallies funck and wrackt, had seventeene taken, and possess by the enemie; and with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, having drawne them within a Palisado, in one corner of the Port, vnaduisedly: for it is as contrarie to a Sea-warre, to thrust ships into a streight roome and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plaine field against horse; the one subsisting, by being at large; the other, by

close imbattailing.

CHAP. I.S. 4. 1.3.

The Syracusians, having now weakned the Athenian fleet, resolue to imprison 30 them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Hauen, being about a mile ouer, and there they came to Anchor; filling the Out-let with all manner of Veffels, which they man most strongly, because the Athenians, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies breake through the Syracuftan fleet; which lay but fingle, because they were forst torange themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely mored themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and layd behinde them againe certaine ships, which served in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were funke; or the chaine, which joined them to their fellowes, broken; the Athenians might yet finde 40 themselues a second time intangled and arrested. To disorder also those Athenian Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a paffage.

the Syraen frans had left within these Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certaine number of loofe ones, to stop their course and furie. For where the way of any vesfell, vling oare or failes, is broken, and their speede fore-flowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the relissance opposing.

On the other fide, the Athenians knew that they were veterly loft, except with an inumcible resolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they resolue to hazard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hun-50 dred and ten, of all forts) and with all the strength of their Land-armic, in them im-

barqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the Athenian fleet, cre they came to force the bridge, as, albeit fome few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stopt by the ships without, and affailed by other loofe Gallies of the Syracusians, which were purposely left at large in the Sea.

CHAP. I.S. 4. 1.3.

they were either taken or sunke. Three great disaduantages the Athenians had: the first that fighting within a Hauen, and (as it were) in a streight, they had no roome to turne themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the fecond, that having ouer-peftered their Gallies with Souldiers, who vied offenfine armes of darts and flings, they had not place vpon the decks to firetch their armes: the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paffage, by which they might faue themselues by running away. To be short, the fight was no lesse terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the Athenians, as many as survived, were beaten back to the Land, 10 with loffe of threescore of their Gallies, broken, sunke, or abandoned. The Syracu-Gans did also loose twentie of theirs, with Python, Commander of the Corinthians. The rest of the Athenian Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port, faued themselves by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the Athenian Commanders goe to counsell. Demosthenes perswades them, to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained: and while the Syraculians were triumphing, and made secure by their present victorie, to fet voon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to Athens, This was no ill counsaile. For, as we have heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that have beene victorious) that have neglected the speedie 20 profecution of a beaten enemie; so might we produce many examples of those. who, having flept fecurely in the bosome of good successe, have beene suddenly awaked by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and haue therby loft againe all the honour, and advantage, formerly gotten. But Wisias opposeth the advice of Demostheres: Others say, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all refolue to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more fauourable fortune should call them thence. On the other fide, Gylippus, and other the Lacedamonian and Corinthian Captaines, with Hermoerates, exhort the Syraculians to put themselves presently into the field, and to flop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the Athenians 30 might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at Cadez, lost vs both the Indian fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. Hermocrates, the Syracusian, finding it a lost labour. to perswade his Countrimen to any hastie prosecution, deuised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, hee should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of Syracuse by night, willing them to finde Nicias, and (after they had affured him, that they were of the Athenians faction) to give him advice not to march away ouer-haftily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alleaging that the Syracusians had lodged their Ar- 40 mie, which could not long stay there, vpon the passages & places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings Wicias easily beleeved, and put off his journie to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wife; and to them, every thiftle in the field, appeares, by night,

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue; being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest march away, to the number of fortie thousand; and make their first passage by force, ouer the River of Anapu, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being 50 every day charged in their marches, & by the Syracusian horse-men, beaten in from forraging, and provision of soode, they grow weake and heartlesse. The Syracusians also possesses the Mountaine Lepas, by which they were to passe towards Camerizan, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea coast, and to take

what way they could: being vnable to proceede in their journey intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as having none other meanes to cleape from the enemie that purfued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmilhing. To keepe all in order, Nicias vnder-tooke the leading of the Vantgard; and Demosthenes conducted the Reare. At the River Erineus, Nicias takes the hart of a whole nights march, leaving Demosthenes to make the retrait : who being incompassed, and overprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could have hoped for ; and the faith of his enemies farre worse to than he suspected. For he was afterward, with Nicias, murdered in prison. The Armie of Demosthenes being diffolued, they pursue Nicias with the greater courage: who being vtterly broken, vpon the passage of the River Asinarus, rendred himselfe to Gylippus, vpon honest conditions. Gylippus sought to preserve him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to Sparta, Wicias, as a noble enemie to the Lacedemonians, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they received at Pylus by the Athenians, had faued the lives of the vanquished; Demosthenes, as one that had done to Lacedemon the greatest hurt. Hermocrates also, the Commander of the Syracusian Armic, dissiwaded the rest, by all the artehenad, from vsing any barbarous violence, after so noble a victorie. But the cruell, and the cowardly fort, (co-20 wardise and crueltie, being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these brave Captaines to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to bee starued in lothfome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaves. This was the successe of the Sicilian

warre: which tooke end at the river 1 smarus, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the foure fore and eleventh Olympiad.

The Athenians being beaten out of Sicil; the Egeftans (for whose defence, against the Selinuntines, this late warre had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious Syraculians, fought helpe from the Carthaginians; to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their Vassals. The Carthaginians, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in Sieil, yet considering the prosperitie of the Syracustans, 30 and their late victories ouer the Athenians, they staied a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse, or accept, the offer made vnto them: for the Selinuntines were streightly allied to the Syracustans, as may appeare by what is past. In the end, the Senators of Carthage resolue vpon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their Punick wit) to separate the Syracusians from the Selinuntines, they send Embaffadours to Syracuse: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the Egestans, to compell the Selinuntines to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of Syracuse should thinke meet to allow them. The Syracustans approved the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the Selinuntines would make no such appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the Syracufians, 40 with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the Athenian war, should offer to trouble them, by interpoling as Arbitrators, in a bulines, that themselves could end by force. This was right as the Carthaginians would haueit. For now could they of Selinus with an ill grace craue aide of Syracufe; and the Syracufians as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the Carthaginians would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Armie of three hundred thousand men is set out from Carthage, under the conduct of Hannihal, Nephew to that Amilcar, who (as you have heard before) was overthrowne with the great Carthaginian Armie at Himera by Gelon. Hannibal was exceeding greedy of this imploiment, that he might take reuenge, as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of 50 them having beene staine by the Himerans; the other by those of Selinus. Both these Cities, Hannibal, in this warre, wonne by force of armes, sackt them, and burnt them; and having taken three thousand of the Himerans prisoners, he caused them

to be led vnto the place, where Amilear was slaine, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at Syracuse, occasioned by the banishment of

Hermocrates,

Hermocrates, who had lately beene Generall of the Syracusan forces, against the Athenians. The malice of his enemies had so farre prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meere vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the Lacedamonians, in their warre against Athens; wherein hee did great seruice. All the honester sort within Syracuse were sorie for the injurie done vnto him, and sought to have him repealed. Hermocrates himselfe, returning into Sicil, gathered an Armie of sixe thousand; with which he begannet or epaire Selinus; and by many noble actions laboured to winne the love of his Citizens. But the saction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore, he was adulted to seize upon a Gate of Syracuse, with some strength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might have the better meanes to rise against the adverse partie. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, and set upon him; in which conslict hee was slaine. But his sonne-in-law, Dionyssus, shall make them wish Hermocrates alive againe.

### t. IIII.

# of Dionysivs the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracus.

The Syracusians had enjoyed their libertie about threescore yeares, from the death of Thrasybalus, to the death of Hermocrates: at which time Dionysius was raised up by God, to take reuenge, as well of their crueltie towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of Dionysius, they had made it their passime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now bee taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the Principalitie of Syracuse, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselues Masters of other Cities, and of Syracuse it selfe. For, being made Prator, and commanding their Armies against the Carthagi- 30 mians, and other their enemies, he behaued himselse so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warr. Then beganne he to follow the example of Pifistratus, that made himselfe Lord of Athens; obtaining a band of fixe hundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his private enemics, being traiterously affected to the State of Syracuse, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good services. He doubled the pay of the Souldiers; alledging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully; but intending thereby to affure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had beene banished, which were the best men of Syracuse; and these were afterwards at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefit. His first fauour, among 40 the Syracustans, grew from his accusation of the principal men. It is the delight of base people to raigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did hee helpe them to breake downe, as fetters imprisoning their libertie, the barres that held it vnder safe custodie. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needie, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyrannie; being but fine and twentie yeares of age when he obtained it: belike, it was his defire to raigne long. His first worke, of making himselfe absolute Lord in Syracuse, was, the possession of the Citadell; wherein was 50 much good prouision, and under it the Gallies were mored. This hee obtained by allowance of the people; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselse without all shame or seare: The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needie fort within Syracuse, that could not thriue

thriue by honest courses; and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for his establishing the faction, raigning at that present, were wholly affected to his affistance. Having therefore gotten the Citadell into his hands, he needed no more, saue to assure what hee had alreadie. Hee strengthned himselfe by divers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of Hermocrates; and after her, two at once; the one a Locrian, Doris, by whom he had Dionysius, his Successor; the other, Aristomache, the daughter of sinparinus, and sifter to Dion, honourable men in Syracuse, which have vnto him many children, that served to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, cre some of the Syracusians (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, even in the noveltie of his Rule. But their enterprise was more passionately, than wisely governed. He had shamefully been beaten by the Carthaginians at Gela: which, as it vexed the Sicilian men at armes, making them suffect that it was his purpose to let the Carthaginians waste all, that hee might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it instanded them with a desire to free themselves from his tyrannie. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to Syracuse, where they sound friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ransaked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wise, that for the griese thereof shee positoned her selfe. But hee sollowed their hecles as pace; and firing a Gate of the Citic by night, entred soone chough to take revenge,

o pace; and firing a Gate of the Citic by night, entred soone enough to take reuenge, by making a speedie riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowner, no, not of his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no, not so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vnstript and searched. He was the greatest Robber of the people, that euer raigned in any State; and withall the most vnrespectively cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the Iland, from the rest; like as the Spaniard did the Citadell of Antwerpe: therein he lodged

his treasures, and his Guards.

He then beganne to make warre vpon the free Cities of Sicil: but while hee lay 30 before Herbesse, an in-land Towne, the Syracusians rebelled against him; so, as with great difficultie hee recouered his Citadell: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, hee againe recovered the masterie over the Syracusians. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their Harnest, hedifarmed all the Townes-men remayning: and new strengthned the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. He inclosed that part also, called Epipoles; which, with threescore thousand labourers, hee finished in three weekes; being two leagues in compasse. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortic thousand Targets, with as many 40 fwords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thousand corflets, and all other sutable armes. Which done, he fent word to the Carthaginians, (greatly enfeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the Greeke Townes, which they held in Sicil, he would make warre vpon them: and, not staying for answere, he tooke the spoile of all the Phanician ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King Philip the second did of our English, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goes to the field with fourescore thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother Leptines to sea, with two hundred Gallies, and fine hundred thips of burden. Most of the Townes which held for Carthage yeelded vnto him; sauing Panormus, Segesta or Egesta, Ancyra, Motya, and Entella. Of these, he first wonne Motya 30 by affault, and put all therein to the sword; but before Egesta hee lost a great part

of his Armie, by a sallie of the Citizens. In the meane while Himileo arrives; but, ere he tookeland, he lost in a fight at Sea, with Leptines, fittie ships of warre, and fine thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwith sanding, hee recoursed againe Motya vpon his sirst descent. From thence marching towards Mesonered

sena, he tooke Lypara, and (soone after) Messena, and rased it to the ground. Now

beganne Diony/im greatly to doubt his estate. Hee therefore fortified all the places

hee could, in the Territoric of the Leontines, by which hee supposed that Himileo

would passe toward Syracuse; and he himselfe tooke the field againe, with source and

thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that Himileo had di-

uided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halte ouer land, and sen-

ding Mago with the other by Sca: he sent Leptines, his brother, to encounter Ma-

go. But Leptines was veterly beaten by the Carthaginians; twentie thousand of his

men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly

nish fiue hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did Syra-

cule arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any

great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twentie thousand should be slaine in one fight. In

all our fights against the Turkes, of which that at Lepanto was the most notable, we

heare of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer hapned in

our age, nor before vs. When Charles the fift went to beliege Algier, hee had in all

his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fittle faile of ships, and

threescore and fine Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he sought helpe from

all the Cities and Ports of Spaine, Naples, and the rest of Italie. But in old times it

of all that could beare armes, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our

daies it is not fo; neither indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this ouerthrow, Dio-

nysus postes away to Syracuse, to strengthen it: Himileo followes him, and besiegeth

the Towne by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, having received aide from the

Lacedamonians, vnder the conduct of Pharacidas, puts himselfe to Sea, to make pro-

uision for his Citizens: who, in his absence, take twenty of the Carthaginian Gallies,

and finke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the

Tyrant exceeding ill; having also at the present weapons in their hands; they con-

fult how to recouer their libertie. And this they had done, had not Pharacidas the

plague was so increased, and so violent, among the Carthaginians; asit is said, that

aboue an hundred thousand of them died thereof. Hee therefore, with the power

that he could gather together, sets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having

flaine great numbers of them, forceth Himileo to desire peace. This peace Dionysius

fold him for a great summe of monie; on condition that he should seale away with

his Carthaginians only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the Africans

and Spaniards. Yet no faith was kept with him : for he was pursued, and left many

of his Carthaginians behinde him. The rest of the Africans fell under the swords of

their enemies; only the Spaniards, after they had a while brauely defended them-

hardly forbeare to deliuer vnto memorie the like practifes, when they meete with their matches : That which hapned vnto Monsieur de Piles, was very sutable to this

treacherie, wherewith Dionysius pursued Himileo. I was present, when De Piles rela-

ted the injurie done vnto him. He had rendered St. John d' Angelie, to the French

King Charles the ninth, who besieged him therein. Hee rendred it, vpon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safetie, with all

his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of Anion his bro-

ther, Generall of his Armic, of the Queene Mother, and of divers Dukes and Mar-

and forced to faue his life by flight, leaving the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the

place: the Kings hand and faith, warranting him to march away with enfignes di-

splaid, and with all his goods and provisions, no whit availing him. It needes not

shalls of France, he was set vpon, and broken in his march; spoiled of all that he had; 50

Many such examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can

sclues, were (after their submission) entertained, and served the Conquerour.

Lacedamonian relisted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the 30

was the manner to carrie into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, 20

credible, which yet good Authours tell vs; That one Citie should be able to fur- to

Kings, professing Christianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them. Dionysius, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edifie Mellena. Mago. who

staied in Sicil, to hold up the Carthaginians therein, is againe beaten by Dionysius; who is also beaten by the Tauromenians. A new supply of sourcescore thousand Souldiers is fent from Carthage to Mago; but they take egges for their monic, and make peace with Dionysius, Icauing the Sicilians in Tauromenium, to shift for them-Clues: whom Dionylius, after a long fiege, ouer-came, and gave their Citie to his

mercinarie Souldiers.

He then past into Italie, obtained divers victories there, brought the Rhegians on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred & fourescore thousand crownes. to furnish him with threescore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for affurance of their future observance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe vnto them the peace that they had so dearely bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might befrege them, and ruine them vtterly, with the more ease. Now to the ende hee might not, without some colour, fallifie the faith that hee had given to them; he pretended to want victual for his Armie, at fuch time as hee seemed ready to depart out of Italie, and sent to them to furnish him the rewith; promifing to returne them the like quantitie, at his comming 20 home to Syracuse.

Hisrefolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, hee would then make their refusall the cause of his quarrell: if they yeelded to aide him with the proportion which he defired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a fiege any long time against him. For to ruine them hee had fully determined at what price soeuer. And great reason he had to take reuenge of them, if he had done it fairely, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his raigne, he defired them to bestow adaughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him, for a wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, saue the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doerather pardon ill deedes, than villanous words.

30 Alexander the Great forgaue many sharpe swords, but neuer any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truely of his errours. And certainely, it belongs to those that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes: and to none else, especially in publique.

It is faid, that Henrie the fourth of France, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of Biron, for his ouer-bold and biting taunts, that hee vsed against him before Amiens, than for his conspiracie with the Spaniard, or Sanoyan: for he had pardoned tenne thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawne their fwords against him. The contemptuous words that Sir John Parret vsed of our late Queene Elizabeth, were his ruine; and not the counterfait 40 letter of the Romish Priest, produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, soone

To bee short, hee made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towns on al fides, which he continued to doe eleven moneths, till he wonne it by force. He ysed his victorie without mercie; specially against Phyton, who had com-

Some other warres hee made with the Carthaginians, after the taking and rafing of this Citie; and those with variable successe. For as in one encounter hee flue Mago, with ten thousand Africans : so the sonne of Mago beat him, and 50 flue his brother Leptines, with foureteene thousand of his Souldiers. After which hee bought his peace of the Carthaginians, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Prosperitie and Aduersitie, as all Kings and States doc. When

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therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen T yrant should thus break his faith, since

When he had raigned eight and thirtie yeeres, he died : some say, in his bedde. peaceably; which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise, A cruell man he was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained Plate a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyrannie, hee gaue order to have him flaine, or fold for a flaue. For he could endure no man, that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore filed his crucitie, The hate of enil men. and his lawleffe flaughters, The ornaments and effects of his inflice. True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest men doc: and I wonder not at it; for it is a world: and as our Sauiour Christ Hath told vs, The World willloue

To this Dionysius, his sonne of the same name succeeded; and inherited both his Kingdome, and his Vices. To winne the loue of the People, he pardoned, and relealed out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt vp, and condemned. Withall, hee remitted vnto his Citizens diners payments, by his Father imposed vpon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that hee had fastned vnto himselfe the peoples affections; he cast off the Sheepes skinne, and put on that of the Woolfe. For being jealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, he caused them all to bee slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For Dionysius his Father (as hath beene said) had two Wines: 20 Doris of Locris; and Aristomache a Syracusian, the sister of Dion, which Brother-inlaw of his he greatly enriched.

By Doris hee had this Dieny sius, who succeeded vnto him: and by Aristomache he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called Sophrofine. he gaue in marriage to his eldest Sonne, and her halfe brother, Dienysius; the yonger, called Areta, he bestowed on his Brother Theorides : after whose death, Dien tooke her to Wife, being his Neece.

This Dion, a just, and valiant man, finding that Dionysius had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that hee was wholly given over to sensualitie, prevailed so much with Plate, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into Sicil, to instruct 30 the youg King. And having perswaded the King to entertaine him, hee wrought fo well with him, as Dionysius beganne to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principalitie, that he had, rather by the love of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrifons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For Philistus the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated Dions seucritie, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour; and caused him soone after to be banished out of Sicil, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas Dion had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the Carthaginians, of whom Dionysius flood in great feare, or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftic Gal- 40 lies at his owne charge, during the warre against them: his enemies found meanes, by sinister interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of treason. They told Dionysius, that al the great commendations, given of Plato, had tended to none other end, then to foften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilest Dion, in the meane time having furnished fiftic Gallies, under colour of the Kings service, had it in his ownepower, either to deliuer to the Syracusians their former liberty, or to make himself Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which hee made, to serue the King with fo great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For 50 they that had served the King for none other ende, than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already been eraised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer, that Dion had made, if the King had had the grace to con-

ceine itaright. But these couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that Dion had, were bold to ftile his Lone and Liberalitie; Pride and Presumption; and heartned the yong King, in his oppressing, and eating vo his owne people, of whose spoiles they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it, That when Charles the fift had the repulse at Algier in Africa, Ferdinando cortele, one of the brauest men that euer Spaine brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the fiege at his owne charge. But he had neuer good day after it. For they that enuied his victories, and his conquest of Mexico in the west Indies, perswaded the Emperour, that Cortese sought to value himselfe about him; and to 10 haue it faid, That what the Emperour could not, Cortese had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

CHAP.I.S.4. †.4. of the Historie of the World.

When Dion was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first, to fend him thereuenewes of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moueables, at his own pleasure: not without giving hope, to recall him in short time. Had he continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that Dion would have beene well pleased to line well, as he did, at Athens. But after sometime, Dionysius made Port-sale of this Noble-mansgoods; and thereby vrged him to take another course; euento seeke therestitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of Dion, especially his great liberalitie, had purchased much loue in Greece. This loue made him suspected and 20 hated of the Tyrant: bur it flood him in good flead, when he fought to raile men, with whose helpe he might returne into Sieil. Yet he got not aboue eight hundred (for hee caried the matter closely) to follow him in this adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in Syracuse, as many as should be needfull, that would readily affist him. Therefore he landed boldly in Sicil; marched to Syracufe; entred the Citie without relistance: armed the multitude; and wonne all, saue the Citadell.

Dionysius was then absent in Italie; but hee quickely had advertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore hee returned hastily to Syracufe: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and some forceable attempts to recouer the Towne. 30 he was faine to depart; leaving yet the Castle to the custodie of Apollogrates, his eldest sonne. Yet ere he went, his Minion Philistus, comming with a strength of men to affift him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But Dion, for the recouerie of his Countries libertie, had the same reward, that all worthy men haue had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retired himselfe to the Leontines, who receive him with greatioy. Soone after his departure from Syracule, new troups enter the Castle: they sallie out, affaile, spoile, and burne a great part of the Citie. Dion is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere hee could arrive, Dionysius his Souldiers were retired; and the Towne fmen, thinking themselves secure, shut the gates against Dion. But the next 40 night they of the Castile sallie againe, with greater furie then euer; they kill Man,

Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie Dion comes the second time to their succour; the love of his Countrie surmounting all the injuries that he had received. Hee fets vpon the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part of his Armie; and quencheth the fire, eucry-where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had well-necre burnt to alhes, and depopulated Syracuse, he recoursed the Cafile, with the munition and furniture thereof, and fent Apollocrates, after Dionyfius his Father, into Italie. But their malice, of whom he had best descrued, and whom he had loued most, gaucan vntimely ende to his dayes. For he was soone after this 50 his victorie, murdered by Calyppus; who, after he had, with ill successe, a while gouerned Syracuse, was flaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murdered

Ten yeeres after the death of Dion, Diony sus, with the affishance of his friends in Italie, recorders his estate, and returnes to Syracuse, driving Nysaus thence, whom he Éffff 2

found Gouernour therein. The better fort of the Citizens, fearing, more then euer, his crueltie, flee to Icetes, a Syracusian borne, and then ruling the Leontines. Icetes enters into confederacie with the Carthaginians, hoping by their affiliance, not onely to preuaile against Dionysius; but by the hatred of the Syracusians towards Dionysius, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The Syracustans, being deferningly afflicted on all fides, lend to the Corinthians for fuccour. Icetes also lends thither, and diffwades the Corinthians, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the businesse. He tells them, by his messengers, That he had entred into league with the Carthaginians, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of Corinth, to land any Armic in Sicil. But the Corinthians, being by this treason of Icetes, to more inraged then diffwaded, sent Timoleon with nineteene Gallies, to deliver syracisse from tyrannie. In the meane while, Icetes had entred Syracuse, and with the helpe of the Carthaginians, driven Dionysius into the Castle, where hee besieged

Icetes, being himselse a Tyrant in Leontium, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than, how to deliuer his Countrie. Therefore, hearing that Timoleon was arrived at Rhegium, he sent to pertwade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in Sicil. The Carthaginian Gallies were also in the same Port of Rhegium; whose Captaines aduised Timoleon, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, then he had, and were like to compell him, if 20 he would not be perswaded. Timoleon, finding himselse ouer-mastered, makes request to the Carthaginian Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into Rhegium, and there, in an open affembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vsed to him in private; that he might, by

publique testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of Corinth.

The Cartbaginians, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtayned by a sew faire words, was without loffe, and farre more casie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to Timoleons defire. But while the Orations were deliuering, Timoleon, fauoured by the Rhegians, stole out of the presse; and having set faile, before the Gates were opened to the Carthaginians, he recovered the Port of Tauromenium, 30 where he was joyfully received by Andromachus the Governour. From thence he marched toward Adranum, were surplising Icetes his Armie, hee slue a part thereof, and put the rest to runne. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The Advantansionned with him; and so did Mamercus, the Tyrant of Catana. Dionyfius also sent to Timoleon, offering to surrender the Castle of Syracuse into his hands, as thinking it better to yeeld up himfelf, and the places which he could not defend, unto the Corinthians, than either to Icetes, whom he disdained, or to the Carthaginians, whom he hated. Now Timeleon, who within fiftie daies, after his arrivall, had recouered the Castle of Syracufe, and sent Dionysius to Corinth, to live there a private man, was still inuaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of Icetes. For 40 he belieged the Corinthians within the Castle of Syracuse, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of Timolcon.

The Corinthians fend vnto Timoleon a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are staid in Italie by soule weather. Icetes is strengthned with threescore thousand Africans, brought vnto him by Mago (all which he lodgeth within Syracuse) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the Carthaginians had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armic, Icetes affaulteth the Cassle. Timoleon sends them victualls, and succour, in small boats, by night, from Catana. Mago and Icetes doe therefore resolue to besiege Catana; but they were no sooner on their way towards 50 it, with part of their forces, than Leon, Captaine of the Corinthians, sallied out of the Castle, and tooke that part of Syracuse, called Acradina, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand Corinthians arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, Timoleon marcheti, towards Syracuse. Mago abandoneth Icetes, being frighted out of Sicil (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to Carthage; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for feare of farther punishment, he banged himselfe. Timoleon enters the Citie, and beats downe the Castle (which he called the nest of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the Citic when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feede on the graffe, growing in the market-place. Therefore, he writes to Corinth, for peopleto re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are sent out of Greece; many come from Italie; others, from other parts of the Iland.

But a new storme ariseth. As drubal and Amilear, Carthaginians, arrive about Lilybeum, with threescore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their prouitions) in a thouland thips of burden, and two hundred Gallies. Timoleon marcheth

thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a Riuer.

A tempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boysterous windes, beating vport the faces of the Carthaginians, they are vtterly broken: ten thousand slain; five thoufand taken; with all their carriages and prouisions: among which there were found athonfand corflets, gilt, and grauen. After this Timoleon, gaue an overthrowe to Icetes, and following his victoric, tooke him, with his sonne Eupolemus, and the Ge- Plut, in vit. Time nerall of his horse, prisoners, whom he caused all to be slaine; and afterwards (which

20 was imputed to him for great crueltie)he suffered Icetes his wives and daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon Icetes, who (after the murder of Dion) had caused Arete, Dions wife and a yong child of his, with Arestomache

his fifter to to be cast into the Sea.

CHAP.I.S.4.† 4.

He againe prevailed against Mamercus, Tyrant of Catana, and wonne Catana it felfe. Mamereus fled to Hippon Tyrant of Meffena: but Timoleon, pursuing him, wonne the towne deliucring Hippon, to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had Mamereus, and all other, the Tyrants in Sicil.

Finally, he made peace with the Carthaginians; on condition, That they should nor passe the River of Lycus. After this, he lived in great honour among the Syra-30 custans, till his death; and was solemnely buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funeralls, being for euer ordained to bee kept holy a-

After fuch time, as Timoleon had delivered Syracule, from the tyrannie of Dionrfins, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the inhabitants enjoyed their libertie in peace, about twentie yeeres. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant failed in fafetie; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthie to be Kings, to gouerne them; should any long time subsist.

49 Twentie yeares after the death of Timoleon, there started up an Agathacles among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Begger, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and fo from degree to degree; riling to bee a Prator; finally became Lord and Soueraigne of the Syraoufians. Many fortunes he ranne, and under-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principalitie, For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable seruice, as well for those by whom he was imploied as also for the Syracustans, and against them. For in their warres against those of Enna, and the Campanes, he did them memorable feruice: and on the contrarie, as memorable feruice for the Murgantines, against the Sy-

30 racusians. For being entertained by the people of Murgantia, and made Generall of their forces, he fackt Leontium; and belieged Syracuse so streightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aide, even from their ancient and naturall enemies, the Carthaginians. Amilear was sent by the Carthaginians, to relieue Syracuse. With him Agathocles wrought fo well, that he got him to make peace betweene him Telfe and

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the Syracustans; binding himselfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and seruant to the state of Carthage, for cuer after. Amilear entertained the businesse, and compounded the quarrels betweene Agathocles, and the Syracusians. Agathocles is chosen Prator; he entertaines five thousand Africans, and divers old Souldiers of the Murgantines, under colour of a purpose to besiege Herbita. With these, and with the affiltance of the poore and discontented Syracusians (the Citie being also divided into many factions) he aifailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; divides the spoile of the rich, among the poore; and gives libertie to his Souldiers, to robbe, to rauish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controlment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appc- 10 tites, and firewed the firects with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks ouer the walls; their furie had no further subject to

deathocles, in an affembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them that, for the violent sicknesse, by which the common-wealth was vtterly confumed, he found no better, than the violet remedies, which he had administred; & that he affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchie, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient & indifferent Democratie, by which it had been gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to have the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) per- 20 force. For as hee knew, that hee had left none living, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had affifted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, then the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had beene partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King; againe and againe, faluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had beene given to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King Richard the third a peece of his patterne; but the one was of base; the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke libertie from a Common-weale; the other fought only to succeede in a Monarchie; the one continued his cruelty to the end; the o- 30 ther, after he had obtayned the Crowne, fought, by making of good lawes, to reco-

uer the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by tuftine; more largely and particularly by Diodorus Siculus: the fumme whereofisthis. The fame Amilear that had brought him into Syracuse, and that had lent him five thousand men to helpe in the maffacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the Carthaginians. It was the purpose of Amilear, to settle Agathocles in his tyrannie, and to let him vexe and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that he should reduce all Sicil into such termes, as would make it become an easie prey to Carthage. But when the Citics, confe- 40 derate with the Carthaginians, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to Carthage; the Punick faith (fo much taunted by the Romans, as no better than meere fallhood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for the redreffe. Embassadours were sent to comfort the Sicilians, and to put Agathoeles in minde of his couenants; Amilear was recalled home into Africke, and a new Captaine appointed to succeede in his charge, with such forces, as might compell Agethoclestoreason, if otherwise he would not barken to it. All this tended, to save their Confederates from suffering such initiries in the future. For that which was past (lineait could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it severely punished. Amilear was accused secretly, and by way of scrutinie: the suffrages being given, 50 bup not calculated; and so reserved, yntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that Amilear had some notice of it. In managing his businesse with Agatheries, it is likely that he had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrie. For he had made such a composition with the Syracusian, as

gaue him not onely meanes to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authoritie, euen against the Carthaginians. Such is commonly the cutiome of those, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practices: thinking to deale fubtilly, and finely, they spinne their threads so small, that they are broken with the very winde. Amilear faw, that his Carthaginians had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices; which if he could not doe, it was to be expected that their anger would breake out into so much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which fome of his fore-10 goers had taught him; and, for feare of fuch a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what fort he thought best. This desperation of Amilear served to informe Azathoeles of the Carthaginians intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resoluted to get the start of them in action. Hedissembled no longer; but, in stead of spoile and robberie, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of Steel his owne, ere the Carthaginian forces arrived: which thinking to have encountred an ill-established Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and give them sharpe entertainement. They were beaten by him; and their Nauie was fo Tempest-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their 20 businesse vindone, and returne into Africk.

The Carthaginians prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, cuen whilest it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But Amilear, the sonne of Gifco, gathering together the remainders of this ship-wrack, was bold to passe ouer into Sicil, and landed not farre from Gela; where Agathoeles was foone readic to examine the cause of their comming. Many skirmishes passed betweene them, in which (commonly) the Syracustan had the better. But his good successe begat presumption: whereby he lost a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduerse chance is enough to ouerthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not up-held by great 30 circumspection. The warre was soone transferred to the walls of Syracuse; within which Agathocles was closed vp, and driven to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of Syracufe, after that great massacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new tyrannie, were (for the most part) such, as had beene either mercinarie Souldiers, infranchifed flaues, or base and needie people; helpers in establishing the present Gouernement, and Executioners of the murders, and spoile, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well obferued, and (withall) fo fearfull, that they durft not stirre. But it was not enough,

that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie; Famine 40 was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessitie, Agathocles adventured vpon a strange course, which the event commended, as wife. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessells that rode in the Hauen; and committing the government of the Citie to his brother Antander, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had bethought himselfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the belieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as Agathoeles was readie to depart, aduertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with corne, and other provisions, were drawing neere 50 vnto spracufe. To intercept these, the Carthaginians hoise faile, and lanch forth into the deepe. They were not farre gone, when they might behold Agatheeles, issuing forth of the Bort, with purpose (as they thought) to give convoy vnto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their comming, nor fled back into the

Citic, but made all speede towards Africk; and was pursued by the Carthaginians, as long as day would give them light. In the meane season, the victuallers were gotten into Syracuse; which was the more plentifully relieued by their comming, for that Agathacles had vnburdened the place of no small number. When the Carthaginian Admirall perceived; first, that by pursuing two sleets at once, he had missed of them both; and secondly, that Agathacles returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere; he thought it good to pursue those that were sled, and to attend so well upon them, that they should not have leisure to doe mischiese in

The Carthaginian Nauie followed Agathoeles (whether by chance, or by relation 10 of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards Africk, and ouer-tooke him after sixe dayes. He had (atthe first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselues, in seeking their owne missortune. For he sought with them, and beat them; and, having sunke, or taken many, draue the rest to sie which way they could, laden with strange tidings of his voiage.

When Agathoeles had landed his men in Africk, then did he discouer vnto them his project; letting them vnderstand, That there was no better way to divert the Carthaginians, not only from Syracuse, but from all the Ile of Sicil, than by bringing the warre to their owne dores. For here (said hee) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceive that there is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified; their people vntrained, and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercinarie forces, that they levie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if wee offer

greater wages than they can giue: which wee may better promife and make good, by letting them haue some share with vs in all the wealth of the Carthaginians, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus hee talked, as one already Master of all the riches in Africk; and with many braue wordes encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reserving one or two, to vse as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, saue only in victorie. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities; 30 which after they had throughly sacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terrour to all that should make resistance. The Carthaginians, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that Amilear is broken, and his whole Armie destroid in Sicil. This impression so dismaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had seaped in the late Sea sight, yet still they seare, and know not what. They suspect

Amilears faith, who had suffered Agathoeles to land in Africk: they suffect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray Carthage, vnto the enemie; they raise a great Armie, and know not vnto whose charge they may safely commitit.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, Hanno, and Bomil- 40 car; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generalls of the Armie leuied, which farre exceeded the forces of Agathocles. But it seldome happens, that dissension betweene Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessitie drave Agathocles to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deale with the whole multitude of the Carthaginians, made casie the victorie against the one halfe of them. For Bomilear would not

ftirre: but suffered Hanno to be cut in peeces.

The reputation of this victorie, brought ouer a King of the Africans, from the Carthaginian societie, to take part with Agathoeles: who pursuing his victorie, wins many Townes, and sends word to Syracuse of his good successe. The Carthaginians 50 also send into Sicil, willing Amilear, their Generall, to succour the state of Africk, which was in danger to be lost, whiles hee was trauailing in the conquest of Sicil. Amilear sends them sine thousand ment all his sorces he thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw Agathoeles back into Sicil, than to be drawne

home by one, that could scarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a badissue: He spent some time in winning a sew Townes, that adhered vnto the Syracustans: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a studen hope of taking Syracuse by surprise. It was a pretie (though tragicall) accident, if it were true, as Tullie relates it. Amilear had a dreame, which told him that he should suppe the next day within Syracuse. His sancie begot this dreame, and he believed it. He made more haste, than good speede, toward the Citie: and comming upon it on the sudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was to carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that he had no great cheare to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into Africk (a welcome present) to Agribales.

fent) to Agathocles. This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the Sicilian Armie, that Agathocies was bold to weare a Crowne, and stile himselfe King of Africk. He had allured Ophellas, King of the Cyrenians, to take his part, by promiles to deliuer the Countrie into his hands: for that (as he faid) it was sufficient vnto himselfe to have diverted the Carthaginians from Sicil, wherein (after this warre ended) he might raigne quietly. Ophedas came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous Sicilian, taking an advantage, did murder this his affiftant; 20 and afterwards, by good words, and great promifes, drew all the Cyrenian Armie to follow him in his warres. Thus his villanic found good successe; and he so prenailed in Africk, that he got leifure to make a step into Sicil. Many Townes in Sicil had imbraced a defire of recovering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had fo long beene exposed, (asareward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrie. These had prevailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the comming of Azathoeles abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to obedience. Out of Sieil he returned into Africk, where his affaires stood in very bad termes. Archagathus, his sonne, had lost a bat-20 taile; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to help himselse: his Armie being in mutinie for lack of pay. But Agatheeles pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promiles of great bootic and spoile. It had now been time for him, to offer peace to the Carthaginians which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) have given to him, both monie enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in Sicil. For their Citie had beene diffressed, not only by this his warre, but by the treason of Bomilcar, who failed not much of making himfelfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blinde. Agathocles had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conquest of Carthage it selfe: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the loffe of a battaile, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the flrange events following it. The Cartha-40 ginians, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old facrifices of children to Saturne: from which they had abstained, euer since they made peace with Gelon. And now they made choice of some, the good lieft of their prisoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the faid Idoll, in way of thankefulnesse for their victorie. The fire, with which these vnhappiemen were consumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings necrest vnto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult, as is viuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of sire burnt vp the Pauilion of Agathocles. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them beleeuing, that the noise in the aduerse Campe, was a signe of the enemies comming to inuade it.

50 Butthe Carthaginians had a fafe retrait: agathoeles, by a fecond errour, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne African Souldiers; and thinking them to bee enemies, (as indeede the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the Carthaginians, in the last battaile) hee beganne to affaile them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost, in this blinde fight,

aboue fourethousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neere hope of taking the Citie of Carthage, vnto some distrust of his owne safetie, heeknew no more how to moderate his present weake searcs. than lately he had known chow to gouerne his ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to steale closely abourd his ships, with his yonger sonne (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flic into Sicil; thinking it the best course, to shift for himselfe, as wanting vessells wherein to transport his Armie. His elder sonne, Archagathus, perceiued his drift. arrested him, and put him vnder custodie: but by meanes of a sudden tumult, hee was let loofe, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his sonnes behinde him. His to flight being noised through the Armie, all was in vprore; and extremitie of rage caused not only the common Souldier, but even such as had beene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of Agathocles was extremely base; I neede not vse wordes to proue: That his seare was truly, as all feare is said to be, a passion, deprining him of the succours which reason offered, the sequele doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse company, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuerthelesse a reasonable composition from the Carthaginians: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for ninetcene talents. Likewise, Agathocles himselfe, having lost his Armie, did neuerthelesse, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace 20 with Carthage vpon equall termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being delivered from forraine enemies, discovered his bloudie nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the Sicilians. His wants, and his teares, vrged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoiles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected : but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee deuised new engines of torment; wherein striuing to exceede the Bull of Phalaris, he made a frame of brasse, that should serve to scortch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their miserie. So deuillish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slaue to his brutish affections. In these mischieses he was so outragious, that he neither spared 20 Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in Africk. But this was not the way to preserve his estate : it threw him into new dangers. They whom hee had chased out of their Countrie, tooke armes against him, and draue him into fuch feare, that hee was faine to feeke the loue at Carthage, which, by ruling well, he might have had in Sicil. He freely delivered into the Carthaginians hands, all those Townes of the Phanicians in Sicil, belonging vnto them, which were in his possession. They requited him honourably, with great store of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and filuer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the Rebells, and setled his estate. Hauing no further businesse left in Sicil, hee made a voiage into Italie. There hee 40 fubdued the Brutians, rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they veelded at his first comming. This done, he went to the Isle of Lipara, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great fumme, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoile the Temples of their gods. Herein (me

thinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe those to be gods, that had

continually given deafe earcs to his horrible perjuries? Then hee returned richly

home, with eleven thips loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet,

were castaway by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himselse

ted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilest

he lay in this case, all desiring his end, saue only Theogenia (a wife that hee had taken

out of Agypt) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of Achagathus, be-

forementioned, and a yonger some of his owne, beganne to contend about the

Kingdome,

escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grienous sicknesse fell vpon him, that rot- 50

Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controuersie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laied wait for the others life; wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slue his Vnole, and got his Grandfathers Kingdome without asking any leave. These tidings wounded the heart of Agathbacles with seare and forrow. He saw himselse without helpe, like to become a prey to his yngracious Nephew, from whom hee knew that no sauour was to be expected, either by himselse, or by those, whom only hee now held deare, which were, Theogenia, and her children. Therefore hee aduised her and them to flie before they were surprised: for that otherwise they could by no meanes auoid, eito ther death, or somewhat that would be worse. Hee gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbarke themselves hastily, and make speede into Egypt. After their departure, whether he threw himselse into the sire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want, as he sirst beganne it.

After the death of Agathocles it was, that the Mamertines his Souldiers traiteroully occupied Messand insessed a great part of the Iland. Then also did the Carthaginians beginne to renew their attempts of conquering all sicil. What the Nephew of Agathocles did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that hee quickly perished.

20 For the Sicilians were driven to send for Pyrrhus to helpe them, who had married with a daughter of Agathocles. But Pyrrhus was soone wearie of the Countrie (as hath beene shewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champaine field, wherein Rome and Carthage should sight for superioritie. In which businesse, how these two great Cities did speede, the order of

è. V.

Arccontinuation of the Roman warre in Sicil. How HIERON, King of Syracuse, for sooke the Carthaginians; and made his peace with Rome.

our Storie will declare.

Hen Appius Claudius, following the advantage of his victoric gotten at Messara, brought the warre vnto the Gates of Syraeuse, and besieged that great Citie; Hieron sound it high time for him to seeke peace: knowing that the Carthaginians had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himselse by what meanes he could, when they

were not in case to give him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once hee had purchased his quiet from the Romans, it would be free for him to sit still, without reare of molestation, whilest Rome and Carthage were sighting for the masterie. In this good moode, the new Roman Consults, M. Valerius, and C. Octacilius, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made vie of their present advantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consulls had brought a great Armie into Sicil; yet did they nothing else inested, than bring ouer Hiero to their side. If the Syracustan held them busied (which I finde not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of monie imposed vpon him, and by their performing none other peece of service) all the 50 whole time of their abode in the Iland; then was his departure from the friendship of Carthage, no lesse to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdome to runne into maniscst perill of subversion, for their sakes, that should have received all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without strayning

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themselves to give him reliefe. But the Carthaginians had lately made good proofe of the strength of Syracuse, in the daies of Agathecles: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare out a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more flack, in sending helpe : if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire. that both Rome and Syracuse should weaken onethe other, whereby their owne worke might be the casier against them both. Yet indeede, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the Romans lay before it, as it had beene, when the Carthaginians attempted it. For there was great reason, to trie the vttermost hazard of warre against the Carthaginians, who sought no other thing than to bring it into flauerie: not so against the Romans, who thought it sufficient, if they could withdraw it from the partie of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be gouerned by Agathoeles, or by Hiero. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured. folong as he might preserve his ownetyranie: the later, as a just and good Prince. had no greater defire than to winne the loue of his people, by feeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that hee enjoyed a long and happic raigne; living deare to his owne Subjects, beloved of the Romans. and not greatly molested by the Carthaginians; whom, either the consideration. That they had left him to him felfe, ere he left their societie, made vnwilling to seeke his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the Romans, made vnable to compasse it, 20

How the Romans besiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their first losse, and first victorie by Sea. Of Seafight in generall.

IERON, having sided himselfe with the Romans, aided them with victuals, and other necessaries: so that they, presuming upon his 30 assignment was a goodly Citic, builty year. The Carthaginians inde it bigh time to bestire them; they send to the Ligurians, and to the troups they had in Spaine, to come to their aide; who being arrived,

der conduct of they made the Citie of Agrigentum, the feat of the warre, against the Romans, filling

it with all manner of munition.

The compasse was ten miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it The Roman Consults, having made eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This Citie, by reason of the fer-tilite of the soile, and the neighbourhood of Carbage, grew in a short and, in their places, Lucius Posthumius, space from snall beginnings, to great glorie and riches. The plantie and in their places, Lucius Posthumius, luxuric thereof was fo great, as it caused Empedocles to say, That the A- and Quintus Mamilius, arrive. They goe grigenines built Palaces of fuch sumptuositie, as if they meant to line for on towards \* Agrigentum: and finding 40 euer: and made such feasts, as if they meant to die the next day. But euer; and made such seasts, as if they meant to die the next day. But the such that they besiege it, and Theaters, Water-conduits, and Fish-ponds: the ruines whereof at though it were stuffed with fiftie thouthis day are sufficient argument, that Rome it selse could neuer boak of the they besiege it, and Theaters to the Temple of supier of supplies, which we fand Souldiers. After a while, the time may judge of the Temple it selse; there was set out on one side the sulf of haruest being come, a part of the Roproportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polithed marble of diuers colours; a worke the most magnificent and rare, that man armie range the Country to gather cuer hath beene seene; on the other side, the warre of Troy, and the en-corne, and those at the siege grow neglicounters which hapned at that fiege; with the personages of the Heroes that were doets in that warre; all of the like beautifull stone, and of equall stature to the bodies of men in those ancient times: In com- and indanger the Roman Armie, but are parison of which, the latter workes of that kinde, are but pettie things, in the end repelled into the towne with and meete trifles. It would require a volume, to expresse the magnification to the Tomples of Hercules, Edulapus, Concord, 1uno Lacinia, Cha-great losse; but by the smart felton both 50 fisite, Proferpina, scaffer and Pollux, wherein the Master-peeces of those sides, the Assailants redoubled their caquific Painters, and Caruers, Phildis, Zeusis, Myon, and Polycle-guards, & the besseged kept within their tus, were to be seen. But in processe of time it ranne the same fortune guards, & the besseged kept within their that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by dures calamic couert. Yetthe Romans, the better to astus of warre: whereof this warre present brought vnto it not the least. sure themselves, cut a deepe trench, be-

tweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe; and another on the out-fide thereof that neither the Carthaginians might force any quarter fuddenly, by a fallie, nor those of the Countrie without, breake vpon them vnawares: which double defence kept the belieged also from the receiving any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whilest the Siracustan supplies the affailants with what they went. The beileged fend for succour to Carthage: after they had beene in this fort pent up five moneths. The Carthagmians imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, under the command of Hanno; who arrives with it at Heracles, to the West of Agrigentum. Hanno puts himselfeinto the field, and surpriseth Erbesius, a Citie wherein the Ro-10 mans had bestowed all their prouision. By meanes hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within Agrigentum; and the Roman campe no leffe streightly affreged by Hanno, than the Citie was by the Romans: infomuch, as if Hieron had not supplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this diffresse was not enough to make them rise; Hanno determined to give them battaile. To which end departing from Heraclia, hee makes approch vnto the Romin campe. The Romans resolute to sustaine him, and put themselves in order. Hanno directs the Numidian horfe-men to charge their Vantguard, to the ende to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. 20 The Numidians performe is accordingly; and while the Romans purfued the Numidians, Hanno gives vpon them, and having flaughtered many, beats the rest into

their Trenches. After this encounter, the Carthaginians made no other attempt for two moneths, burlay strongly incamped, waiting vntill some oportunitie should inuite them. But Annibal, that was belieged in Agrigentum, as well by fignes as melfengers, made Hanno know, how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke fuch dilatoric courses. Hanno thereupon, a second time, prouoked the Consults to fight; But his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the Romans, he lost the day; and with such as escaped, he recoursed Heraclea, Annibal 30 perceiuing this, and remayning hopelesse of succour, resolved to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the Romans, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; hee rusht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his armie, and past by the Roman campe without relistance. The Confulls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine: fure they were, that he could not carrie the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the Romans entred, and pittifully spoiled. The Romans, proud of this victorie, purposehenceforth rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this Warre, only

40 but now they determine, to make themselves Lords of all Sicil; and from thence, being favoured with the winde of good successe, to faile over into Africke. Itisthe discase of Kings, of States, and of private men, to court the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which wee neither have nor neede, taking from vs the true vse and fruition of what wee have alreadic. This curse vpon mortall men, was never taken from them since the beginning of the World to this day.

to succour the Mamertines, and to keepe the Carthaginians from their owne coasts:

To profecute this Warre, Lucius Valerius and Titus Offacilius, two new Confuls, are sent into Sicil. Whereupon, the Romans being Masters of the field, many in-

land Townes gave themselves vnto them. On the contrarie, the Carthaginians 50 keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as well to fecure their owne coasts, often inuaded by the African fleets, as also to equal themselves in every kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in shipwrights-crast, a storme of winde thrust

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one of the Carthaginian Gallies, of five bankes, to the shore.

350

Now had the Romans a patterne, and by it they beganne to fet vp an hundred Quinqueremes, which were Gallies, rowed by fine on enery banke, and twentie, of three on a banke: and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-fands many feates, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the fand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, to C. Cornelins, one of the new Consuls (for they changed enery yere) was made Admirall: who being more in loue with this new kind of warfare, then well aduised, past ouer to Messena with scuenteene Gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There hee staid not, but would needs row alongst the cost to Lipara, hoping to doe some piece of service. Hannibal, a Carthaginian, was at the same time Gouernour in Panormus; who being aduertised of this new Sea-mans arrivall, sent foorth one Boodes, a Senatour of Carthage, with twentie Gallies to entertaine him. Boodes, falling vpon the Confull vnawares, tooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When Hannibal received this good newes, together with the Roman Gallies, and their Confull; he grew no lesse foolish hardie than Cornelius had beene. For hee, fancying to him- 20 selse to surprise the rest of the Roman fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points prouided; sought them out with a fleet of fiftie saile: wherewith falling among them, hee was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard escape with the rest : for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the Romans under Cornelius had lost but seuenteene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not eafily beaten by fiftie.

The Romans, being aducrtifed of Cornelius his ouerthrow, make haste to redeeme him, but giue the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, Duilius, Duilius, confidering that the Roman veffels were heavie and flow, the African Gallies having the speede of them, deuised a certaine engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby 30 they might fasten or grapple themselues with their enemies, when they were (as we callit) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the waightier ships had gotten the advantage, and the Africans lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse serue them, nor their Mariners craft ; the Vessells, wherin both Nations fought, being open: so that al was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heavier Gallies were likely to crush and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by reafon of their breadth, more steadie; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vse their hands. The example may bee given betweene one of the long boates of his Maiesties great ships, and a London barge.

Certainly, hee that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must bee skilfull in making choice of Vessels to fight in: hee must beleeue, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great during; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betweene fighting loofe or at large, and grapling. The Gunnes of a flow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre: for by such an ignorant brauerie was Peter Stroße, loft at the Azores, when hee fought against the Marquesse of Santa Cruz. In like fort had the Lord Charles Howard, Admirall of England, been lost in the yeare 1588. if he had not beene better aduifed, than a great many malignant fooles were, that 50 found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an Armie aboord them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging, so that, had he intangled himselfe with thosegreat and powerfull Vessells, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of England. For twentie men vpon the de-

fences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwife, the Spaniards had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his advantage, and held it: which had he not done, hee had not beene worthie to have held his head. Hecre to speake in generall of Scafight (for particulars are fitter for private hands, then for the Presse) I say, That a fleet of twenty ships, all good failers, and good ships, hauethe advantage, on the open Sca, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred faile keepe themselues neere together, in a grosse squadron; the twentie thips, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall 10 back vpon their next fellowes: of which so many as intangle, are made vnseruiceable, or loft. Force them they may easily, because the twentie ships, which give themselues scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and flaying, they may give them the other; and so the twentie ships batter them in pieces with a perpetuall vollie; whereas those, that fight in a troupe, haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies vse but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred faile give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet prevaile, either against those that are a-reare and hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of ouer-failing their fellowes keepe the winde : and if vpon a Leeshore, the ships next the winde be constrained to fall back into their own squadron. 20 then it is all to nothing, that the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it selfe.

That fuch advantage may be taken vpon a fleet of vnequall speed, it hath been wel enough conceiued in old time; as by that Oration of Hermocrates, in Thucydides, Thucidal. 6. which he made to the Syracusians, when the Athenians invaded them, it may easily

be obserued.

CHAP.I. \$.7.

Of the Art of Warre by Sca, I had written a Treatife, for the Lord HENRIE, Prince of Wales; a subject, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient ormoderne: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the loffe of that braue Prince; of which, like an Eclypse of the Sunne, wee shall finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall words and sorrowes; I will 30 therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. Cura leves loquuntur, ingen-

But it is now time to returne to the beaten Carthaginians who by looling their aduantage of swift boats, and boording the Romans, haue lost fiftie saile of their Gallies: as on the other fide, their enemies by commanding the Seas, haue gotten libertieto saile about the West part of Sicil; where they raised the siege layed vnto Segesta, by the Carthaginians, and wonne the Towne of Macella, with some other places.

### d. VII.

Diversenter feats of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe. The Romans prepare to inuade Africk: and obtaine a great victorie at Sea.



He victorie of Duilius, as it was honoured at Rome, with the first Nauall triumph, that was ever seene in that Citie; so gave it vinto the Romans a great incouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea ; whereby they hoped, not onely to get Sicil, but all the other Iles betweene Italie and Africk, beginning with Sardinia, whither soone after

they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, Amilear the Carthaginian, lying in Panormus, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune : and being aduertised, that some quarrell

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queremes are

was growne betweene the Roman Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incampe a-part, he sent forth Hanno to set vpon them; who taking them ynawares, buried foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in Sicil, Hannibal, who had lately beene beaten by Sea, but cscaped vnto Carthage, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtayned the trust of a new fleet, wherewith hee arrived at Sardinia: the conquest of which Iland, the Romans had entertayned for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the Romans, crofting the Seas from Sicil, arrived in the Port where Hannibal with his new fleet anchored. They fet vpon him unawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himselfe hardly escaping their danger. But 10 it little availed him to have escaped from the Romans. His good friends the Carthaginians, were so ill pleased with this his second vnfortunate voiage, that they hanged him vp for his diligence : for (as it hath beene said of old) Non est bis in belopeecare : In warre it is too much to offend twice.

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls, till "If wee may panern:us was belieged: where, when the Romans had fought in vaine to draw the Carthaginians into the field; being vnable to force that great Citie, because of which Fazellus, the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they departed thence, and tooke certaine adiligent wri-

annigent with the control of Sicil, Panarmis, now called Palermo, is one of the first Cities fund, Camerina, Hippana, and o 20 that hath beene built in all Europe. For whereas Thurydides seemes to make it at thers, betweene Panarmus and Colonie of the Phanicians; Ranzamus, in libello de Panormo, lib. 6. affirmes that it thers, betweene Panarmus and was first, and long before the time which Thurydides seemes, sounded by the was first, and long before the time which Thurydides seemes, sounded by the Chaldeans, and Damasseems. To prone which, he tells vs of two inferiptions vion marble in the Hebrew Charaster, sound at Panarmus in the time of william these conditions of Sicil, that were then beheld of all the Citizens and other strangers: marble in the Hebrew Character, found at Panormus in the time of william the second, King of Sicil, that were then beheld of all the Citizens, and other strangers; manded the Roman sleet, discovinch, being translated into Latine, say as followent: Vinente Isac filio Abraba, erred a Company of the Caregrante in Idama, at si, in Valle Damassens, Esau filio slace; ingens Hebrewrum urged a Company of the Carewrans, quibus adiuncii sunt multi Damassens, at si, ebbanices, professional manus, quibus adiuncii sunt multi Damassens, at se benavis, sunt planar triangularent thaginian Gallics, ranging the manus, quibus adiuncii sunt multi Damassens, at se benavis, sunt planar triangularent thaginian Gallics, ranging the sunt to content the care than the care that the care than the care than the care than the care than the care that the care than the care than the care than the care than the care that the care t on (faith Fazellus) was sound intire in the Castle Bayen, in the yeere one thousand further than the Gallie flue hundred, thirtie and foure. Now whether these inscriptions were truely as and lost all, saue the Gallie ancient, as these men believe they were, I leave eutry man to his owner faith. But the tire was of aged times, it appeares by Thueydides, who affirmeth; when that the Citie was of aged times, it appeares by Thueydides, who affirmeth; when the first into Sieil, that then the Phanicians inhabited Panotomus; which in himselfee escaped with great the Greeker pass fifth into Sieil, that then the Phanicians is to wis the Carthaninan; who less than the Carthaninan who less than the same statement of the contract of the carthaninan who less than the Carthaninan who less the Greekes pass first into Sicil, that then the Phamicians inhabited Panormus: which in nimiteire escaped with great certaine it is that they did in the first Punit warre; to wir, the Carthaginians, who labour. But ere all was done, were Phamicians, from whom the Romans (A. Aguillus, and C. Cornellus, commanding the rest of Atilius his sleet was this Armie) tooke it. And when Marcellus besieged Synause, it sent him in ayde there thousand Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than shibest to the Romans. For citero against Verrer, names it among the free Cities of Sicil. After Signals are cited and Regall sear, as well of the Golds in the Cartauly destroiced, it became the first Citie and Regall sear, as well of the Golds. racinje destroied, it became the first Citic and Regall lear, as well of the Gothi and Science in that Iland, as of the Emperours of Constantineple; of the Normans, thagimians a double number of French, and Arragonians: which honour it holds to this day, and is much frequent theirs; by which the victory ted, for the excellent wine which growes about it.

remaining doubtful, both chal- 40

lengeit. Now to try at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The Romans make a fleet of three hundred \*\* The Quin. and thirty Gallies; the Carthaginians, of three hundred and fiftie, \*\* Triremes,

Quadriremes, and Quinqueremes. The Romans resolue to transport the warre into Africk; the Carthaginians, to arin cuerie Gare hath fue men rest them on the coast of Sicil. The numbers, with which each of them filled their to draw it: the fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the waters. By Polybius his madriremes had foure to chimation, there were in the Romane Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; an Oare: and and in those of Caribage, an hundred and fifty thousand : reckoning one hundred the Telerans, and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred Rowers, to every Gallie, one with the 50 three. Some art was flow made distributed into four parts. Of which the three first made haue thought, other. The Roman fleet was divided into foure parts, of which the three first made that the Quin-the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flancks, queremes had five ranks of Oares, one over another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. Burhad this been so, they must then have had fine decks each ouer other: which hath seldome been seen in ships of a thousand Tonnes, neither could the third, fourth, and fift rankes, have reached vnto the water with the Oares

CHAP.1. S.7. and the third squadron, the Base: the point thereof (wherein were the two Confulls as: Admirails) look ng toward the enemie; and the middle spacelying emptic. Their Vessels of carriage were towed by the third squadron. After all came up the fourth, in forme of a Crefeent; very well manned, but exceeding thinne: fo that the hornes of it inclosed all the third squadron, together with the corners of the first and second. The order of the Carthaginian fleet I cannot conceive by the relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I coniecture, that the front of their fleet was thinne, and firetched in a great length, much like to that which the French call Combat en hiji; a long front of horse, and thinne; which torme, since the Pistoll to prevailed ouer the Lance, they have changed. Behind this first out-stretched front. their Battalions were more folide: for Amilear, Admirall of the Cathaginians, had thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies having the speed of the Romans) that, when the first fleet of the Romans hasted to breake through the first Gallies, they should all turne taile, and the Romans pursuing them (as after a victorie) disorder themselves, and, for eagernesse of taking the Runn awaies, leave their other three foundrons farre behinde them. For fo it must needes fall out; feeing that the third foundron towed their horse-boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearcward of all. According to Amilears direction it succeeded. For when the Romans had charged, and broken, the thinne front of the Circhaginian first fleet, which ran 20 away they forthwith gaue after them with all speeds possible, not so much as looking behinde them for the tecond squadron. Hereby the komans were drawne neare vito the bodie of the Casthaginian fleet, led by Amilear, and by him (at the first) received great losse tul their second squadron came vp, which forced Amilear to betake him to itts Oares. Hanno also, who commanded the right wing of the Carthaginian fleet, invaded the Koman Reareward, and prevailed against them. But Amicar being beaten off, Mureus A dans fell backe to their succour, and put the Carthazinians to their heeles; as not able to fullaine both squadrons. The Reare being relieued, the Consuliscame to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed their victualers, which was alto in great danger of being beaten by the Africans: 30 but the Confulls, joyning their squadrons to it, but the Carthaginians on that part alfo to running. I his victorie fell to the Romans, partly by the hardinesse of their

Souldiers; but principally, for that Amilear, being first beaten, could neuer after joyne himselfe to any of his other 'quadrons, that remained as yet in faire likelihood of prevailing, to long as they fought vpon even termes, and but fquadron to fquadron. But Amilear, forfaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the Roman fleet vningaged, and readie to give fuccour to any of the other parts that were opprest. So as in conclusion, the Romans got the honour of the day: for they loft but foure and twentie of theirs, whereas the africans loft thirtie that were funk, and threefcore and three that were taken.

40 Now, if Amilear, who had more Gallies than the Romans, had also divided his fleet into foure squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, while hee himselfe fought with one squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had beene at the same time entertained, he had prevailed: But the second squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which Amilear was opprest; and Amilear, being opprest and feattered, the Confuls had good leifure to relieue both their third and fourth squadron and got the victorie.

Charles the fift, among other his Precepts to Philip the second his sonne, where he aduiseth him concerning Warre against the Turkes, tells him, that in all battailes 50 betweene them and the Christians, he should never faile to charge the Ianifars in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the rell. For (faith he) the lanifars, who are alwaics reserved intire in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the Turke reposeth his greatest confidence; come vp in a grosse body, when all the troups, on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carie the

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victoric before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reservation, did the Romansalso prevaile against other Nations. For they kept their Triari in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and a victorious advantage it hath euer beene found, to keepe some one or two good troupes to looke on, when all else are disbanded and ingaged.

### d. VIII.

The Romans prenaile in Africk. ATILIVS the Consult propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is otterly beaten, and made prisoner.

Ow the Romans, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleet, set saile for Africa, and arrived by at the Promontorie of Hereales, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of Carthage, and some fortie leagues from Heraclea in Sicil, where Amilear himselfeas yet said. From this Head-land (lea-

uing the entrance into Carthage) they coasted the East-side of the Promontorie, till they came to Clypea, a Towne, about fiftie English mile from it. There they dis- 20 imbarked, and prepared to beliege Clypea; which, to ease them of labour, was yeelded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on Africa fide; without which all inualions are foolish. By this time were the Africans also arrived at their owne Carthage; fearing that the Roman fleet and armie had directed themselves thither: but being aduertised, that they had taken Clypea, they made provisions of all sorts: both by Sca and Land, for their defence. The Romans fend to Rome for directions, and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, that one of the Confulls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the fleet into Italie. According to this direction, Manlius the Conful is sent home to Rome; whither he carried with him twentie thousand 30 African captaines, with all the Roman fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fifteene thousand foot, and five hundred horse, that were left with Atilius.

With these forces, Regulus casily wanne some Townes and Places, that were vnwalled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came vnto Adis. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere vnto the River of Bagrada, \* This Citie he encountred with a Scrpent of one hundred and twentie foot long, which he flue, was takenfrom not without losse of many Souldiers, being driven to vse against it such engines of warre, as serued properly for the assaulting of Townes. At Adu he met with the in the yeere Carthaginian Armic, whereof the Captaines were Hanno and Bollar, together with 1536. and was Amilear, who had brought ouer out of Sieil fine thousand foot, and fine hundred 40 horse to succour his Countrie. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him which he gaue out of Africa, by warie protraction of time, than to undergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They were carefull to hold themselves free from necessitie of comming to cond his fonne blowes: yet had they a great defire, to faue the Towne of Adis out of his hands. Into keepe fafe; tending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the to wit, this 111nis, the Key of siege of Adis, they incampe neere vnto him, and strongly (as they thinke) on the Africa: Flush- top of an hill: but thereby they loose the services, both of their Elephants, and of ing, the Key of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs Regulus discouers, and makes vie of it. and cadiz, the He affailes them in their strength, which they defend a-while; but in fine the Ro-Key of Spaine. mans preuaile, and force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Fol- 50 the Philip to lowing this their good for tune at the heeles, they proceede to \* Tunis a Citie withloft, that hee in fixteene miles of Carthage, which they affault and take.

them againe; the third, our English were bold, in the time of the renowned Queene Elizabeth, to wring out of his hands: where we staid not to pick any locke, but brake open the dores, and having rifled all, threw it into the fire.

By the loffe of this battaile at Adis, and more especially by the loffe of Tunis, the Carthaginians were greatly dismaied. The Numidians, their next Neighbours towards the West, infult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and spoile their Territory. and force those that inhabite abroad, to for sake their villages and fields, and to hide themselues within the walls of Carthage. . By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. Atilius findes his owne advantage, and affures himselfe that the Citie could not long hold out yet he feared lest it might defend it selfe, untill his time of Office, that was neere expired, should be quite runne out, whereby the new Confulls were like to reape the honor of obtaining it. Ambition thereto fore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades him to treat of peace with the Carthaginians. But he propounded vnto them so vnworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, became now so couragious and disdainefull, that they resolved, either to defend their libertie, or to die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troupe of Greekes, whom they had formerly fent to entertaine. Among these was avery expert Souldier, named Xantippus, a Spartan: who being informed of what had passed, and of the ouerthrow which the Carthaginians received neere vnto Adis. gaue it out publiquely, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ranne, till it came to the Senate : Xantippus 20 is fent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the African forces, he puts himselfe into the field. The Armie which he led .confifted of no more than twelue thousand foot, and soure thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces, wher with the Carthaginians fought for all that they had, Libertie, Liues, Goods, Wines, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were misse-numbred; the one confisting of an hundred and fortie thousand, and the other of an hundred and fiftie thousand: were it not commonly found, that they which vie the service of mercinarie Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne dores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the Ro-30 mans; and ranging his troups upon faire and levell ground, fittelt both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battaile. The Romans wondred, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were that it should be soone abated. Their chiefe care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the Velites, or light-armed Souldiers, as a fordorne hope; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drive back the beasts vpon the enemies, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely vpon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had been accustomed to doe. By which meanes, as they were the lesse subject vnto the impression of the Elephants; so were they the more exposed vnto 40 the violence of horse, wherein the enemie did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by Xantippus, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at area sonable distance: his horse-men, and some light-armed foot, of the Carthaginians Auxiliaries, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the Velites were so vnable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the Roman battaile was helpfull. For when the beafts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the squadrons neverthelesse persisted in their order, without opening. But the Carthaginian horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of Atilius out of the field, Jo beganne to charge the Roman battalions in flanke, and put them in great distresse: who being forced to turne face every way, could neither passe forward, nor yet retire; but had much adoe to make good the ground whereon they flood. In the meane while, fuch of the Romans, as had escaped the furie of the Elephants, and

left them at their backes, fell vpon the Carthaginian Armie, that met them in very

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good array. It was no euen match. The one were a disordred Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared; to baue dealt with the enemie voon equali termes. Here was therefore a greater flaughter with little light; the Romans haltily recoiling to the bodie of their Armie, which being surrounded with the enemie, and spent with trauaile, fell all to rout, vpon the descat of these troups, that open the way to a generall overthrow. So the Carthaginians obtayned a fuil victorie; destroying the whole Roman Armic, sauetwo thousand, and taking fine hundred prisoners, together with Attlius the Consull. Of their owne they lost no more than eight hundred mercinaries, which were flaine, when the fight began. by two thousand of the Romans: that wheeling about, to avoide the Elephants, bare 10 downe all before them, and made way even to the Carthaginian trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armic behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the Romans know, that they were no leffe her vaffalls, than were the Carthaginians: how infolent socuer they had beene in their proposition of peace; as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitie, which she never gave nor fold to any mortall man. With what toy these newes were welcommed, when they came to Carthage, wee may easily coniecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the World, there are many examples to proue. no leffe then this of Xantippus: all of them confirming that sentence of EVRYPI- 20 DES, Mens una sapiens, plurium vincit manus; Many mens hands equall not one wife minde.

After this great service done to the Carthaginians, Xantippus returned into Greece; whether for that he was more enuied then honoured, or for what other cause it is

The death of Atilius Regulus the Confull, was very memorable. Hee was sent from Carthage to Rome, about the exchange and ransome of prisoners on both sides: giuing his faith to returne it the buincesse were not effected. When he came to Rome, and plainely faw that his Countrie should loose by the bargaine: so far was he from vrging the Senate vnto compassion of his owne miserie, that he carnelly 30 perswaded to have the prisoners in Africk left to their ill destinies. This done, hee returned to Carthigs: where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the Carthaginians sceme to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemie; that neither in his prosperitie would harken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturall care, to perferue himselse and others, by yeelding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded vpon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. What soeuer the Carthaginians thought of him; fure it is, that his faithfull observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that graue speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange 40 of prisoners, appeares, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vaine-glorious frowardnesse, rather than from any necessitie of state. For the exchange was made foone after his death; wherein the Romans had the worse bargaine, by so much as Regulus himselfe was worth. As for the authoritie of all Historians, that magnific him in this point; we are to confider that they lived vnder the Roman Empire: Philinus, the Cuth igiman, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he fuffered with extreme torments, could not be more greeuous to him than it was dilhonourable to Caribage. Neither doe I think that the Carthaginians could excufe themselves herein; otherwise than by rectimination: saying, That the somans deferued to be no better intreated for as much as it was their ordinary practice 50 to vie others in the like fort. Crueltie doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customarie. It was the Roman fashon, to whip almost todeath, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were such, as had alwaies made laire warres with them. Whereforeit feemes not meet, in reason, that they should crie out against the like tyrannicall infolence in others, as if it were lawfull only in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of Atilius his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, whereinto the Carthaginians feare was changed by meere desperation; calls to remembrance the like insolencie of others in prosperitie, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace bath beene denied. In such cases I never hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more testimonies; approuing the true rules, from which our passions

carrie vs away. 10 In the yeare 1278, the Genowaies wonne fo fast upon the Tenetians, as they not only draue their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of Venice it felfe. This bred fuch an amazement in the Citizens of Ven nice, that they offered vnto the Genowaies (their flate referued) what socuer they would demand. But Peter Doria, blowne vp with many former victories, would harken to no composition; saue the yeelding of their Citie and State to his discretion. Hereupon, the Venetians, being filled with disdaine, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and affaile Doria with such desperate surie, that they breake his fleet; kill Doria himselfe; take nineteene of his Gallies, fourescore boats of Padoa, and foure thousand prisoners; recouer Chiozza, and all the places taken 20 from them; and following their victoric, enter the Port of Genos, enforcing the Ge-

nowaies, basely to begge peace, to their extreme dishonour and disaduantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and aduantage. The like hapned to the Earle of Flanders, in the veere 1280. when having taken a notable, and withall an over-cruell revenge youn the Gantois. he refused mercy to the rest, who in all humilitie, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their Citic, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had vnaduisedly refused, and was resoluted to extinguish them vtterly: they issue out of their Citie with fine thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Armie, enter Bruges (pell-mell) 30 with his vanguished followers; and enforce him to hide himselfe vnder an heape of fraw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he escaped, and faued himselfe. Such are the fruits of insolencie.

How the affaires of Carthage prospered after the victorie against ATILIVS: How the Romans having lost their fleet by tempest, resolve to for sake the Seas: The great aduantages of a good fleet in warre, betweene Nations divided by the Sea.



CHAP.I. S.9.

Y the reputation of this late victory, all places that had beene lost in Africk, returne to the obedience of Carthage. Onely Chipea stands out; before which the Carthaginians sit downe, and assaile it, but in vaine: For the Romans, hearing of the losse of Atilius with their forces in Africk, and withall, that Clypea was besieged, make ready a

groffe Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fiftie Gallies, commanded by M. Emilius, and Ser. Fuluius, their Confulls. At the Promontory of Mercurie, two hundred Carthaginian Gallies, set out of purpose, vpon the bruit of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the Romans tooke by force an hundred and fourteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to Clypea; where they staid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had beene befleged : and this done, they made amaine toward Sicil, in hope to recour all that the Carthaginians held therein. In this hasty voyage they despise the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the season threatned some violent flormes; which ever hapned between othe riling of Orion, and of the \* Dog-

flarre. Now although the Pilots of the Roman Fleete had thus fore-warned

and the other, was extreme dishonourable.

them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coast of nationatione certaine times Sicil had no good Ports, wherein to faue themselves vpon such an accident; yet this weather besides their accidentall stormes. We have venous coast a Michaelmas staw, that feldome or neuer failes: In the west tradies, in the moneths of Angust and that they were able to conquer the Elements september, those most forcible winds, which the Spaniard call the Nortes, or Northwinds, are very feareful; victorious Nation was perswaded, that the winde ands call the Nortes, or Northwinds, are very fearefull:
and therefore they that Nauigate in those parts, take
harbor till those months take end, Charles the six being Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their repunarbor till mole months take eine coanta to the bank of the state of t before Mergin Loraine, loft an hundred and fortie ships coast. The mercilesse windes in the means while by tempest, and siteene Gallies, with all in essential to the means while by tempest, and siteene Gallies, with all in essential to the means while by tempest, and siteene Gallies, with all in essential to the means while because the means while by tempest, and litteene Gallies, with an in effect in them of men, victualles, horses, and munition: a losse on ouertake them, and necre vnto Camerina, ouerturne them or men, victualies, usines, and through the one and through headlong on the rocks, all but four cfcore leffe great, than his retrait, both from before the one and through headlong on the rocks, all but four cfcore of three hundred and fortie ships: so as their former

great victorie was deuoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recoursed Rome. The Carthaginians, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Veffells, hobing once agains to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land- 20 forces (ince the overthrow of Atilius. They fend Afdrubal into Sicil with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortic Elephants, imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armic and fleet he arrives at Lilybaum; where hee beginnes to vexe the Partifans of Rome. But aduerlitic doth not discourage the Romanes: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twentie ships; with which, and the remainder of their late shipwracke, they row to Panormus, or Palerma, the chiefe Citie of the Africans in Sicil, and furround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, returne to Rome.

Very desirous the Romans were to bee doing in Africk: to which purpose they imploied C. Seruilius, and C. Sempronius, their Consulls. But these wrought no won- 30 ders. Some spoile they made upon the coasts of Africa: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the sands, and like to have perished, neere vnto the lesser syrtes, where they were faine to heave all over-boord, that so they might get off: then, having with much a-doe doubled the Cape of Lilybaum, in their passage from Panormus towards Italie, they lost an hundred and fistie of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the God of the warres fauoured them no more, than the God of the waters afflicted them. Of all that Mars enricht them with vpon the Land, Neptune robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they loft in fight, foure hundred & fixe ships and Gallies, with all the munition and 40 Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perswaded them to give over their Nauigation, and their fight by Sca, and to fend only a Land armie into Sicil, vnder L. Cacilius, and F. Furins, their Consulls. These they transported in some threescore ordinarie passage-boats, by the straights of Messana, that are not about a mile and an halfe broad from land to land. In like fort, the ouerthrow which Atilius receiued in Africa, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholericke against the Carthaginians, than before; so that for two yeeres after, they kept the high and woodie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champian Countries. But

this late resolution of for saking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for 50 them to succour those places which they held in Sieil, without a Nauie, much lesse to maintaine the warre in Africa. For whereas the Romans were to send forces from Messanto Egesta, to Lilybaum, and to other places in the extreme West parts of Si-, sil, making fometimes a march of aboue an hundred and forty English mile by land,

which could not be performed with an Armie, and the prouisions that follow it. in lesse than fourteene daies; the Carthaginians would passe it with their Gallies; in eight and fortie houres.

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An old example we have of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, betweene Canutus, and Edmond Ironside. For Canutus, when he had entred the Thames with his Nauie and Armie, and could not preuaile against London, suddenly imbarqued; and failing to the West, landed in Dorfet-shire, so drawing Edmond and his Armie thither. There finding ill entertainement, he againe shipt his men, and entred the Severne, making Edmond to march after him, to the succour of Worcester-10 fbire, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had Edmond there, he sailed back againe to London: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where hee pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least helpe, which the 2V etherlands have had against the Spaniards, in the defence of their libertie, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Armie from place to place, vnwcaried. andentire, with all the Munition and Artileric belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemics have been eable to doe it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count Maurice of Nassau, now living, one of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the yeare 1590. carried his Armie by Sea, with fortie Canons, to Breda: 20 making countenance either to beliege Boifledue, or Gertreuiden Berg; which the enemic (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and victualls. But as soone as the winde ferued, he fuddenly fet faile, and arriving in the mouth of the Menze, turned vpthe Rhine, and thence to Yssel, and sate downe before Zurphen. So before the Spaniar de could march ouer land round about Holland, aboue fourescore mile, and ouer many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, Zutphen was taken. Againe, when the Spanish Armic had ouercome this wearisome march, and were now farre from home, the Prince Maurice, making countenance to faile vp the Rhine, changed his course in the night; and sailing downe the streame, he was set downe before Hulft in Brabant, ere the Spaniards had knowledge what was become of him. 30 So this Towne he also tooke, before the Spanish armic could returne. Lastly, the Spanish armie was no fooner arrived in Brabant, than the Prince Maurice, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified Hulft, set saile againe, and presented himselfe before Nymegen in Gelders, a Citic of notable importance, and mastred it.

And to fay the trut's; it is impossible for any maritime Countrie, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfcagainst a powerfull enemic, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that Spaine than England should bee an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King Philip the second had fully resolued to hinder Sir John Norris in the yeare 1589. from presenting Don Intonio, King of Portug ila before the gates of Lysborne; and that he would have kept off the En-40 glub, by power of his land-forces; as being too weake at Sea, through the great onerthrow of his mighty Armada, by the fleet of Queene Elizabeth, in the yeere foregoing. Surely, it had not beene hard for him, to prepare an Armic, that should be able to resist our eleventhousand. But where should this his Armie haue beene bestowed? If about Lysborne; then would it have been easie vnto the English, to take, ransack, and burne the Towne of Groine, and to waste the Countrie round about it. For the great and threatning preparations, of the Earle of Altemira, the Marquesse of Seralba, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hastie leavie of eight thousand, under the Earle of Andrada, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sr Iohn Norris, and his Associates: 30 considering, that the English charged these, at Puente de Burgos, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them; tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them over all the Countrie, which they fired. If a

roiall Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of private adventurers, had thus

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begunne the warre in Galicia; I thinke it would have made the Spaniards to quit the guard of Partugale, and make hafte to the defence of their St. Iago, whose Temple was not farre from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir Iohn Norris his maine intent was, to bring Don Antonio, with an Armic. into his Kingdome, whither comming strong, he expected to bee readily and joyfully welcomed : could they have hindred his landing in Portugale? Did not he land at Penicha, and march ouer the Countrie to Lysborne, lixe daies iournie? Did not hee (when all Don Antonio his promises failed) passe along by the River of Lysborne to Cascaliz, and there, having wonne the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they Englishmen. Let 10 vs consider of the matter it selfe; what an other Nation might doe, euen against England, in landing an Armie, by advantage of a fleer, if wee had none. This que-Rion. Whether an inuading Armie may be refifted at their landing upon the coast of England, were there no fleete of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is alreadic handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his observations upon Casars Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmative. This he holds only vpon supposition: in ablence of our shipping: and comparatively; as, that it is a more fafe and easie course, to defend all the coast of England, than to suffer an enemie to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keepe our enemie from treading vpon our ground: wherein, if wee faile, then must wee seeke to make him 20 wish, that he had staicd at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question generall, and positive, whether England, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemie from landing; I hold that it is vnable foto doe: and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the aduenture. For the incouragement of a first victorie to an enemic, and the discouragement of being beaten to the inuaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall Monlue, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of Guienne, they of the Protestant religion, after the battaile of Moncounter, entred that Coun. 30 trie, and gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King (saith he) would haue giuen me but reasonable meanes, jeuse bien garde a Monsieur l'Admiral, de faire boire [es Cheuaux en la Garonne; I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the River of Garonne. Monsieur de Langey, on the contrarie side, preferres the not fighting vpon a frontier with an inuading enemie, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of France held, against the Emperour Charles, when hee inuaded Prouence. Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, betweene such a Countrie as France is, strengthned with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of inualions vpon firme land, that these great Captaines spake: whose entran-40 ces cannot be vncertaine. But our question is, of an Armic to be transported over Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the Inuader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be resisted on the coast of England, without a fleet to impeachit; no, nor on the coast of France, or any other Countrie: except euery Creeke, Port, or sandie Bay, had a powerfull Armie, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That Kent is able to furnish twelve thousand foot; and that those twelve thousand be laid in the three best landing places within that Countie, to wit, three thousand at Margat, three thousand at the Nelle, and fixe thousand at Foulkflon, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these 50 troups (vnleffe some other order be thought more fit) bee directed to firengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it : I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemie, setting saile from the Isle of Wight, in the

first watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the Neffe, and thrust their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at Margat, (twentie and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellowes at the Neffe. Nay, how shall they at Fonlkson bee able to doe it, who are necret by more than halfe the way? seeing that the enemie, at his first arrivall, will eyther make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thoufand, that were intrenched at the Nelle, to runne; or elfe give them fo much to doe, that they shall be glad to send for helpe to Foulk son; and perhaps to Margat: where-10 by those places will bee left bare. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelue thousand Kentifo Souldiers arrive at the Neffe, cre the enemic can be ready to disimbarque his Armie, so that hee shall finde it vnsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we beleeue, that he will play the best of his owne game; and (hauing liberty to goe which way he lift) vnder couert of the night, fet fayle towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, eyther at Margat, the Downes, or elsewhere, before they at the Nesse can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to doe it. Year the like may bee fayd of Waymouth, Purbeck, Poole, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily 20 out-runne the Souldiers that couft them Les Armees ne volent poynt en poste; Armiesneyther flye, norrunne post, sayth a Marshall of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of Ships may be seene at Sunne-set, and after it, at the Lisard; yet by the next morning they may recouer Portland, whereas an Armie of foot shall not bee able to march it in fixe dayes. Againe, when those troupes, lodged on the Sea-shores. shall be forced to runne from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships; they will at length fit downe in the mid-way, and leave all at adventure. But fay it were otherwise; That the inuading enemie will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Armie of ours readie to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders 30 and Capraines, shalbe drawn together (as they were at Tilburie in the yeare 1588.)

to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of London: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie likevnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parma should have landed in England.

The He of Tercera hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in such a case. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthned by art: it being euery where hard of accesse; having no good harbour wherein to shelter a Nauie of friends; and vpon enery cone or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approch of an enemies boat. Yet when Emanuel de Sylua, and Monsieur 1582.

40 de Chattes, that held it to the vie of Don Antonio, with fine or fixe thousand men, thought to have kept the Marquesse of Santa Cruz, from setting foot on ground therin; the Marquesse having shewed himselfe in the Roade of Angra, did set saile, ereany was aware of it, and arrived at the Port des Moles, farre diftant from thence, where hee wanne a Fort, and landed, ere Monsieur de Chattes, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of Philip Stroßie, flaine the yeere before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed de Chattes and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquesse his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying reliefe to Port des Moles. Whether our English would bee perswaded to 50 make fuch diligent haste, from Margatto the Nesse, and backe againe, it may bee doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of Tercera;

whereof the French-men had not measured the one halfe when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble ships of Spaine. This may suffice to proue, that a strong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in England,

Hhhhh

France,

France, or elsewhere, vnlesse it be hindred, encountred, and shuffled together, by a flect of equall, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our English, at Fayal, in the yeere 1597. is alleaged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those Engish in Fayal, my selte, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited. with omiffion of my name; I may by a civill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeed some which were in that voiage, who adulfed me not to vidertake it: 18 and I harkened vnto them, somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilest they defired mee, to referue the title of fuch an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficultie: I gaue them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, then to inuade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease then I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place, yea euen there where I landed, if I would have taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong vnto the honour of our Prince & Nation, that a few Ilanders should not think 20 any aduantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by Q. Elizabeth: and further, I was vn willing, that some Low-Countrie Captaines, and others, not of mine owne fquadron, whose affistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceipt (though it would have bin short, when I had landed in some other place) That for want of their helpe I was driven to turne taile. Therfore I tooke with me none, but men affured, Comanders of mine own squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refule; as, Sir William Brooke, Sir William Harucy, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir Iohn Skot, Sir Thomas Redgeway, Sir Henrie Thinne, Sir Charles Morgan, Sir Walter Chute, Marcellus Throckmorton. Captaine Laurence Kemis, Captaine William Morgan, and others, such as well vnder- 20 stood themselues and the enemie: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I undertooke. As for the working of the Sea, the sleepenesse of the Cliffes, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough. And these (not withstanding) made fine or fixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wal, whereon their Musketiers lay on the rest for vs, and wonne the place of them without any great loffe. This I could have done with leffe danger, so that it should not have served for example of a rule, that failed euen in this example : but the reasons before alleaged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen about named, though more priuate, then to be here laid downe) made me rather follow the way of brauerie, and 40 take the shorter course; having it still in mine owne power to fall off when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemie was more then a Coward; (which yet was more then we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small peece of service, by feeking to proue him better: whom had I thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise have dealt with But for so much as concernes the Proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemic troubled vs more in our march towards Fayal, than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop vs in place of his advantage; that many of our men were slayne or hurt by him, among whom Sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to bee past, when we had wonne good footing) would needes 50 follow vs to the Town were driven by him, to for sake the pace of a man of warre, and betake themselves to an hastie trot.

For end of this digression. I hope that this question shall never come to triall; his Majestics many moucable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the English will no lesse disdaine, than any Nation under heauen can doe, to be beaten

von their owne ground, or elsewhere by a forraigne enemie; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile vs, with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they cate of our Kentifb Capons, I take it to be the wifest way. To doe which, his Maiestie, after God, will imploy his good thips on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment voon the shore.

### à. X.

How the Romans attempt agains to get the mastrie of the Seas. The victorie of CEA. CILIVS the Roman Consull at Panormus: The siege of Lilybaum. How a Rhodian Gallie entred Lilybaum at pleasure, in despight of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to flop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grieuous loffes received, under CLAVDIVS and IVNIVS their Confulls, abandon the Seas againe.



Hen, without a strong Nauie, the Romans found it altogether imposlible, either to keepe what they had alreadie gotten in Sieil, or to enlarge their Dominions in Africa or elsewhere, they resoluted once againe, notwithstanding their late misaduentures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of warre. So causing fiftie new Gallies to be built, and

the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consulls, C. Atilius, and L. Manlius. On the other side, Asdrubal perceiuing that the Romans, partly by reason of the shipwarke which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they received by Xantippus in Africa, were leffe daring than they had beene in the beginning of the warre; and withall, that one of the Confulls was returned into Italie, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that Cacilius, with onely the other halfe, remained at Pa-20 normus: he removed with the Carthaginian forces from Lilybaum towards it, hoping to pronoke Cacilius to fight. But the Confull was better aduised. For when Adrubalhad made his approches somewhat neere the Towne, Cacilius caused a deepe trench to be cut, agood distance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattailea Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gaue order that they should advance themselves, and passe over the new trench, till such time as the African Elephants were thrust vpon them. From those bealts he commanded them to retire, by flow degrees, till they had drawne on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no meanes passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a fland, they 40 were so gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously vpontheir owne foot men, and vtterly disorderedthem. Cacilius, espying this advantage, sallied with all the force hee had; and charging the other troups, that flood embattailed, he vtterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great flaughter of them, and taking al their Elephants.

The report of this victorie being brought to Rome, the whole state, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred faile, which they fent into Sicil, to give end to that warre, that had now lasted four eteene yeeres. With this fleet and armie the Romans resolue to attempt Lilybaum, the only place of importance which 50 the Carthaginians held in Sicil; and all (indeed) saue Drepanum, that was neere adjoyning. They set downe before it, and possesse themselves of all the places of adnantage neere vnto it, especially of such as comand the hauen, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground fixe towres of defence, & by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the city, as the defendants begin to despaire.

Hhhhh 2

Yet Himileo, Commander of the Place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligences he maketh many furious fallies, and giveth to the Romans all the affronts that possibly could bee made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other pettie Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is reuealed by an Achean, called Alexon, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saued Agrigentum. Himileo yfeth the helpe of Alexon, to affure the hired Souldiers; and imployeth Hannibal to appeare the troups of the Gaules, which did waver, and had fent their agents to the enemie. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vn- 10 able to performe what they had undertaken, are faine to live in the Roman campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to deserve their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from Carthage to their reliefe, having Hannibal the sonne of Amilear, for their Conductor: who, in despight of all relistance, entred the Port and Citic, to the incredible joy of the belieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by Himileo with hope of great reward) resolute to set vpon the Romans in their Trenches, and either force them to abandon the fiege, or (at leaft) to take from them, or fet on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the vttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the Romans being more in number, 20 and having the advantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of Carthage desire greatly to understand the state of things at Lilyheum; but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine Rhodian undertakes the service; and having received his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to £gusa, a little Iland neere Lilyheum. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and having a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the Romans had to guard the Port,

could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to 36 be boorded by the Roman Gallies, who waited his returne, he fet faile, and finpping his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of steerage, and himselfe expert in all parts of the channell) recouered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in despight of all the pursuit made after him. Then, sinding himselfe out of danger of being incompassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauen, challenging any one, is any one durst come forth, to undertake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkeable, and much wondred at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a farre-off, the adventure which this Rhodian made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and indicious man of warre will not feare to passe by the 40 best appointed Fort of Europe, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind: no, though fortie peeces of great Artillerie open their mouthes against him, and threaten to teare him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when Denmarke and Sweden were at Warre; our East-land fleet, bound for Leif-land, was forbidden by the King of Denmarke to trade with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatned to sinke their ships if they came through the streights of Elsenour. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (hauing a ship of her Maieslies, called the Minion, to defend them) made the aduenture; and sustaining some Vollies of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the provision he could, to stop them, or sinke them, at their returne. But 50 the Minion, commanded (as Itake it) by William Eurrough, leading the way, did not only passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with artillerie, a great part of the Fort of Elsenour; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that sollowed him, went through without any

wound receiued. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of Parma besieging Antwerp; and sinding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise then by samine, laid his Cannon on the bancke of the River, so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the Hollanders and Zelanders, not blowne up by any winde of glorie, but comming to sinde agood market for their Butter and Cheese, even the poore men, attending their profit when all things were extreme deare in Antwerp, passed in boats of ten or twelve Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despight of it, when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of should avoured them; as also with a contrarie to winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: so as he was forced, in the ende, to build his Stockado overthwart the River, to his marvailous trouble and charge.

The Fort St. Philip terrified not vs in the yeere 1596. when we ented the Port of Caliz; neither did the Fort at Puntal, when we were entred, beat vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaied vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blanque, from fixe in the morning till twellue at noone. The fiege of Oftend, and of many other places, may be given for proofe, how hard a matter it is to flop the paffage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of Angra in Tereera, that there is no passage along beso so fide it, or that the ships are driven to turne vpon a bow line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great vse, and searcfull:

otherwise not.

CHAP. I. S. 10.

But to returne to our adventurous Rhodian: Hee arrives in safetic at Carthage, and makes them know the estate of Lilybeum. Others also, after this take vpon them to doe the like, and performe it with the same successe. The Romant therfore labour to choke the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sinke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it againe inpart: but they grounded so many of those great-bellied boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the passes. Hereby it came to passe, that a Carthaginian Gallie, taking her course by night, and not suspected in the passes of the course should be successed in the same taken. Now comes the brave Rhodian, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this Carthaginian Gallic, a little before taken, gave him chace, and gathered vponhim; he findes what shee is, both by her forme and by her swiftnesse: and being not able to runne from her resolved to sight with her. But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lily beum, after this, is greatly distressed in the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this despaire there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the Romans woodden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the walls of Lilybeum, were so ouer-turned. A Greeke Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performes it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne unto by the bellowes of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistle steen the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brasen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despaire and wearinesse hinder the Romans from repairing their Engines: so that they

resolue, by a long siege, to starue the defendants.

Vpon relation of what had paft, a supply often thousand Souldiers is sent from Rome, under M. Claudius, the Gonsull. He arrives at Messana, and marcheth ouer land to Lilybeum: where having re-inforced the Armie, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of Drepanum, a Citie on the other 30 side of the Bay of Lilybeum. This service the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consull embarques his troups, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. Adherbal is Governour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at Lilybeum, was at first amazed at their sudden approch; but having recovered his spirits, shee per-Hhh h h 3 swades

fwades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be inclosed. Herewithall hee promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head of his fleete. Hauing sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the Romans. The Consult, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. Adherbal findes and followes his advantage, and forceth the Confull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himselfe, having the land on his back: how ping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sca-roome, so streightned, as hee could not turne himselfeany way to from his enemies, nor range himfelfe in any order. Therefore when hee found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleete, to the number of ninetic and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the Carthaginians. Adherbal for this service is greatly honoured at Carthage; and Claudius, for his indifcretion and flight, as much differed at Rome.

The Romans, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threescore Gallies, with which they fend away L. Iunius, their Confull, to take charge of their businessein Sicil. Iunius arrives at Messana, where he meets with the whole remainder of the Roman fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of Lilybaum. One hundred and 20 twentie Gallies he had; and besides these, hee had gotten together almost eight hundred thips of burthen, which were laden with all necessarie prouisions for the Armie. With this great fleet he arrives at Syracuse, where he staies a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for some, that were too slow of faile, to keepe companie with him along from Messana. In the meane time, hee dispatcheth away to wards Lilybaum, his Quaftors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one halfeof

his victuallers, with some Gallies for their convov.

Abherbal was not carcleffe, after his late victoric : but studied how to vse it to the best advantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to Carthage. Of his owne Gallies hee deliuered thirtie to Carthalo, who had threescore and ten 39 more under his owne charge; and fent him to trie, what good might be done against the Roman fleet, in the Hauen of Lilybaum. According to this direction, Caribals fuddenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where he findes the Romans, more attentiue to the keeping in of the belieged Carthaginians, than to the defence of their owne against another fleet. So hee chargeth them, boords and takes some, and fires the rest. The Roman Campe takes alarme, and hastens to the rescue. But Himileo, Gouernour of the Towne, is not behinde hand; who fallies out at the fame time. and putting the Romans in great distresse, gives Carthalo good leifure to go through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, Carthalo ranne all along the South coast of Sicil, deuising how 40 to worke mischiefe to the enemie: wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised by his Scouts, that they had descried, necre at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessells. These were the victuallers, which the Confull Junius, more hastily than providently, had fent before him towards Lilybaum, Carthalo was glad to heare of their comming: for hee and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of Roman Hulks approching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make strong opposition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The Romans had no minde to fight: but were glad to feeke shelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder couert of a poore Towne, 50 belonging to their partie; that could helpe to faue them only from the prefent danger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the Carthaginians that affailed them. Carthalo therefore, having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride under those rocks, but would be forced,

by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to faue their men, how they could, by taking land, with the loffe of all their shipping. Whilest he was bussed in this care; the Consult Innius drew neere, and was discoucred. Against him Carthalo makes out, and findes him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Confull had neither meanes to flie, nor abilitie to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger so great, as that of the enemie. The Carthagmian, seeing this, betakes himfelfeto a Station betweene thet wo Roman fleets; where hee watcheth, to see which of them would first stirre, with a resolution to assault that, which 10 (hould first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of Sicil, betweene the Promontorie of Pachinus and Lilybeum; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde stormed at South. The Carihaginians, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding (belike) some swelling billow (for fo we doe in the West of England, before a Southerly storme) hasted to double the Cape of Pachinus, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the Romans, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauigate, and never found any foule weather in the entrailes of their beafts, their Soothfayers being all land prophets, were suddenly ouer-taken with a boisterous South winde, and all their Gallies forced against the rocks, and vtterly wrackt.

20 This calamitie so discouraged the Romans, that they resolved agains to forsake the Seas, and trust onely to the service of their Legions vpon firme ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make warre in an Iland, against those that have a mightier fleet. Yet are they to Le excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbeare to commend the patient vertueof the Spaniards. We seldome or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misaduentures and miseries, as the Spaniards haue done, in their Indian Discaueries. Yet perfifting in their enterprises, with an innincible constancie, they have annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Provinces, as butie the remembrance

30 of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme pouertie, and want of all things needfull, have beene the enemies, wherewith enery one of their most noble Discouerers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many yeeres have passed over some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more then one or two, haue spent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in search of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift undertakers, have not beene disheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries, and Paradises, which they enjoy; and

40 well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

). XI.

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The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recovered by A m I L C AR: who Southy holds warre with them five yeeres. The Romans having emptied their common treasurie, build a new fleet, at the charges of private men. The great victorie at Sen of LvcTATIVs the Confull; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to craue peace. The conditions of the peace betweene Rome and Carthage.

HE Romans were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of Lily-beum, and seeke to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemics ships could not bring reliefe. The Consul Junius, to cure the wound of dishonour, which hee had received, bethought him what

enterprise to vndertake. In the end hee resolued to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of Eryx, with the Temple of Venus Erycina: which was the fairest and richest of all the Iland; and of these, by cunning or treason, hee got possession. Eryx was commodiously seated betweene Drepanum and Panormus; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restraine the Carthaginians from making roads 20 into the Countrie. Wherefore Junius fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both which places were verie defencible) with a good firength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth yeere of this warre, the Carthaginians fent forth Amilear, furnamed Barcas, Father of the great Hannibal, with a flect and armie, who failing to the coasts of Italie, did throughly repay the spoiles which the Romans made in Africa. For hee first of all wasted and destroied the Territories of the Locrines, and of the Brutians, that were dependants of Rome. Then entred hee into Sicil; and finding there no walled Citie in the Carthaginians power, that served fitly to infest the Romans, hee occupied a peece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to 30 confront as well the Romans, that were in Panormus, as those that kept about Ergs, putting himselfe betweene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that Amilear had seized upon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him oportunitie, to scoure all the coast of Italie with his fleet, wasting all along as farre as to Cuma. In the Isle of Sicil hee held the Romans to hard worke: lying neere vnto Panormus, where in three yeares abode hee did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemic could neuer bee drawne to hazard the maine chance. Hauing wearied himselfe and the Romans long enough about Panormus, hee vndertooke a strange pecce of worke at Eryx. The Roman Garrisons, placed there by Iunius, on 40 the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very strongly lodged. Neuerthelesse Amilear found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which heeconueighed his men into the Citie of Eryx, that was about the middest of the ascent, ere the enemie knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the Romans which kept the top of the Mountaine, were streightly held (as it were) besieged. And no lesse was Amilear himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to relieue them. There he found them pastime about two yeeres more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrarie did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the Romans and of the Carthaginians, was bent 50 vnto the profequating of this businesse at Eryx. Wherein it seemes true (as Hanni-Lim Dec. 3.1.10. bal, in Livie, spake vnto Scipio) that the affaires of Carthage never stood in better

mans had veterly for fakenthe Seas, partly by reason of their great losses, partly vpon confidence of their land forces, which they held reliftleffe; emilear, with a small Armie, had so well acquited himselfe, to the honour of his Countrie, that by the triall of fine yeares warre, the Carthaginian Souldier was judged equal, if not fuperiour to the Roman. Finally, when all, that might be, had been edeuted and gone, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of Rome, than once agains to build a fleet; whereby, if the mastrie of the Sca could once be gotten, it was likely that Amilear, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficultie was found. The to common treasurie was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite vnto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon private purses. Divers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one Quinquereme; which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilitie would not serue to doe the like, joyned with some others and laying their monie together, cocurred two or three of them, in building of anothers with condition to be repaied, when the warre was finished. By this voluntarie contribution, they made and furnished two hundred new Quinqueremes: taking for their patterne, that excellent swift-rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the Rhodien, in the Port of Lilybann, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was 20 committed to C. Luctatius Catulus; who past with the same into Sicil, the Spring following, and entred the Port of Drepanum, indeuouring by all meanes to have forced the Citic. But being advertised that the Carthaginian fleet was at hand; and being mindfull of the late loffes which his Predeceffours had received; he was care.

full to put himfelfe in order, against their arrivall.

CHAP. 1. S. 11.

Hanno was Admirall of the Carthaginian fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the arte of seeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthie than himselfe. This qualitic procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking a-30 mong the ancient fort, whose cold temper is auerse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great fore-fight, confirmed by enery losse received. More particularly, hee was gracious among the people, for that hee was one of the most grieuous oppressours of their subject Provinces; whereby he procured vnto the Carthaginians much wealth, but there with all fuch hatred, as turned it al to their great loffe. Hee had ere this beene imployed against the Numidians, and wilde Africans, that were more like to Rouers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of those fugitive Nations, hee learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of Carthage; which loft not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counfaile, when, having shewed himselfe an 40 vnworthie Captaine, he betooke himfelfe to the long Robe. Yet is hee much commended in Roman Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preferue the League betweene Carthage and Rome. In which regard, how well hee deserued of his owne Countrie, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall hee was to the Romans, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his prefent voyage; wherein hereduced the Carthaginians to a miserable necessitie of accepting, vpon hard conditions, that peace which he thence-forth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Nauie, with all needfull prouisions for the Souldiers at Eryx: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but hee had neither beene carefull in trayning his Mariners, to the practice of 30 Sea fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellowes. Hee thought, that the fame of a Carthaginian fleet was enough; to make the vnexpert Romans give way: forgetting, that rather the reliftlesse force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing hee had either

termes, fince the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the Ro-

conceived a-right, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to faile to Errx, and there to discharge his ships of their lading : and having thus lightned himselfe, he meant to take aboord some part of the Land-armie, together with Amilear himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make the enemic repent of his new aduenture to Sea. This was a good course. if it could have beene performed. But Catulus vied all possible diligence, to preuent the execution of this designe: not because hee was informed of the enemies purpose, but for that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that feared no dangerso greatly, as to encounter with Amilear. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the Carthaginian fleet was descried: 10 vet he rather chose to fight with the enemie, that had the winde of him, than to fuffer this convoy to passe along to Eryx, vpon vnlikely hope of better oportunitie in the future. All that Hanno should have done, Catulus had performed. Hee had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; hee had lightned his Gallies of all vnnecessarie burthen; and hee had taken aboord the choice men of the Roman Land souldiers. The Carthaginians therefore, at the first encounter.

The state of Carthage, vtterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolue. Meanes to repaire their sleete in any time there were none lest; their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and Amilear, vpon whose valour and judgement the honour and safetie of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in Sicil, where hee could not bee relieved. In this extremitie, they make dispatch vnto Amilear himselse, and authorize him to take what cour se should seeme best vnto his excellent wisedome; leaving all conclusions

were vtterly broken and defeated; hauing fiftie of their Gallies stemmed and sunke, and seuentie taken, wherein were sew lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile

to his election and sole counsaile.

Amilear, whom no aduersitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recouerie, had euer vanquished, looking ouer euery promise, true or talle, that 30 the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future hee was not able) resolved to make triall, whether his necessitiemight bee compounded vpon any reasonable termes. He therefore sent to Luctatius the Consull an Ouerture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present pouertie of the Roman State, wasted beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly harkened vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with provision, T hat it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of Rome would ratific it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the Carthaginians should clearely abandon the Isle of Sicil. Secondly, that they should never under-take upon Hieron King 40 of Syracus, nor inuade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should fet at libertie, and send back into Italic, all the Romans, whom they hold prisoners, without ransome. Lastly, that they should pay unto the Romans two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the French reckon the talent, thirteene hundred and twentie thousand crownes: the same to be delivered within twentie yeeres next

following.

These Articles were sent to Rome, where they were not throughly approued: but ten Commissioners were sent into Sieil, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former summe; and required a 50 shorter time of payment. Further also, they tooke order, that the Carthaginian should not onely depart out of Sieil it selfe, but should also with draw their Companies out of all the other Ilands betweeneit and Italie, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first Punick Warre; that had lasted about twentie foure yeares without intermission; in which time the Romans had lost, by fight or shipwrack, about seven hundred Quinqueremes; and the Carthaginians, about sine hundred: the greatnesse of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatnesse both of these two Cities, and of the Warreit selfe; wherein I hold good the judgement of Polylius, That the Romans, in generall, did show themselves the braver Nation; and Amilear, the most worthie Captaine.

CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing betweene the first and second Punick Warres.

Of the cruell warre begunne betweene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercinaries.



CHAP.2. S.I.

HE Romans, having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the Carthaginians out of Sicil, and all the little llands thereunto adjacent, gaue them rather meanes and leisure to helpe themselues in a following warre, than cause to hold themselues contented with the present peace. It is a true rule, Quò dieges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiantur à victis; That lawes Q. curi, L. are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered. But the Romans had either forgotten the answerthat was made vnto them, by one of the Privarnates; or else had forgotten to sollow it, in this waightie busi-

nesse. For when one of Privernum, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the canse of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, What peace the Romans might hope for, or affure themselves of of they quitted their present advantage over them; he answered in 40 thefe words, Sibonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam; If the peace be good and faithfull that you give vs. it will be perpetuall; if it be ill, then of little continuance. To this answere, the Senate, at that time, gaue such approbation, that it was faid, Viri & liberi vocem auditam; an credi posse, vllum populum, aut hominem denig, in ea conditione, cuius eum paniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the speech of a manly, and a free man; for who could believe, that any people, or indeedcany one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than meere necessitie didenforce? Now if the Romans themselves could make this judgement, of those Nations, who had little elfe, besides their manly resolution, to desend their libertie; furely, they grofly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the Carthaginians, 30 who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour vnto themselues, would fit downe any longer by the loffe and dishonour received, than vntill they could recouer their legs, and the firength, which had a while failed them, to take renenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publique States, have more prevailed, than by any proper proweffe or vertue,

wish

Such

with-held the tempest from the Romans for a time, and turned it most fearefully vpon Africa, and the Carthaginians themselves.

For after that the first Punick Warre was ended; Amilear, leaving Eryx, went to Lilybaum, from whence most conveniently the Armie might be transported into Africk: the care of which businesse he committed vnto Gesco, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiencie, he delivered over his charge. Gesco had an especiall consideration of the great summes, wherein Carthage was indebted vnto these Mercinaries; and, withall, of the great disabilitie to make paiment. Therefore he thought it the wifest way, to send them ouer (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that fo the first might haue their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Com- 10 panies arrived. Herein hee dealt providently. For it had not beene hard to perfwade any small number, lodged within so great a Citie as Carthage, vnto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptinesse of the common Treasurie did require : so that the first might haue beene friendly discharged, and a good president left unto the second and third, whilest their designation had made them unableto recouer their whole due by force. But the Carthaginians were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publique state, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped by fuch an example, todraw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detayned the first and second commers; telling them, that they 20 would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus euery day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place where they might be lesse troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perswasion: for their number was alreadic so great, that it was not safe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the comming of their fellowes, at Sieca: receiving every one a peece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while. This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers beginne to dislodge; leaving behinde them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly 30 to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the Carthaginians have no fancie to their returning into the Townes and therefore compell them to truffe yn their fardells, that they might have none occasion left, to make any errands this ther. So to Sicca they removed, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arrivall, and their owne pay. Businesse they had none to doe, and therfore might easily be drawne to mutinie: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should be, when all their mony came in how much would fall to every single share; and for how long time the Citic was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne Arithmeticians; and hee was thought a man of worth, that could 40 finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long seruice was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, as so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some vnordinarie largesse.

Thus the time passet away; vntill the whole Armie being arrived, and lodged in Sicca, Harno comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the daycome, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So thinke they all; and assemble themselves to heare what good newes this messenger had brought: with a a full resolution to help his 50 memorie, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made vnto them; all which were to be considered in their Donatiue. Hanno begins a verie formall Oration; wherein he bewailes the povertie of Carthage; tells them, how great a summe of mony is to be paid vnto the Romans; reckons vp the excessive charges,

charges, whereat the common-wealth had beene in the late warre; and finally defires them to hold themselues contented with part of their pay, and out of the loue which they bare vnto the Citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his difcourse: for the Carthaginian Armic was composed of sundry Nations, as Greekes, Africans, Gaules, Ligurians, Spaniards, and others, all of different languages. Yetthey stared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such, as conceived the whole tenour of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad men, fo that nothing would ferue to appeale them. Hanno would faine haue affwaged their 10 furie, but he knew not how: for hee leffe vnderstood their dissonant lowde noises. than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of many countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stire red vp to mutinic, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that Hanno can doe, is to vie the helpe of Interpreters, and messengers. But these Interpreters missake his meaning; some, for want of skill; others, of set purpose; and such as deliuer his errandes in the worst sense, are best beleeved. Finally, they thinke themselues much abused by the Carthaginians, and resolue to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a neerer distance. In this moode they leave Sicca, and march as farre as Tunis, that is within a little of Carthage, and there they

CHAP.2. S.I.

Now begin the Carthaginians to find their one errour. It is a good rule,

Curandum inprimis, ne magna iniuria fiat Fortibus & miseris.

Haue speciall care, that valiant pouertie Be not oppress with too great injurie.

But this proud citie, having neglected the rule, hath also beene carelesse in proui-30 ding to secure her selfe against the inconvenience that might followe. She had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto shee was like to giue cause of discontent, to ioyne it selfe into one bodie, when the seuerall troupes might easily haue beene dispersed: shee hath turned out of her gates the wines, children, and goods of these poore men, which had shee retained in shew of kindnesse, shee might have vsed them as Hostages, for her owne saferie; and by imploying a miserable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of warre, shee bath weakened the reputation of her brauest Captaines, that might best have served to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely enough it is, that Amilear had no desire to be vsed as an instrumet indefrauding his owne fouldiours of their wages: epecially confidering, that as he o best could beare witnesse of their merits, so was hee not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had beene willing thereunto. Hereto may be added a probable coniecture, that Hanno, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemie to Amilear, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counsaile, vpon the liberall promises made by the Captaines. Amilear therefore did wifely, in suffering those that maligned him, to haue the managing of their own plot, and to deale the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to doe as foolishly, as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at Tunis, for the souldiours; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send euer and anon some of their Senatours 30 into the Campe, who promise to satisfie all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the souldiours understand, into what feare the City was driven; which cannot but adde much insolency to the passions alreadie stirred vp.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the

Armie, which thereupon growes wife, and finding the feafon fit, labours to make a great haruest. Monie must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue lost their horses, in publique service of the state. The state shall pay for them. They had lived some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victualls from Carthage. If they had lived, they wanted not meat: therefore what was this to the Caribaginians? Was it not all one, whether the thips did bring in prouision; or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not ferue. They faid that they had beene fometimes driven to buy; and that (fince they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouision, during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that wheat had borne, whilest the warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easily have beene satisfied with farre lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make none end of crauing. For whilest the Carthaginians are perplexed, about this corne-monie; the Souldiers have deuised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater fumme of monie, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could bee found of these controuersies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the Carthaginians, which had commanded in Sicil, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condescended, and made choise of Gesco: partly out of good liking to him, who had 20 shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into Africk: partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of Amilear; for that he had not visited them in all this busic time. So Ge/co comes among them; and, to please them the better, comes not without monie: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren cloquence had done to the negotiation of Hanne. Hee calles vnto him first of all, the Captaines, and then, the feuerall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; adusting them temperatly concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their love vnto the State, which had long entertained them, and would alwaies be mindfull of their good services. After this he beganne to put 30 hand to his purse: offering to give them their whole paie in hand; and then after to consider of other recknonings, at a more convenient time. This had beene well accepted, and might have served to bring all to a quiet passe; if two seditious ringleaders of the multitude had not flood against it.

There was in the Campeone Spendius, a sturdie fellowe, and audacious, but a flaue; that in the late warre had fled from a Roman whom hee ferued, and therefore flood in feare, left he should be deliuered backe to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no lesse, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raifing fuch troubles as might ferue to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his owne resti- 40 tution impossible, were his Master neuer so importunate. With Spendius there affociated himselfe one Matho; an hote-headed man, that had beene so forward in stirring up the tumult, as hee could not choose but feare, lest his owne death should bee made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behauiour. This Matho deales with his Countrimen, the Africans; telling them, that they were in farre worse condition, than either the Gaules, the Greekes, the Spaniards, or any forreyne mercinaries. For (faith he) thefe our companions have no more to doe, than to receive their wages, and so get them gone: but wee, that are to stay behinde in Africa, Shall be called to another manner of accompt, when wee are left alone; fo that we shall have cause to wish, that wee had returned home beggers, rather than loaden with 50 the monie, which (little though it be) shall breake our backes. Yee are not ignorant, how tyrannically thefe our haughtie Masters of CARTHAGE doe reigne over vs. They thinke it reasonable, that our lines and goods should be at their disposition; which they have at other times beene accustomed to take away from vs, even without apparent cause, as it were to

declare their Sourreigntie: what will they now doe, feeing that we have demeaned our felues as free men, and beene bold to fet a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others have done? Ye all doe know, that it were a very shame for vs, if having beene as forward in cuerie danger of warre, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slaves, and nut dare to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This not with standing yee may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soone as our fellowes are gone: in regard of whom they are contented to hadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countemance. Let vs therefore be wife; and confider, that they hate and feare vs. Their hatred will shew it selfe, when their feare is once past: unlesse wee now take 10 our time, and, whilest we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatlie, that their hatred shal not be able to doe us wrong. All their strength consisteth in monie, wherewithall they have hired others against vs, and vs against others. At the present they have neither monie nor friends. The best A mie that ever served them, whereof wee are no small part, lies at their gases, readie to helpe vs if we be men. A better opportunitie cannot be expected: for were our fwords once drawne, all A FRICK would rife on our fide. As for the CART HAGI-NIANS, whither can they fend for belpe? The case it selfe is plaine: but we must quickely resolue. Either we must preuent the diligence of GESCO, by incensing these GAVLES and SPANIAR DES, and procuring them to drawe bloud, or elfeit behoueth vs to please our goodmasters, by iogning with them against our fellowes, yea by offering to jorgine wnto 20 them all our wages, it (o (peraduenture) they may be wonne to forgine vs, or not overcruelly topunish our faults already committed. Hee is worthily a wretched live, that neither hathcare to winne his Masters love, nor courage to attempt his owne libertie.

By such persuasions Matho winnes the African souldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now so greedie of monie, as of qurraell; which hee that seekes, will not mile to finde. When Geseo therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demandes; for horses and victualles to some other more convenient time; they breake into great outrage, and say that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about Autho and Spendius; whose diligence is not wanting to adde more suell to the fire alreadie blazing. Matho and Spendius are the onely men to whom'the souldiours will hearken: if any other stand up to make aspeech, a showre of stones, slying about his earcs, puts him to silence, that hee shall never afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath beene said alreadie by these good spokesmen; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can bee heard, saue onely

throwe, throwe

Снар.2. ...

Now the Rebellion beginnes to take forme. Matho and Spendius are chosen Captaines; who, followed by a desperate crue of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, under faire pretence of the com-40 mon cause. All which notwithstanding, Gesco is not wanting to the good of his countrie, but aduentures himfelfe vpon their furie. One while hee deales with the Captaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while hee workes with the seucrall Nations; putting them all in hope of their owne hearts desire if any reason would content them. None of them are so sullen as the Africans: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorilie, to give them their owne, and not to feed them with wordes. The truth is, that they are not so couctous as they seeme: but will be more glad of anill answere, then of a good payment. This is more then Gefco knowes: he sees not that Matho hath, any more then bare words, to bestow vpon them. Wherefore, as 50 rebuking their inconsiderate hear he telles them, That they may doc well, if they stand in want of monie, to seeke it of their Captaine, Matho. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them & deride them? They flay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon the treasure thathe had brought; yea vpon him also, and al that are with him: as intending to take this in part of paiment, and, for the rest, to take another course. Matho and Spendius are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellowes beginne to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the Carthaginians that they can finde; that fo the Armie may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this followes open warre. Matho follicites all Africk; and his Embassadours are cuerie where wellentertained. Neither is it needefull to vse perswasion: the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to drawe the whole countrie into it. Now must the Carthaginians bee plagued for those oppressions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that aduersitie hath neuer beene vntold of her errours: and as she is euer assu- to red to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne shee vndergoes those of other men. The Africans, finding the Carthaginians hang under the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilesse; that they tooke from them the one halfe of their corne; that they doubled their tributes in al things elfe; and that they inflicted vpon their vassals the greatest punishments for the least offences. These cruelties the Carthaginians themselves have forgotten: but the people, that have fuffered so much, retaine all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely such as can bearearmes, are ready to doe service in this great Commotion; but the very women bring forth their iewels, and other ornaments, offering all to sale for maintenance of so iusta quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, 20 Matho and Spendius are supplied with a strong aide of threescore and tenne thoufand Africans : and are moreover furnished with monie, not onely to satisfie the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the warre begun, though it should be of long endurance.

### Į. II.

Diners observations upon this warre with the mercinaries.

30

Of Tyrannie, and how tyrants are driven to vse helpe of mercinaries.

Ere let vs rest awhile, as in a conuenient breathing place: whence wee may take prospect of the subject, ouer which we trauaile. Behold a 40 styrannicall Citie, persecuted by her owne mercinaries with a deadly warre. It is a common thing, as being almost necessarie, that a tyrannie should bee vpheld by mercinarie forces: it is common that mercinaries should be false: and it is common, that all warre made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and crueltie. Yet wee seldome heare, that the ruine of a Tyrannie is procured or fought, by those that were hired to maintaine the power of it: and seldome or neuer doe we reade of any warre, that hath beene prosecuted

with fuch inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand. That which we properly call Tyrannie, is A violent forme of government, not respecting the good of the subject, but onely the pleasure of the Commander. I purposely 50 forbeare to fay, that it is the vniust rule of one over many : for verie truely doth Cleon in Thucydides tell the Athenians, that their dominion ouer their subjects, was none other than a meere tyranny; though it were fo, that they themselves were

were a great Citie, and a popular estate. Neither is it peraduenture greatly needefull, that I should call this forme of commanding, violent: tince it may well and easily bee conceived, that no man willingly performes obedience, to one regardleffe of his life and welfare; vnleffe himfelfe bee either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for some Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very flaues; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne advantage. Neuertheleffe, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, vnto notice of the difference which might bee found betweene the worth of feuerall men; it is commonly scene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath so good a rellith, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to bee restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seeke out bounds, to prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that hee hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, hee should have riches in goodly aboundance. He hath taken a great deale from euery one: but cuery one could haue spared more. He hath wrung all their purfes, and now he hath enough: but (as Couetousnesse is neuer satisfied) he thinkes that all this is too little for a stock, though 20 it were indeede a good yearely Income. Therefore he deuiseth new tricks of robberie, and is not better pleased with the gaines, then with the Art of getting. He is hated for this , and he knowes it well : but hee thinkes by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspeeteth: in which course, if he suspect none vnjustly, he may be said to deale crastilv: but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any Conspiratour to stand in feare, fince the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Whereforehee can thinke upon none other securitie, than to disarme all his Subjects: to fortific

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onely fauour they are maintained Now lest any of these, either by detestation of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward, than he doth gine. should be drawne to turne his sword against the Tyrant himselfe: they shall all be permitted to doe as he doth; to robbe, to rauish, to murder, and to satisfie their owne apperites, in most outragious manner; being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees 40 them grow hatefull to all men elfe. Considering in what Age, and in what Language I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames: though some En-

himselfe within some strong place; and for defence of his Person and state, to hire

as many luttie Souldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not beeof his 20 owne Countrie: for if not every one, yet some one or other might chance to haue

afeeling of the publique milerie. This considered, he allures vnto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most vnhonest that can bee found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose

glif-man perhaps that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this leafe, might suppose this discourse to be little better. This is to shew, both how tyrannie growes to stand in need of mercinarie Souldiers, and how those Mercinaries

are, by mutuall obligation, firmely affured vnto the Tyrant.

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t. II.

That the tyrannie of a Citie over her Subiects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise wse mercinary Souldiers.

 $N_{\rm jects}^{\rm Ow}$  concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresset her Subjects; it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, then that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jelous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearefull of her life: the leffe neede hath shee therefore, to fe. 10 cure her selfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures; and therefore needes the leffe, to pluck from her Subjects. If warre, or any other great occasion, driue her to necessitie, of taking from her Subjects more than ordinarie fummes of monie: the same necessitie makes either the contribution casie, or the taking excusable. Indeede, no wrongs are so gricuous and hatefull, as those that are insolent. Remember (faith Caligula the Emperor, to his Grand-mother Antonia) that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list : these wordes were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And Iunenal reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruell Roman Dame vpon her flaues; that whilest shee was whipping them, the painted her face, talked with her Goffips, and vied all fignes of 20 neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grieuances wherwith a domineering State offendeth her Subicets, are free from all fence of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although defire of libertie make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needefull, that shee should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throtes, and maintaine them in all villanic, as a Dionystus or Agathocles must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselues, may serue to proue, That a Citic is scarce able to deserue the name of

a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, That the miseries, wherewith a Ty- 30 rant lodeth his people, are not so heavie, as the burdens imposed by a cruel Citie. Not without some apparance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to make this good, wee shall have neede to vie the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not Rome lasciuious, when Cato was faine to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravitie, might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtisans, that were to be brought vpon the open stage? By common practice, & generall approved custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man; nor by metaphyficall abstraction of the vninerfall from the singular; 40 or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded. I say therefore (as I have said elsewhere) That it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, then vnder many thousands. The reasons, prouing this, are too many to set downe: but few may fuffice. The defires of one man, how inordinate foeuer, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and foothed; age or good aduice, yea, or some vnexpected accident, may reforme him : all which failing, yet is there hope, that his fucceffour may proue better. Many Tyrants have beene changed into worthie Kings: and many haue ill vsed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditarie to their posteritie, hath growne into the most excellent forme of Government, even 50 a lawfull Monarchie. But they that line under a tyrannicall Citie, have no such hope: their Mistresse is immortall, and will not slacken the reines, vntill they bee pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receive the bridle of a more mightie Chariotier. This is wofull : yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindefull

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of the future. New flies, and hungrie ones, fall vpon the same sore, out of which, others had alreadie sucked their fill. A new Gouernour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home emptic to their hiues, without a good lading of waxe and honie. These flie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with enery mans wealth, or what soener else, in all the Province, is worthic to be defired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his feares: becomming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endlesse labour (yet it must be under-gone) and such as eto uery one hath not meanes to goe about: but were this effected, what auaileth it? The love of one Governour is purchased with gifts: the Succession of this man, he is more louing than could be withed, in respect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrarie faction at home, a bitter enemie to both his fore-goers, who seekes the ruine of all that have beene inward with them. So the miseries of this tyrannie are not simple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civill warre. The Romans had a Law De Repetundis, or Of Recoverie, against extorting Magistrates: yet wee finde, that it served not wholly to restraine their Provinciall Gouernours; who prefuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Prouinces, to 20 worke all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of judgement. If the subjects of Rome groned under such oppressions; what must we thinke of those, that were vasfalls vnto Carthage? The Romans imposed no burthensome tributes; they loued not to heare, that their Empire was grieuous; they condemned many noble Citizens, for having beene ill Gouernours. At Carthere all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly denifed by one Magistrate, served aspresidents to instruct another; every man resolved to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and he was held a notable Statesman, whose robberies had beene such, as might affoord a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this Carthaginian practice, are not extant: the gouernement of Verres the Roman, 20 in Skil, that is lively let out by Tullie, may serve to informe vs, what was the demeanour of these Punick Rulers, who stood in seare of no such condemnation, as Verres vnder-went. By profequating this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Propolition; That a Citie cannot gouerne her subject Provinces so mildly, as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyrannic of a Citic is farre more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Sureable to the crueltie of fuch Lords, is the hatred of their subjects: and againe, suteable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in warres abroad, the Carthaginians durst vse the service of African souldiers; in Africk it seife, they had rather bee beholding to others, that were farther 40 fetcht. For the same purpose did Hannibal, in the second Punick Warre, shift his mercinaries out of their owne Countries; VI Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior Liu, Dec. 2.1.1.

procul ab domo futurus vter q miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent; That the Africans might ferue in Spaine, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to proue the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutuall pledges. It is disputable, I confesse, whether these African, and Spanish hirelings, could properly be termed Mercinaries: for they were subject vnto Carthage, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by dutie. Yet feeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere desire of

gaine, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand vpon proprietic of a word, but

50 hold them, as Polybius also doth, no better than Mercinaries.

He extreme danger, growing from the imploiment of fuch Souldiers, is well observed by Machianel: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnfaithfull, disobedient, denourers, and destroiers of all places and countries, whereinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their owne commo- to ditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremitie, not only refused to fight, in their defence. who have entertained them, but revolted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that have trusted them. These Mercinaries (faith Machiauel) which filled all Italie, when Charles the eighth of France did passe the Alpes, were the cause that the said French King wonne the Realme of Naples. with his Buckler without a fword. Notable was the example of Sforza, the Father of Francis Sforza, Duke of Millan; who being entertained by Queene Joane of Naples, abandoned her service on the sudden ; and forced her to put her selfe into the hands of the King of Arragon. Like vnto his father was Francis Sforza, the first 20 of that race Duke of Millan: who, being entertained by the Millanois, forced them to become his flaues; euen with the same Armie which themselues had leuied for their owne desence. But Lodouick Sforza, the sonne of this Francis, by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in loosing his whole estate by the trecherie of such faithlesse Mercinaries, as his owne father had beene. For, having waged an Armic of Switzers, and committed his Duchie, together with his person, into their hands; he was by them deliuered up vnto his enemie the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of Loches to his dy-

The like inconvenience is found, in vfing the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. We 30 fee, that when the Emperor of Constantinople had hired ten thousand Turkes, against his neighbour Princes; he could never, either by persuasion or force, set them againe ouer Sea vpon Asia side: which gaue beginning to the Christian servitude, that soone after followed. Alexander, the sonne of Cassander, sought aide of the great Demetrius: but Demetrius, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same Alexander, who had invited him, and made himselfe King of Macedon. Syracon the Turke was called into Agypt by Sanar the Soldan, against his Opposite: but this Turke did settle himselfe so surely in Agypt, that Saladine his Succession became Lord thereof; and of all the holy Land, soone after. What neede we looke about for examples of this kinde? Every Kingdome, in estect, can surnishes. The Bri-40 staines drew the Saxons into this our Countrie; and Mac Murrough drew the English into Ireland: but the one and the other soone became Lords of those two

K inodomes.

Against all this may be alleadged, the good successe of the vnited Provinces of the Netherlands, vsing none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeede these Low Countries have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Seamen and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortisted: but in open field they have soldome beene able to stand against the Spaniard. Necessite therefore compelled them to seeke helpe abroad: and the like 50 necessite made them sorbeare to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with monic raised by their Trade, they maintained the warre: and therefore could ill spare, vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vsein helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they speed well, Surely they speed as ill as

might be, whilest they had none other than mercinarie Souldiers. Many fruitlesse attemps, made by the Prince of Orange, can witnesse it: and that brane Commander, Count Lodowick of Nassau, selt it to his griese, in his retrait from Groeninghen, when in the very instant, that required their service in sight, his mercinaries cried

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when in the very instant, that required their service in fight, his mercinaries cried out aloud for monie, and so ranne away. This was not the only time, when the hirred souldiers of the States, have either sought to hide their cowardize vnder a shew of greedinesse; or at least, by meere concounsels, have ruined in one houre the

labour of many moneths. I will not stand to proue this by many examples: for they themselues will not deny it. Neither would J touch the honour of Monsieur to the Duke of Aniea, brother to the French King; saue that it is follie to conceale

what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraine Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselues Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this Monsieur, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrie, made it his sirst worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples neck? Well, hee lived to repent it, with griese enough. Euch whileshe was counterseiting vnto those about him, that were

ignorant of his plot, an imaginatic forrow for the poore Burghers of Antwerpe, as verily beleeuing the Towne to bee surprised and wonne; the death of the Count 20 St. Aignan, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne troupes, informed him better what had hapned; shewing that they were

his owne French, who stood in neede of pittie. Then was his fained passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of minde; wherein, smitting his brest, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, Helas, mon Dieu, que veulx it saire de moy; Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me? So the affaires of the Netherlands will not serve to proue, that there is little danger in vsing mercinarie souldiers, or the help of forraine Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding they were obedient vnto necessitie, and sought helpe of the English, Scots, and French: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when

there was in France a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen 30 of England refused to accept the Soucraigntic of their Countrie, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the Spaniard their enemic, pursued him with continuall warre; when the heire of England raigned in Scotland, a King too just and wise (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to helpe those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance: then might the Netherlanders very safely repose confidence, in the forces of these their Neighbour-Countries. The souldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not onely regardfull of the pay that they should receive; but well affected vnto the cause that they tooke in hand: or is say

were cold in his denotion, to the fide whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, 40 by remembrance of his owne home, where the English would have rewarded him with death, if his faith had beene corrupted by the Spaniard. They were therefore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessitie of the poorer fort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with lendings, and other helps, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three such Princes, raigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintaine against the power of a fourth, injurious soratleast so seems to them all, a Neighbour-Countrie, of the same Religion, and to which they all are louingly affected: then may such a Countrie be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business.

nesse, in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldome, as it may 50 well hold true in generall: That mercinarie, and for aigne auxiliarie forces, are no lesse advantages and the second selection of the second selection.

dangerous, than the enemie, against whom they are entertained.

CHAP.2. +.4.

### t. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans gave them assurance to vee the service of their owne subjects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the vee and benefit of the like moderation.

HEre may it be demanded, whether also the Romans were not compelled to vse feruice of other souldiours in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne citizens? for if it were their manner to arme their owne subjects; how 10 happened it, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers; how then could they auoide the inconueniences aboue rehearsed? The answere is; That their Armies were compounded viually of their owne citizens, and of the Latines, in equal number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of the Campanes. Hetrurians, Samuites, or other of their subjects, as were either interessed in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldomethey did imploy so many,) ten Roman Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had beene wanting: which served to keepe in good order their subjects, that were alwaies fewer in the Army than themselues. As for the Latines, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priviledges and immunities, which they en 20 joved made them affured vnto the State of Rome: vnder which they lived almost at libertie, as being bound to little elfe, than to ferue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how casie socuer, seemes troublesome to the necke that hath been accustomed to freedome. Therefore many people of Italie have taken occasion of severall advantages, to deliuer themselves from the Roman subjection. But full they have beene reclaimed by warre; the Authors of rebellion have sharpely punished; and the people, by degrees, have obtained such libertie, as made them esteeme none otherwise of Rome, than as the common citic of all Italie. Yea, in processe of time it was granted vnto many cities, and those farre off removed, even to Tarfus in Cilicia, where Saint Paul was borne, That all the Burgesses should be free of Rome it selfe. 30 This favour was conferred absolutely vpon some; vpon some, with restraint of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release vnto their new subjects halfe of their tribute which they had beene wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a readic way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the review of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a relaple, than to hope for better in the future, by feeking innouation. Neither would it be forgotten as a special note of the Romans good go-Liu, Dec. 3.1.3. uernment, That when some, for their well-descruing, have had the offer to be made citizens of Rome; they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with 40 their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Petellia, a citie of the Brutians in Italie, chose rather to endure all extremitie of warre, than, vpon any condition, to for sake the Romans; euen when the Romans themselves had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subjects, and therefore willed them to looke to their owne good, as having beene faithfull to the vtmost. Such love purchased these milde Gouernours, without impairing their Maiestie thereby. The summe of all is: They had, of their owne, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning thereunto the Latines; and they further increased it, as neede required, with other helpe of their owne subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperitie of Rome to be the common good.

The moderate vie of sourreigne power being so effectuall, in assuring the people vnto their Lords, and consequentlie, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seeme strange, that the practice of tyrannic, whose effects are contrarie, hath beene so common in all ages. The like, I know, may bee faid, of all Vice,

and Irregularitie whatfoeuer. For it is leffe difficult (who focuer thinke otherwise) and more fafe, to keepe the way of Iustice and Honestie, than to turne afise wom it; vet commonly our passions lead vs into by-pathes. But where Luit, Anger, Feare, orany the like Affection, seduceth our reason, the same vnrulie appente either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least-wife taketh away all cause of wonder. Intvrannicit is not for for as much as we can hardly descrie the passion, that is of force to infinuate it selfe into the whole tenour of a Gouernment. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires haue bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires haue seidome beene hereditarie, or long-lasting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants to life, sometimes before his death; by which meanes the Government hath beene

reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of Artistelle holds, That Tyran- Arift Politib. 5. nies are of short continuance. But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did 6.12. the Carthaginians exercise Tyrannie? why did the Athenians? why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good; how could they beignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were led hereunto by any affection, what was that affection, wherein fo many thoufand citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concurre, not with flanding the much diversitie of temper, and the vehemencie of priuate hatred among them? Doubtles, we must be faine to say, That T yrannie is, by

20 it selfe, a Vice dittin t from others. A Man, we know, is Animal posticum, apt. even by Nature, to command, or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other defires of Mankinde, are common likewife viito bruit beaftes; and some of them. to bodies wanting lense: but the delire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are given by nature, not onely to Man and Beast, but vnto all forts of Vegetables, for the fustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other Affections are likewise naturall, in convenient measure, both vinto Mankinde, and to all creatures that have fense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite: even so is this desire of ruling or obaying, engrafted by

30 Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the order ring of his life, in a ciuile forme of iuttice. All these in bred qualities are good and viefull. Neuerthelesse, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttonie and Drunkennesse, which, in reproach, are called beastlie, by an unproper terme: fince they grow from appetites, found in leffe worthie creatures than beaftes, and are yet not To common in beaftes, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Paffions as descend no lower than vnto bruit beastes, are held lesse vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more gricuously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice

40 more hurtfull vnto Mankinde, than that which iffueth from the most noble roote, euen the depraued Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefes, of which hath beene an old question in dispute, whether bee the worse; That all things, or That nothing, should be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrarie distemper, whose vehemencie the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Vnder the extremitie of either, no countrie is able to sublist : yet the defective dulneffe, that permitteth any thing, wil also permit the execution of Law, to which, meere necessitie doth enforce the ordinarie Magistrate; whereas Tyrannie is more actine, and pleaseth it selfe in the excesse, with a false colour of in-

50 flice. Examples of stupiditie, and vnaptnes to rule, are not very frequent, though fuch natures are enery where found: for this qualitie troubles not it felfe in feeking Empire; or if by some errour of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when Claudius, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) some friend or elle a wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also crueltie doth helpe

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Liu. ibid.

to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknowne, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knowne, but would be reputed honourable: for it is prosperum & fælix scelus, a fortunate mischiefe, as long as it can subsist. There is no reward or honour ( faith PETER GHARRON) assigned to those that know how to increase, or to preserve humane nature: all honours, greatnesse, riches, dignities. empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for those, that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it. CAES AR, and ALEXANDER, have vn-made and flaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the errour of Mans judgement, in valuing things according to common opinion. But the true name of Tyrannie, when it growes to ripeneffe, is none other, than to Feritie: the same that Aristotle saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the Passions incident both to Man, and Beast; no lesse than Periurie, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceede in villanie. the faults of Gluttonie and drunkennesse, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof Sciron, Procrustes, and Pityocamptes, that vsed their bodily force to the de-Aruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than Phalaris, Dionylius and Agathecles, whose mischieuous heads were affisted by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of Feritie. and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the vse of Rule, nor the difference betweene Freemen, and slaues.

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of parents over their children, is naturall, and appointed by God himselfe; so that it is alwaies, and simplie, allowable and good. The former of these, is, as the dominion of Reason over Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritic, which one free man can have ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countrie: which hee that knowes what the power of a Father is, or ought to bee, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterlie rule, which God gaue vnto Adam, when he said; Haue dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowle of the aire, and ouer every living thing that moveth upon the earth: which also hee confirmed vnto 20 oah, and his children, saying, The feare of you, and the dread of you, 30 shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowle of the aire, upon all that moveth vponthe earth, and vpon all the fishes of the Sea ; into your hands are they delinered. Hee who gaue this dominion to Man, gaue also an aptitude to vse it. The execution of this power hath since extended it selfe, ouer a great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disabilitie to gouerne themselves, proves

Arift, Poll, 1.c.3

Gen.c. 1. v. 28.

Gen. 9. 2.

Gen. 9.25.

Epift. to Philem.

them, according vnto Aristotles doctrine, to be naturallie slaues. Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppresse men with bondage: vnleffe the lawfulneffe thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man that not be punished for the death of a feruant, whom he hath flaine by correction. Exod.c.21.0.21 if the servant live a day or two, because he is his monie; or else by the captivitie of the 40 Midianitiff girles, which were made bond-flaues, and the San&uarie had a part of them for the Lords tribute. Doubtleffe the custome hath beene very ancient: for Noab laid this curse vpon Canaan, that hee should be a servant of servants; and Abraham had of Pharaoh, among other gifts, men-feruants, and maide-feruants, which were none other than flaues. Christian Religion is said to have abrogated this olde kinde of feruilitie: but furely, they are deceived, that thinke fo. Saint Paul defired the libertie of Onesimus, whome he had wonne vnto Christ: yet wrote hee for this vnto Philemon, by way of request, crauing it as a benefite, not vrging it as a dutie. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint Paul giveth vnto servants: Let euery man abide in the same calling wherein hee was called: art thou called, being a servant? 50 care not for it, but if thou maist be made free, we it rather. It is true, that Christian Religion hath procured libertie vnto many; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in feare, of being discoucred by their slaues, vnto the persecuters of religion. Mahomet likewise by giving libertie to his followers, drewe

many vnto his impietie: but whether he forbade it, as vnlawfnll, vnto his sectators. to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; faue that by the practice of the Turks and Moores, it seemes he did not. In England we had many bond-servants. untill the times of our last civile warres: and I thinke that the Lawes concerning villenage are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which were of great vse and seruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurses and other the like Trades; flaues in Nature, though not in Lawe.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawfull, or not; Ariflotle hath well proto ued, that it is naturall. And certainly wee finde not fuch a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man: wherein (to omit the infinite distance in chate of the elect & reprobate) the wifest excell the most toolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpasse the wifest of beasts. Therfore when Commiseration hath given way to Reason: we shall find that Nature is the ground euen of Masterly power, & of seruile obedience, which is therto correspondent. But it may be truly faid, that some countries have subsisted long, without the ve of any seruilitie: as also it is true, that some countries have not the vse of any tame cattell. Indeede the affections which vphold civill rule, are (though more noble)not fo simplie needfull, vnto the sustentation either of our kind, as are Lust, and 20 the like; or of cuerie one, as are hunger and thirst; which not with standing are the lowest in degree. But where most vile, and servile dispositions, have libertie to shew themselues begging in the streets; there may wee more infly wonder, how the dangerous toile of sea-faring men can finde enough to vindertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by accesse of those, that are wearie of their owne more painefull condition. This may suffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted euen by Nature, a defire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaves.

This being so, we finde no cause to maruaile, how Tyranny bath beene so rife 30 inallages, and practifed, not onely in the fingle rule of some vicious Prince, but euer by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since, other vices have likewise gotten head, and borne a generall fway; notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have vsed well the inferiour Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not bee disordered? In the gouernment of wife and children, some are veterly carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull conniuencie: others, by masterly rigour, hold their owne blood under condition of flauerie. To be a good Gouernour is a rare commendation; and to preferre the Weale publike about all respects what soeuer, is the Vertueiuftly termed Heroicall. Of this Vertue, many ages affoord not many exam-40 ples. Hetter is named by Aristotle, as one of them; and descruedly, if this praise be due to extraordinarie height of fortitude, vsed in defence of a mans owne coun-

tric, But if we consider, that a love of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto the fountaine of all goodnesse: wee shall finde, that no Morall vertue, how great focuer, can, by it selfe, deserve the commendation of more than Vertue, as the Heroicall doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns hercof; fuch as Danid, Iofaphat, and Iofias were. Of Christian Kings if there were many fuch, the world would soone be happie. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due; or by preferring a leffe excellent. But he that can finde a King, religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement 50 either of aduerlitie, or of some regard of state; a procurer of the general peace and

quiet; who not onely vieth his authoritie, but addes the travell of his eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to doe instice; by the vigorous influence of whose Gouernment, civilitie is infused, even into those places, that have beene the dennes of sauage Robbers and Cutthrotes; one that hath quite abolished a slauish Brehon

Law, by which an whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdome doth make the praise not onlie of Nobilitie and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the bloud, the wives, and the goods. of those that are vnder his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto some good Princes, to appeare lesse regardable: he, Isav, that can finde such a King, findeth an example, worthieto adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Vnder fuch a King, it is likelie by Gods blef. fing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in countries before vnknowne; that Civilitie and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happinesse of his subjects, shall cause the Nations farre 10 off remoued, to wish him their Souereigne. I neede not adde hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, euen his bodilie exercises, doe partake of vertue; since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, seeketh how to imitate the vnfpeakeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible maiestie, with both of which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which hee procureth. Lest any man should thinke me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bonds of reason. I adde hereunto, that such a King is neuertherlesse a man must die, and may erre : yet wisdome and fame shall set him free, from errour, and from death, both 20 with and without the helpe of time. One thing I may not omit, as a fingular benefite (though there be many other besides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruit of his goodnesse. The people that live vnder a pleasant yoke, are not onely louing to their Souereigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muster of men. then of flout fighters, if neede require: whereas on the contrarie, he that rulethas ouer saues, shall bee attended in time of necessitie, by slauish mindes, neither louing his person, nor regarding his or their owne honour. Cowards may bee surious, and flaues outragious, for a time: but among spirits that have once yeelded vn-Hom. Ody J. 1.17. to flaueric, vniuerfally it is found true, that Homer faith, God bereaueth a man of halfe his vertue, that day when he casteth him into bondage.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in the generall discourse of Gouernement: but where so lively an example, of the calamitie following a tyrannicall rule, and the vie of Mercinaries, thereupon depending, did offer it selfe, as is this present businesse of the Carthaginians; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barely deliuered, as out of a common place.

How the warre against the Mercinarie was diverslie mannaged by HANNO and A MILCAR, with variable successe. The bloudy counsailes of the Mercinaries; and their finall destruction.

Eing now to returne vnto those Mercinaries, from whome I have thus farre digreffed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the Carthaginians; an neither care they to pretend, that they feeke their wages already due; fo that they are neither Mercinaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all beene subiccts vnto Carthage, then might they justly have beene termed Rebels: 50 but Spendius, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegeance to that State, which they endeuoured to Subuert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercinaries, as Polybius alfo doth. Thele

These vsing the advantage of their present strength, besieg. \* Vtica, and Hip- Vicais seapagreta, Cities of great importance, as being feated vpon the westerne Hauen of Car- ted in the great Sar, that thane, where it is divided by a necke of land; Hippagreta standing inwards upon the enterstowerds great Lake; Vtica further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at Tunes aban- far will in the doned, which lay filthie to hinder the Carthaginians, from palling vp into the coun- Promonterie trie: for Matho and Spendius wanted not men, to followe the warre in all parts at of Apollo At

How the Carthaginians were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may Farina, or Biferconceine. But the bulinesse it selfe awakes them hastilie. They are hardly press on the and by the conceine. But the bulinesic it the awarestite than the interest of the street of the s these furious dogges from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes Melba. Niger by day, came vnto the very walles of their Citie. In this exigent Hanno was made faith, that the their Generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good pre- is ruined, and paration: but had gotten together what soeuer was needfull, as well to relieue a the place, Towne belieged, as to batter and affaile any place defended against him. With stood, now these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, hee came to Vtica; so suddenly, called Magathat the enemies as men furprifed, for fooke their Trenches, and retired themselves verie ancient. vnto a rifing peece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence and built beof his beafts. Hanno, thinking that he had to doe with Numidians, whose custome for Carriage, faith Silius, As 20 was, after any losse, to flie two or three whole daies iournie off; presently entred it flo ashedbethe Townesto shew himselfe, after this his victory. But these good sellowes, against fore carthage whom he was to warre, had learned of Amilear, to retire and to fight againe, many fo did it after times in one day, as need required. Therefore as soone as they perceived, that hee carthage was knew not how to vica victorie; they affailed their owne Campe, and with great throwne down by the Remans. flaughter, draue the Carthaginians out of it, forcing them to hide themselves with in the third Puin Vica; and got possession of all the store, that Hanno had brought for the reliefe nick Watte Faof the Towne. This bad beginning Hanno followed with sutable indiscretion: mous it was by loofing the benefit of many faire opportunites, and fuffering the enemies to take cato the younpossession of all the entrance from Carthage to the firme land.

The Carthaginians, perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore reasons that let fall their shete-anchor; sending to the field their great Captaine, Amilear, worthy Divine, whom they furnished with ten thousand foote of supply, and seventie Elephants. was Bishop whom they furnished with ten thousand foote of supply, and seventie Elephants. thereof in the Amilear had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meet with the ene- time of Gensemic vpon equall ground. For besides other places of advantage that the Mercena-ric the Arrian who lined all ries had occupied, Hanno had suffered them to winne the only Bridge, by which the the time of River Macra, or Bagradas, was paffable vnto thefe, that were to travaile into the that Tyrant, Continent. This River had not many foords, nor those casie for a single man to get and hath writen the storie ouer; but vpon them all waskept such guard, as gaue to Amilear little hope of pre- of his crueluailing in feeking way by force. As for the Bridge it felfe, Matho and his followers ties. 40 were there lodged: and had there built a Towne, wherein to lie commodiously, intentiue onely to the custodie thereof. But Amilear had observed, that the very mouth of Bagradas vsed to be sometimes cloyed with sand and grauell, that was driven in by certaine customarie windes, & could not be driven out againe, by force of that flow River, till the winde falling, or changing, fuffered the weight of the waters to disburden their channel. Hereof he made vie; and taking his opportunity, passed the River; contrarie to all expectation, either of the enemie, or of his owne

There was no neede to bid Spendius looke about him, when once it was heard, that Amilear was come ouer Bagradas: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the 30 newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improvident gravitie of Hanno, but with an able spirit, euen with their own Master in the Art of Warre. whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was soone changed into presumption; when more than sisteene thousand of their owne societie, were come from Vices; and other tenne thousand from the gard of the Bridge. Their Kkkkk 2

Armie was farre greater, than that of Amilear; and they were, in their owne indeement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they refolued to charge him on all fides, and beate him downe, in despight of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended vpon him; watching for some advantage; and fill exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onfet. Especially they that followed pim in the Rere, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such, as tooke from them their former circumspection. Amilear held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fittest for the service of his Elephants, which hee placed in front of his Armie. Neither made hee shewe of any delire to fight, but suffered the rashnes of his enemies to increase, 10 till it should breake into some disorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so neere, as would be elittle for their good, if hee should turne vpon them, he hastened his march, euen to such a pace. as made a shewe little differing from plaine flight. The Mercinaries presently fell yon his skirts; beloeuing, that for feare of them he was ready to runne away. But whilest they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victorie, were driving at the heeles of those that had the Reare; Amilear wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotely, but in very good order, fothat amazed with the apprehension of inexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this ouerthrowe, there were lixe thousand of the Mercinaries slaine, and about two 20 thousand taken; the rest fled; some to the Campe at Vinca; others to the Towne at the Bridge; whither Amilear followed them to fast, that he wanne the place cafily: the enemies being thence also fled vnto Tunes, as not having recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victorie, together with the diligence of Amilear in pursuing it. caused many Townes revolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to returne to their former obedience. Yet was not Matho wanting to himselfe, in this dangerous time. He sent about Numidia and Africke, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or neuer to doe their best, for the recouerie of their freedome; hee per-Swaded Spendius, and Autaritus that was Captaine of the Gaules, to wait vpon Amil- 39 car, and alwaics to keepe the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and hee himselfe continued to presse the Towne of Hippagreta with an hard siege. It was necessarie for Amilear, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take such waies as there were: for all the countrie lay not levell. Therefore Spendius, who still coasted him, had oncegotten a notable aduantage of ground: the Carthaginians lying in a Plaine, furrounded with hilles, that were occupied by the Mercinaries, with their Aunidian and African succours. In this difficultie; the fame of Amilear his personall worth didgreatly benefit his countrie. For Warauas w, a yong gentleman commanding over the Numidians, was glad of this occasion serving to get the acquaintance 40 and loue of so braue a man, which he much desired : and therefore came vnto Amilcar, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to dochim all service. Amilear joyfully entertained this friend; promised vnto him his owne daughter in marriage; and so wanne from the enemies two thousand horse, that following Warauasus turned vnto the Carthaginians side. With this helpe he gaue battaile vnto Spendius: wherein the Numidian laboured to approuchis owne valour, to his new friend. So the victorie was great: for there were flaine ten thousand of Spendius his fellowes, and foure thousand taken prisoners, but Spendius himselfe, with Autaritus the Gaule, escaped to doe more mischiefe. Amilear dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vnwilling to become 50 his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare armes against the Carthaginians; threatning to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by Matho, Spendius, and Autaritus, as

tending to winne from them, the hearts of their fouldiers. Wherefore they refolued to take fuch order, that not a man among them should dare, to trust in the good nature of Amilear, nor to hope for any safetie, whilest Carthage was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertifement, wherein was contained, that fome of their company respective onely of their private benefit, and carelesse of the generall good, had a purpose to betraie them all vnto the Carthaginians, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull, to looke well vnto Ge/co, and his companions, whom these traitours had a purpose to enlarge. Vpon this Theme Spendius makes an Oration to the fouldiours, exhorting them to fidelitie; to and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanitie of Amilear, toward fome, was none other than a baite, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as also telling them, what a dangerous enemic Gesco would prooue, if hee might escape their hands. While hee is yet in the midst of his tale; were letters come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth Autaritus and speakes his minde plainely: faving, that it were the best, year the onely way, for the common safetic, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with Carthage; that if some were denising to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those that had a care of the warre; that it were better to make an end of Gesco his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custodie; that by such a course every one should be ingaged in the pre-20 fent Action, as having none other hope left, than in victoric alone; finally, that fuch as would speake here-against, were worthy to be reputed Traitours. This Autaritus was in great credit with the fouldiours, and could speake fundrie languages, in such fort, that hee was understood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that Gefco, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuertheleffe there were some, that for loue of Gesco. fought to alter his intended crueltie; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they there with all contented; but further ordained, that all Carthaginian prisoners which they tooke, should be served in like fort : and that the subjects or friends of 30 Carthage, should lose their hands, and so be sent home: which rule they observed eucrafterwards.

of the Historie of the World.

Of this crueltie I need say no more, then that it was most execrable feritie. As for the counsaile of vsing it, it was like vnto the counsaile of Achi Tophel: All Israel shall heare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee, be from. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they be more innocent; and to avoide the punishment of leffe offences.committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengefull spirits of those that have beene wronged, are breeders of this desparacion: to which may be added, some deficiencie of Lawes, in diffinguishing the pu-40 nishments of malefactors, according to the decree of their seucrals crimes. A coward thinkes all prouision too little, for his owne securitie. If PHOCAS be a coward (said the Emperour MAVRITIVS) then is he murderous. To be sted fast and sure, in taking revenge; is thought a point of honour, and a defensative against new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is opposite to the rule of Christianitie; and such a qualitie discouered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwife would have repented, and fought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought fomuch woe to the Carthaginians; teaching Matho, and his Africans, to suspect euen their gentlenesse, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like vnto the errours of Princes and Gouernours, are the errours of Lawes. Where one and the fame pu-50 nilhment, is awarded vnto the leffe offence, and vnto the greater, he that hath aduentured to robbe a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie.

Against these inconveniences Mercie and Severitie, vsed with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which Amilear failed. For as long as these his owne fouldiours were any way likely to be reclaimed, by gentle courses; his humanitie Kkkkk 2

was readie to inuite them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond allregard of honestie and shame, he rewarded their villanie with answerable to the read their villanie with answerable to the read to t

ble vengeance; casting them vnto wilde beasts, to be denoured.

Vntill this time Hanno, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himselfe apart from Amilear, and done little, as may sceme, for that nothing is remembred of him, since his late losses. Neither was Amilear forrie to want his helpe; as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grew to such extremitie, as threatned vtter ruine to the one or the other side: then was Hanno sent for, & came to Amilear, with whom hee ioyned his forces. By this accesse of strength Amilear was not enabled, to doe more then in former times: rather he could now performe 10 nothing; such was the hatred betweene him and his vnworthy Colleague. The nothing; such was the hatred betweene him and his vnworthy Colleague. The Townes of View and Hippagreta, that had stood alwaies firme on the Carthaginian partie, did now revolt vnto the enemie, murdering all the soludiours that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The provisions brought by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, were lost in solue weather: and Carthage it selle stood in danger of being besieged, about which Mathe and Spendius consulted, whilest one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages beene vsed, as the safest course, to send foorth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armic. This was the common practice of those two 20 mighty Cities, Athens and Rome; which other States and Princes hauc often imitated; perswading themselues, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excel each other, will vse the greater diligence. They have also iouned two chiefe Commanders in equal commission, upon this further consideration; the better to restraine the ambition of any one, that should be trufted with so great a strength. For hercof all Common-weales have beene icalous, having beene taught by their examples that have made themselves T yrants ouer those Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point, the Venetians have bin fo circumspect, as they have for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they have made. It is true, that the equal 30 authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, ferueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them trust: but in mannaging the warre it selfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In warres made necre vnto Rome it selfe, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of Triumph; which honor (the greatest of any that Rome could give) was to be obtained by that one yeeres service; it is no marvaile, though each of the Confuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end then victorie. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise then was desired, one Dittator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeede the 40 manner, to fend foorth both the Confuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Prouince; vnlesse one businesse seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joined in the administration. Now although it was so, that the Romans did many times prenaile with their ioynt Generals: yet was this neuer or feldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modestie hath often beene such, that the leffe able Captaine, though of equal authoritie, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armic, received great and most dangerous ouerthrowes; whereof in the second Punick warre we shall finde examples. 50 On the contrarie fide, in their warres most remote, that were alwayes mannaged by one, they seldome failed to winne exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appeare. Now of those tenne Generals, which served the Athenians at the Battaile of Marathon, it may truly be faid, that had not their temper been better, than the judgement

of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of Militades; their affaires had found the same successe which they found at other times, when they coupled Nicias and Alcibiades together in Sicilithe one being fo ouer-warie, and the other fo hastie, as all came to nought that they undertooke; whereas Cimon alone, as also Aristides, and others, having sole charge of all, did their Countrie and Common-weale most remarkeable service. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines, of equall diferetion and valour; but that the one hath more of furie than of judgement, and so the contrarie, by which the best occasions are as often ouershipt, as at other times many actions are vnseasonably no undertaken. I remember it well that when the Prince of Condy was flaine after the Battaile of Iarnas, (which Prince, together with the Admiral Chaftellon, had the conduct of the Protestant Armic) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the faid Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themfelues, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For fo much did the valour of the one, out-reach the aduitednesse of the other. as whatfoeuer the Admirall intended to winne by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduentured to lose, by being ouer-confident in his owne courage.

But we need no better example, than of the Garthaginians in this present busines: who, though they were still sicke of their ill-grounded loue to Hanno, and were vn20 willing to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controuersies, vnto the Armiethat serued vnder them. The judgement of the Armic was, that Hanno should
depart the Campe: which he did; and Hannibal was sent in his stead, one that would

be directed by Amilear; and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of Carthage began to prosper somewhat better. Matho and spendius had brought their Armie neere vnto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold, to hope and adventure much; having in their Campe aboue situe thousand, besides these that lay abroad in Garrisons. Neverthelesse, the Citie was too strong for them to winne by assault: and the entrance of victuailes they could not hinder, if any should bee sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of Syracufe, though during the warres in Sicil he affifted the Romans, and still continued in their Alliance, yet now fent succours to the Carthaginius: fearing their fall, and consequently his owne, because if no other State gaue the Romans somewhat to trouble their disgestion, the Principalitie of Syracuse would soone be deuoured by them. The Romans also gaue them some sleender affishance, and for the present refused good offers made vnto them by the Mercinaries. This they did, to show a kind of noble disposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as

the fequele manifestly proued.

CHAP.2. \$.3.

Whilest Matho and his followers were busily pressing the Citie, Amilear was as diligent, in waiting at their backes, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more straightly besieged by him, than Carthage was by them, they purposed to desist from their vaine attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issue into the field: where Spendius, and one Zareas an African Captaine affisting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde Amilear worke; leaving Matho in Tunis, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the businesse. The Elephants of Carthage, and horse of Naraussus, made Spendius search sullto descend into the Plaines. Wherefore hee betooke himselfe to his sormer method of warre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the so straightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might show it selfe, with little disaduantage. But Amilear had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of Spendius. Hee drew the enemie to many skirmishes; in all which the successe was such, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and

day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the overthrow in plaine battaile: vntill at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their iudgement was enough, to perceiue their owne disaduantage: and therefore they had the lesse stomake to fight; but awaited for helpe from Tunis. Amilear prudently foreseeing, that neceffitie mightteach them, to dare impossibilities, vsed the benefit of their present feare, and thut them close vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miferably for succour, that came not: and having spent all their victuailes, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they fuffred patiently, as knowing that they had not descrued any fauour from Carthage; 10 and hoping, that their friends at Tunis would not bee vnmindfull of them. But when they were driuen to such extremitie, that they were faine to denoure their owne companions, and yet law none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken; and they threatned their Captaines with what they had deferued, vnleffe they would goe foorth to Amilear, and fecke fuch peace as might be gotten. So Spendius, Zarras, and Autaritus, fell to consultation, wherein it was refolued, to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselues, if it were so required, vnto the death, rather than to perish by the hands of their owne companions. Hereupon they send to craue parle, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with Amilear in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet 20 by the conditions which Amilear granted, it seemes that they tooke the blame vpon themselves, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the Carthaginians should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus concluded; Amilear told these Ringleaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he foorth with went to fetch, with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon so gentle articles, thought themselues betraied: and therefore amazedly ranne to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the same 30 astonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto Amiliar both colour of iustice, in accomplishing reuenge, and case in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being fortie thousand, or more,

This was a famous exploit: and the newest bereof, exceeding welcome to Carthage; and terrible to the revolted Cities of Africk. Henceforward Amilear, with his Narauafus and Hannibal, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places readie to yeelde: Vtica, and Hippagreta, onely standing out, vpon seare of deserved vengeance; and Tunes, being held by Matho, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with Tunis, wherein lay the chiefe strength of 40 the enemie. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth Spendius, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the walles; to terrific those of his olde companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the siege began; as if speedie victorie had beene assured. Hannibal quartered on that part of Tunis, which lay towards Carthage; Amilear on the opposite side: too farre asunder to helpe one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behoued each, to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the walles beheld his owne destinie, in the miserie of his companion, and knew not how to avoide it otherwise, than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out voon that part of the Carthaginian Armie, that lay secure, as if all 50 danger were past, vnder the command of Hannibal: and with so great and vnexpected furie he fallied, that after an exceeding flaughter, he tooke Hannibal prisoner; on whom, and thirtie the most noble of the Carthaginian prisoners, he presently renenged the death of Spendius by the same torture. Of this Amilear knew nothing

till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great loffe. to continue the fiege; but was faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the Riuer Bagradas, where he incamped.

CHAP.2. S.3.

The terrour was no leffe within Carthage, voon the fame of this loffe; than had beene the ioy of the late great victorie. All that could be are armes, were fent into the field, under Hanne; whom, it feemes, they thought the most able of their Captaines furniting the lateaccidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them. forbidding the imployment of one fole Generall, necre vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to hauetrusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hastie to exigent, to deutle about repealing it. But thirtie principall men are chosen by the Senate, to bring Hanno to Amilears campe, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It neerely touched Amilear in his honour, that the carelefnesse of Hannibal seemed to be imputed vnto him, by sending his enemie to moderate his proceedings. Neuerthelesseafter many conferences, the authoritie of the Senatours prevailed; Amilear and Hanno were made friends; and thenceforth, whilest this warre lasted, Hanno tooke warning by Hannibals calamities. to followe good directions, though afterwards hee returned to his old and deadly Liu. Du.3.1.1. hatred.

In the meane season Matho was come abroad; as meaning to vse the reputation 20 of his late fuccesse, whilest it gaue some life vnto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with Amilear. The skirmishes, and light exercites of warre, wherein Amilear trained his Carthaginians, did so farreabate the flrength, and with all diminish the credit of Marko, that he resolved to tric the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his defires should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the Carthagimans were no lesse prone, than Matho: as being wearie of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approued it felfe in many trials; and well affured of Amilear his great worth, whereunto the enemie had not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouision: inui-30 ting their friends to helpe; and drawing foorth into the fielde, all that lay in Garrifon.

The iffue of this Battaile might have beene forctold, without helpe of witchcraft. Matho, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, saue their daring spirits, which had beene well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to runne away. The Carthaginius had reason to dare, as hauing often beene victorious: and in all points elfethey had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not eafily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the delire of libertie should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude; as the honour of their 40 State would, in Citizens, whofefuture and prefent good lay all at once ingaged in that aduenture. So the Carthaginians wanne agreat victorie, wherein most of the Africans their enemies were flaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeelded; and Matho himfelfe was taken aline. Immediacly upon this victorie, all the Africans that had rebelled made submission to their old masters : Vtica onely, and Hoppagreta stood out, as knowing how little they descrued of fauour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best bleafedthe victours. Matho and his fellowes were led to Carthage in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be deuised, in recompence of the mischiefes which they had wrought in this warre. The warre had lasted three yeeres, and a-50 bout foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the Carthaginians, whose subjects did not love them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercinaries, haue preuented in the beginning.

## **§**. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrarie to the peace.



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Hilest Matho and Spendius were making this terrible combustion in Africke; other Mercenaries of the Carthaginians had kindled the like to fire in Sardinia: where murdering Bostar the Gouernour, and other Carthaginians, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own vie. Against these one Hanno was sent with a small Armie (such

as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuied on the sudden. But these companions that followed \*Hanne\*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to ioyne themselves with those that were already revolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that commonweale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the \*Sardinian\*\* Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer waskindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all 20 icalousie and distrust, they resolued to hang up their Commander \*Hanne\*\*, and performed it. A common practice it hath beene in all Ages, with those that haue undertaken the quarrell of an uniust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villainous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to affist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawne, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to performe some such Actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kind of crueltie did the vngratefull *Mantineans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent vnto them for their desence against the *Lacedamonians*, by *Arasus*; who, when hee had formerly possess the similar of their Citie, by right of warre, did 30 not onely spare the sacke and spoile thereof, but gaue them equall freedome with the rest of the Cities vnited. These *Revolts* are also common in our Court-warres; where, in the conquests of newe fortunes, and making of newe parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of olde friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies. *Cesont les coups de vieille escrime*. *These*, (say the *French*) be the blowes of the old art of fencing.

These Mercinaries in Sardinia were no whit lesseviolent in their purpose, than were Spendius, and his affociates : onely they wanted a Matho among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Ilanders were no leffe glad, than the fouldiours, that the Carthaginians were expelled the Countrie: but they 40 could not agree about the profit of the victorie. The Sardinians thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the fouldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwife, the fouldiours were of opinion, that the title of the Carthaginians to that Ile, was devolued vnto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) have rifen, betweene Spendius with his Mercenaries, and their African friends; if the common delire of both had once taken effect: vnlessetheriches of Carthage had ferued to content them all. But in Sardinia, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrie; the matter was not easily taken vp. So they fell to blowes; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to faue themselves in Ita- 50 he. Before their departure out of Sardinia, they had invited the Romans into it; with as good right, as the Mamertines had called them into Sicil. Yet this offer was refufed, vpon reasons that follow.

Some Italian Merchants had relieued Matho and Spendius with corne; of whom

the Cartbaginians tooke almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: fo that the Romans sent Embassadours to Carthage, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the Carthaginians to dispute: they quietly veelded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all prouisions to Carthage. And vpon the same reason, did they torbeare to meddle with Sardinia, or to accept the Citie of Vica, offering it selfe vnto their subjection. This might have ferued, as a notable example of the Roman faith, to all posteritie: had not the iffue proued, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept to them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriuing better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of Carthage depended, at that time, vpon the vertue of Amilear: who had he beene ouerthrown by Spendius or Matho, in one maine battaile, that mightie Citie must either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of merciles villaines, or haue humbled herfelfe under protection of the Romans, with whom shee had lately striuen for superioritie. That extreme necessitie, whereinto Matho reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one fallie made out of Tunis, is enough to proue, that Carthage was not farre from fuch a miserable choice. Wherfore it was not vnwisely done of the Romans, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might inuite a rich, but 20 finking shippe, to runne her selfe aground vpontheir shore. But when all was well ended in Africke, and the Carthaginians began to prepare for the recoucrie of Sardinia: then did Ambition put offher goodly vizour. The Romans perceiuing that Carthage, beyond their hope, had recouered her feete againe; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercinaries, that were fled out of Sardinia; and they denounced warre against this enscebled and impouerished Citie, vnder a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for SARDINIA, were made indeed against Rome it selfe. The Carthaginians knew themselves vnable to relist; and therefore yeelded to the Romans demand, renouncing vnto them all their right in Sardinia. But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, 30 in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could alleage) of the great feare which they had endured, of an inualion from Carthage. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently fought occasion of warre. But necessitie taught the Carthaginians patience; and the monie was paied, how hardly socuer it was raised. From this time forward, let not Rome complaine of the Punick faith, in breach of Couenants: she her selfe hath broken the peace alreadic, which Amilear purposeth to make her dearely repent; but what Amilear lives not to performe, shall be accomplished by Hannibal his renoumed fonne.

## **Q.** V. How the affaires of Carthage went betweene the Sfrican Rebellion, and the fecond Punicke Warre.

He iniurious dealing of the Romans, expressing their desire to picke a quarrell; served to instruct the Carthaginians in a necessarie lesson. That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient vnto those that were more mighty. In a Citic long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easilie tooke place: and the best meanes were thought vpon, for the increase of puissance and Empire. The strength, and the icalousic of the Romans, forbade all attempts vpon the Mediterran leas; but the riches of Spaine, that lay vpon the Ocean, were vnknowne to Rome: wherefore that Province might serve, both to exercise the Carthaginians in warre, and to repaire their decaied forces, with all needfull supplies. Of this Spanish Expedition, the charge and sourraigne trust was committed vnto Amilear: vpon whom

haue fince

built a Citie

of the fame

name in the

West Indies:

which being

peopled by

them in the

yeere 1532.

was fackt by

whom his Countrie did wholly repose it selfe; in hope to recover strength by his meanes, that had faued it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other enuious men, that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards Amilear and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to bee the most worthy of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietnesse; aduising men to beware of pronoking the Romans, in whole amitie they laid, that the felicitie of Carthage did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common weale; they got none other reputation. than of singularitie: which the ignorant fort suspected to be wisedome.

But the glory of Amilear was continually vpheld and enlarged, by many notable feruices that he did, to the singular benefit of his Countrie. He passed the Streights of Hercules, (now called the Streights of Gibraltar) and landed on the westerne coast of Spaine; in which Countrie, during nine yeeres that he lived there, hee subjected vnto the State of Carthage the better part of all those Provinces. But finally, in 2 battaile that he fought with a Nation in Portugale, called the Vettones, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) hee was invironed and slaine: carrying with him to the graue the same great honour and same, by which in many

fignall victories, he had acquired the name of a fecond Mars.

After the death of Amilear; Afdrubal his sonne in law was made Generall of the 20 Carthaginian forces in Spaine. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practice and cunning, than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of Carthage: adding fo many subiccts and confederates thereunto, that the Romans began to grow icalous againe of this hastie increase. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Hauen, in the Kingdome of Granado, opposite to that of Oran in Africa, and gaue it the name of "The Spaniards New Carthage, which to this day it neerely retaineth, being called now \* Carthagena. With this successe of the Carthaginians in Spaine, the Romans were not alittle troubled; but begin to cause their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of Sicil, as suspecting their 30 neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themselves in a warre of farre leffe importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) given them ley sure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by farre exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the Romans had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily exthe yeare 1385 pected to be inuaded by the Gaules, their ancient enemies, and neerest neighbours to the West. But hee needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe to be feared: it is enough if hecrequest; since his request shall have the vertue of a com-

Yet were the Romans veterly destitute of all good colour; that might helpe them 40 to intermeddle in Spaine. The Spaniards were then unacquainted with Rome, whereof (in probabilitie) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no Mamertines, nor other such Rebels, to call in Roman succours. But in the enterprise of Sardinia, the Romans had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in Spaine. For though it were apparent, that the Spanish affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that Asdrubal had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of Rome, or to any of the Roman frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had beene suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that hee should for beare to proceed any further, than to the Riuer of Iberus. In addressing their messengers, rather to Asdrubal, than to the Citie 50 of Carthage; they seeme to have hoped, that how soeuer the generalitie of the Carthaginians had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to avoide all occasion of warre with Rome: yet the braueric of one man might proue more fastidious, and, refenting the iniurie, returne such answere, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the quarrell,

quarrell, that they so much defired; and might embrace at leifure, when once they had found apparent cause. But As druball finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of diflike at all: and whereas they would have this infolent conenant inferted into the articles of peace; he tooke voon him to doe it, of his owne power, with such appearance of conformitie to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and fought no further.

If it had beene fo, that the State of Carthage, thereunto preffed by the Romans. for feare of present warre; had ratified this new composition made by Afdrubal; yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, vnlesse 10 an oath had also beene extorted, to make all fure. But fince all paffed quietly, vnder the bare authoritie of Asarubal; this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace; whereof the Romans might be accused more justly than they could accuse the Carthaginians of periurie, (as they after did) for refuling to

stand to it.

CHAP. 2. S.5.

By this Treatie with Asdrubal, the Romans wanne some reputation in Spaine. For when it was once conceived by the Spaniards, that the Citie which would needes be mistresse ouer them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiving blowes from a stouter Dame; there were soone found some, that by offering themselves to the protection on of Rome, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with Carthage. But the Car-20 thaginians will shortly teach them another lesson. The Saguntines, a people on the South fide of Iberus, entred into confederacie with the Romans, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the Romans, to admit the Saguntines, or any other people (neither subject, nor open enemie in warre to the Carthaginians) into their focietie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the Carthaginians, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with Rome. Neuerthelesse, if we confider the late agreement made with Afdrubal; we shall finde that the Romans could have none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit couenant of making the River Iberus a bound, over which they themselves would not passe, in any Discouerie or Conquest by them intended to be made vpon Spaine: in which 30 regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the Carthaginians, though Rome as yet had no foote, on the one fide of Iberus, whereas Carthage, onthe other side of that River, held almost all the Countrie. Howsoever it were; this indignitie was not so easily digested, as former injuries had beenc. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the Carthagenian, should behold Saguntum resting securely among them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mightie Citie. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest iniuries; or rather for that now the Carthaginians were of power to do themselves right: warre against Saguntum was generally thought upon, let the Romans take it how they lift. In fuch termes were 40 the Carthaginians, when Afdrubal died, after he had commanded in Spaine eight yeeres: (being flaine by a flaue, whose master he had put to death) and the Great Hannibal, sonne of the Great Amilear, was chosen Generall in his stead.

LIIII

d. VI.
The estate of Greece from the death of PYRRHVS, to the raigne of PHILIP the fonne of DEMETRIVE

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N the long terme of the first Punick warre, and the vacation following, betweene it and the second; the estate of Greece, after the death of Pyrrbus, was growne somewhat like vnto that, wherein Philip of Macedon had sound it; though farre weaker, as in an after-spring. The so whole countrie had recoursed by degrees, a forme of libertie: the whole countrie had recouered by degrees, a forme of libertie : the

pettie tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each vpon such Townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not onely served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conucriton to the better, proceeded from the like diffensions and tumults in Macedon, as had beene in Greece, when Philip first began to encroch vpon it. For after many quarrels and great warres, about the Kingdome of Macedon, betweene Antigonus the elder, Cassander, Demetrius, Lysimachus, Selencus, Pyrrhus, and the Gaules: Antigonus, the sonne of Demetrius, finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirtie 20 yeeres; yet so, that he was divers times thence expelled, not onely by the Gaules, and by Pyrrhus, as hath beene alreadic shewed, but by Alexander the sonne of Pyrrbus the Epirot, from whose father he had hardly wonne it. This happened vnto him, by the reuolt of his fouldiours, euen at fuch time, as having ouerthrowne with great flaughter an Amic of the Gaules, he was converting his forces against the Athenians, whom he compelled to receive his Garrisons. But his yong sonne Demetrius raised an Armie; wherewith he chased Alexander, not onely out of Macedon, but out of his owne Epirus, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the helpe of this youg Prince Demetrius (though in another kind) Antigonus got into his possession the Citadell of Corinth; which was justly termed the fetter of 30 Greece. The Citadel called Acrocorinthus, stood upon a steep rockie hill on the North side of the towne, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the towne; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the Isthmus, that running betweene the Agean and Ionique Scas, ioyneth Peloponnesus to the Maine of Greece. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of Greece vnto the other, besides the commoditie of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. Alexander, the fonne of Polysperchon; and after his death, Cratesipolis his wife, had gotten Corintb in the great shuffling of Prouinces and Townes, that was made between Alexanders Princes. Afterwardsit pal- 40 fed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one Alexander; of whom I finde nothing else, than that he was thought to bee poisoned by this Antigonus, who deceived his wife Nicea thereof, and got it from her by a tricke. The device was this. Antigonus fent his yong Demetrius to Corinth, willing him to court Nicas, and secke her marriage. The foolishold widdow perceived not how vnfit a match she was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was euen as readie, to confent, as was his sonne to desire it, and came this ther in person to solemnize it. Hercupon all Corinth was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all forts of games : in the middest of which, Antigonus watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Ladie, whose icalousie had beene ex- 50 ceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase hee was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the gravitie beseeming his old age. But as hee had stollen it; fo was it againe stollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the losse of it, being alreadic spent with age.

Demetrius;

Demetrius, the sonne of this Antigonus, succeeding vnto his father, reigned ten veeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King than after. The Dardanians, Atolians, and Acheans, held him continually busied in warre; wherin his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the Macedonians began to decay : and the Gracians to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the onely sonne of Demetrius, was a yong child when his father died and therefore Antigonus, his vncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minoritie of the Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though hee respected Philip as his owne sonne, to whom he left the Crowne at his death; This 10 Antigonus was called the Tutor, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called Dolon, that is as much as, Will gine, because he was flow in his liberalitie. He repressed the Dardanians and Thessalians, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his raigne. Vpon confidence of this good service, hee tooke state vpon him, as one that rather were King in his owne right, then onely a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were soone appealed by faire words, and a seeming unwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Gouernment. The Achaians tooke from him the Citic of Athens, soone after Demetrius his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all or most that hee held in Greece, if their owne estate had not beene endangered by a necrer enemy. But civile diffention, 20 which had ouerthrowne the power of Greece, when it flourished most; ouerthrew iteafily now againe, when it had scarcely recourred strength after a long sicknesse; and gaue to this Antigonus no leffe authoritie therein, than Philip the father of A. lexander, got by the like aduantage.

These Achaians, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and same: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the Greeks. By the equalitic of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the Macedonians and Spartans) they did not onely draw all others by their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus, to bee gouerned by one Lawe, and to vse

30 one and the same fort of waights, measure, and monic.

Aratus, the Sicyonian, was the first that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had beene by the Macedonian Captaines divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as most of the great Cities of Greece were; to which kinde of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the Heraclida, when Tisamenus the sonne of Orestes possest the Territorie of Achaia. In this estate they continued to the time of Gyges; after whome, when his sonnes sought to change the Legall government of their Predecessors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as feeming most equall. This forme of Common-weale had continuance, with some small 40 changes according to the discriftic of times, till the reigne of Philip and Alexander Kings of Macedon: who tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelue Cities, called the Cities of alliance, whereof Helice, and Bura or Olemu, the Sea had eaten vp a little before the Battaile of Leuelres; were, by disturbance of the Macedonians, divided from each other, and trained into a warre, no leffe foolish than cruell, among themselues. But in the one hundred and source and twentieth Olympiad, in which, or necre it, Ptolomie the sonne of Lagus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolomie Ceraunus, left the world; two of the ten remaining Cities and People, namely, the Patrenses and the Dimai, united themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, which after followed. For having 50 beene, some of them Partisans with fundrie Macedonian Captaines, and others hauing beene gouerned by pettie Kings; they began to fasten themselues in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the olympiad before spoken of, and partly, at such time as Pyrrhus made his first voiage into Italie. Now after the uniting of the Patrenses and Dimai, to whom also the Cites of Tritas, and Phars, ioyned themselues;

Lilli 2

Ægira chased outher Garrisons: and the Burians, killing their Kings, entred with the Ceraunians into the same Consederacie. These Cities, for twentie & sine yeeres, vsed the same forme of Gouernement with the Achaians; who by a Senatorie and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and soone after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, Marcus Carynensis was the sirst, and Aratus the second.

This Aratus was a noble yong Gentleman of Sicyon, who living at Argos in exile. whilest his Gountrie was oppressed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other banished men, to enter their owne Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chaced the Tyrant, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of Antigonus Genatas King of Macedon, a Prince more busie in watching what to get 10 among the Greekes, than wife in looking to his owne. For feare of Antigonus, the Sievonians entred into the Achaian league: which though at that time it received more increase, by their accession, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction scrued well enough against Antigonus, whose subtilty was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industrie and counsaile of Aratus deliucred his Countrie from bondage, and fortified it by the Achaian league: fo further, by his great liberalitie, with the exceeding great cost of one hundred and fiftie talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuerfies, betweene the banished Sieyonians, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands: as also with the same mony he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises 20 following that redounded to the fingular good of all Achaia. The mony he obtained of Ptolemie Euergetes King of Egypt; who partly had a desire to hold some firong and fure friendship in Greece, partly was delighted with the conversation of Aratus himselse, that made a dangerous voiage to him into Agypt, and fed his pleafure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious pecces, wherein the workemen of Sicyon excelled.

The first of Aratus his great attempts, was the surprize of the Acrocorinthus or Citadell of Corinth; which he wanne by night, being thereinto guided by some theeues that he had hired for the purpose, who living in the place, had practised to rob Antigonus his treasurie, passing in and out by a secret path among the rockes. 39 Yet was he saine to sight for it, ere he could get it: though indeede Antigonus his Souldiers were rather ouer-come by their owne scare, than by any sorce of the afailants; as mistrusting less the Achaians were more in number, than in truth they were, and having loss the advantages of the place already, vpon which they had

prefumed, before they were aware of any enemie.

In the sekinde of night-services, ambushments, surprises, and practices, Aratus was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, hee was astimorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might looke pale and tremble, when 40 he beganne battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined, vnto severall forts of action. In resoluing which doubts it may be said; that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination standeth in neede of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vse, good successe, and other helpe, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was Aratus in matter of Warre. In sincere affection to his Countrie he was vareproveable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will testifie.

When Acrocorinthus was taken, and joyned vnto the Common-wealth of Achain, the Megarians revolted from after from Antigonus, and entred into the fame Corposite ration. So did the Trazenians, and the Epidawians: whereby this new creeked State grew so powerfull, that it adventured to take Athens, from the Macedonians; and Argos and Megalopolis, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprise vpon Athens was of none effect. For though Arains wasted the Ile of Salamis, to show his strength,

and fent home the Athenian prisoners, without ransome, to allure the Citis by shew of love; yet the Athenians stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honest slaues to the Macedonians. Vpon Argos the aduenture was carried more strongly. The Achaians came sometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might have wonne it. if the Citizens would have lent any helpe to the recoverie of their owne freedome; fundrie times. and with divers event, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose vp one after another in Argos) in open field, and flue one of them in battaile; but all sufficed not: until at length Aristomachus the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired, by 10 Aratus, that he consented to religne his estate. The like did Xenon the Tyrant of Hermione, and Cleonymus that had oppressed the Phliasians. Whilest this businesse with the Argines was on foot, Lystadas the T yrant of Megalapolis was so well handled by Aratus, that, without compulsion, he gaue libertie to his Citic, and annexed. it to the Councell of Achaia: whereby he got fuch credit, that he was chosen General of their forces (which was a yeerly Office, and might not be held two yeeres together by one man) cuerie second yeere, for a certaine while, he and Aratus succceding one another by turnes. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, Lysiadas and Aristomachus, were carried with private passion from care of the generall good; in which courses they opposed Aratus, to the great hurt of Achaia, as shall appeare . 20 in due time.

The Acheans having obtayned so much puissance and reputation, that Ptolomie King of Agypt was become Patron of their Alliance, and sin title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sca and Land; made open Warre vpon Demetrius the Sonne of Antigonus Gonatas, for the libertie of Athens. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when Aratus in this quarrell had lost a battaile the Athenians wore Garlands, in signe of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the Macedonians, that had wonne the victorie. Such were now the Athenians become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, Aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur; It is either base in service, or in solent in command. Neverthelesse when 30 Demetrius was dead, Aratus performed that by monic, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captaine of the Macedonian Garrison, purchased libertie to the Athenians, who thencesoorth held good correspondence with the Acheans, long them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their owne

ut worns aloris

CHAP.2. S.6.

Now as the Common-wealth of Achaia daily increased within Peloponnesus, by iustice and honestie; so did the Ætolians, in the vtter part of Greece, yea and within Peloponne fus it felfe, waxe very powerfull, by flurdine fe of bodie, and rude courage in fight, without helpe of any other vertue. They had floutly defended themselues 40 against Antipater and Craterus; partly by daring to doe and suffer much; partly by the natural strength and fastnesse of their Countries but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captaines to other businesse, as hath beene related. They had molested Castander, in fauour of Antizonus; and were themselves as much plagued by him, & by the Acarnanians, a little, but a sout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to doe with Demetrius, the sonne of the first Antigonus, and more or leffe, with al the Kings of Mecedon succeeding him. They'likewise held often Warre with the Acarnanians, Athamanians, Epirots, and many Cities in Peloponnesus: so that they were hardened with perpetual traunile: seldome putting off their Armour. But their hardinesse ill deserved the name of vajo lour, seeing they had no regard of honestie or friendship; measuring all things by their owne infolent wil, and thinking al people base-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themselues.

These Atolians had lately made great spoiles in Peloponnesus, and occupied a good part of the countrie. They had inuaded the friends of the Acheans; taken and sacked L1111 2 Pallene;

Pallene; where although they were foundly beaten by Aratus; yet their defire of gaine made them greedie of a new voiage thither, as to a Countrie wherein some what was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus Gonatas: who pressed them so hardly, that they were driven to seeke helpe of the Acheans; which they obtained. The warre which the Acheans made vpon Demetrius, without Peloponnesus, in Atticu, though it tended to expelling the Macedons out of Greece, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly vnto the A. tolians, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the Macedonian forces diuerted from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the Atolians, giving thanks in words, deuised how to requite the benefit 10 with some great mischiete. They saw that the Acheans were desirous, to bring all Pelopannesiss into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the Lacedamonians were very lealous. Wherefore these Atolians laboured carnelly, to set the Lacedemonians and Acheans together by the cares : hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called into helpe (it skilled not on what side) and fo get no small share, both in bootic and Territoric. Neither did they forbeare to communicate this their deuice vnto Antigonus; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that his Kingdome had fustained by the Acheans. Of this plot Aratus was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the Lacedamonians cause 20 to take armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late; and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been medling with the Archadians, that were dependants of Lacedemon: and thereby had provoked the Lacedemonians to looke about them, seeing that all Peloponne fus, excepting themselves, the Eleans, and a few Arcadians their friends (who also were attempted) was alreadie become Achaan.

The Citie of Sparta was in ill case about these times; and subject to the injuries of any stronger Neighbour. Pyrrhus had greatly weakned it; The Atolians entring Laconia with an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Auarice and Luxurie raigned among them, the poore was oppressed by the rich, & the generositie of spirit, that had sometime 30 beene their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in Sparta no more than seuen hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not aboue one hundred had lands: all the rest were needie people and desirons of innouation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the Citie most of all. Azis a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict observation of Lyeargus his laws. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equal division of lands. All the yonger, and the poorer fort were glad of this : but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse vnto Leonidas the other King, (for in Sparta were two Kings) who tooke their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained vp in the 40 Court of Syria, whence also he had his wife. In this contention Leonidas was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his flead. But agis his friends and Counfailors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne private commoditie. They were hastie to take away all debts, and cancell bonds, for they themsclues were deeply indebted: but the division of lands they afterwards hindred, because their owne possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in Sparta, which these men increased by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, Leenidas was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two aduerse Kings driven to take Sanctuarie; out of which, Cleombrotus, the late-made King, was dilmissed into exile: but Agis was trained forth, drawne into prison, and there by his 50 enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grandmother. The like to this was never knowne in Sparta: and (which is the moreodious) this crueltie proceeded from the Ephori, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the lawes, vling their power, and more power than to them belonged,

against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the lawes re-

The death of Agis was much lamented by all good Citizens; and ferued to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case Aratus might well hope, to adioune Lacedamon to the Achean Common-wealth: though it were great iniustice to take such advantages, & attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the generall good of Peloponness, and to the benesit of Spartait selfe,

ifit could have beene wrought by perswasion. Burthe same man who redressed the disorders of Sparte, and reuenged the death 10 of Agis, did also requite the iniust attempts of the Achems, even in their owne kind: obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all Peloponne us; though little to their good liking, for that the Lacedamonians and their King, should have beene the principall; not they and their Prator. Leonidas having thus caused Agis to be flaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in mariage (perforce) to his owne some Cleamenes. This yong Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and fought to winne her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband Agis, and by pittying his misfortune, began to entertaine a defire of accomplishing that, wherein Agis had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilst he was very yong, hee gladly embraced all 20 occasions of warre: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which Agu, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an elfate of the Citie, had attempted to his owne ruine. Therfore when the Ephori gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie Athenaum, a Temple on the marches of Laconia, to which both they and the Megalopolitans pretendedtitle he readily performed it. Hercof Aratus made no complaint, but fought to take by surprise Tegea and Orchomenus, Cities then confederate with the Lacedamonians: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painefull nights travaile, and discovered his enmitte to Sparta; of which Cleomenes was nothing fortic. By these degrees the warre began. In the entrance whereto Aratus had discoursed the Atolian practice, and therfore would have staicd the quarrell from proceeding 30 too farre. But Lyfisdas and Asiftomachus would needes fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing Cleomenes was so vrgent. Aristomschas was at that time General of the Acheans, (He & Lyfiades being of great account, fince they had abandoned their tyrannie) who fent vnto Aratus, lying then in Athens, and required his affiftance in a journie to be made into Leconia. No diffwalions of Aratus would ferue: therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, littleplealing him in the present, and lesse in the future. When he met with Cleomenes, hedurst not fight; but opposed himselse against Aristomachus, who desired to giue battaile. Yet had the Achaans twentiethousand foot, & one thousand horse, in their Armie: whereas Cleomenes had no more than five thousand in all. This gave repu-40 tation to the Lacedemonian, and raised an ill report vpon Aratus; which Lysiadas helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Neuerthelesse the Ackesns would not fall out with Aratus their Benefactor, but chose him their General the yere, following against Lystadas his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall him selfe, it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the flanderous wordes of Lyfiadias. Thereforche purposed to set vpon the Eleans: but was met withall on the way, necre vnto the Mount Lycaus, by Cleamenes, who vanquilled him in a great battaile, and draue him to hide him selfe all night for feare, so that he was thought to have beene slaine. This misaduenture Aratus recompenced by a trick of his owne more natural occu-

pation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue been expopeded, had he bin victorious. For whillt there was no suspition of any great matter that he could undertake; he secretly wrought with some of the Mantineans, who did let him into their Citie. The Mantineans had once before ioyned themselues with the Achaians; but shortly upon seare, or some other passion, they gaue themselues

to the Atolians; and from the Etolians, presently after this victoric, to Cleomenes. from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their leuitie they were not punished, but freely admitted now againe into the Achean Societie. As this good successe repaired the credit of Aratus; so another battaile almost ruined it. Gleomenes and he encountred necre vnto Megalopolis; where the Acheans had somewhat the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his advantage, Therupon Lysiadas, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake vpon the Lacedamonians, whom hee routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too farre into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driven backe vpon their owne Companions; in fuch fort, 10 that finally all the Armie was disordered, and put to flight. This was a great losse, and incensed the Acheans against Aratus : yet their indignation proceeded no further than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercinaries which he had waged. This Aratus tooke patiently, and followed the warre neuerthelesse; wherein though Cleomenes wanne some Townes, and Aratus got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the Acheans being wearie, and the Spartan King intentiue to another businesse.

Cleomenes having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painefull journies, for sooke the Achean warre on a sudden, and came vnexpected home to Sparta, where hee slue the Ephon; and restored by force the ancient discipline of Lyeurgus. Then gave hee an accompt of his doings: and shewing by what degrees the Ephon; had incroched vpon the power of Kings, and many disorders had growne in the Citie; he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall division of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. Hee also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Countrie might not altogether stand in neede of mercinarie helpe, as it lately had done, to save it selfe from the Lossans, Illyrians, and other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the Spartans well satisfied; and Cleomenes himselfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could

takeaduantage of these his domesticall troubles.

The Acheans hearing of this great alteration in Sparta, thought that it would be long, ere Cleomenes durft issue for the Citic, for seare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had washed all the Countrie of Megalopsis; had ranged ouer all Areasia at his pleasure; and was admitted into Mantinea; and readic to take other places, even of Achaia. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when Cleomenes had shaken off the power of the Ephori, that curbed his authoritic, hee proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed, and by better men. His Lacedemonians resumed their ancient courage; and he himselfe had the heart to demand the Principalitic of Greec. He did not therefore henceforth contend, about the possessing of sew Townes: but adventured to winne or lose all. The Etolians, in favour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side: and whereas he had gotten Mantinas, Teges, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrie, and saw that Antigonus with the Etolians, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which Cleomenes had thus begunne. Therefore hee deuised how to prouide against the worst, and eitherto repaire all, or (ifit could not bee) to save all from vtter ruine. The office of Generall when it was next put vpon him, heerefused; fearing to bee so sarrepress, as to hazzard in one battaile all 50 the force of his Countrie, to which as hee had neuer any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surprise, and defended vpon the advantage of place, after the manner

of the Irish, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not for sake the care of the weale publike, though in aiming at the generall good, it seemes that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that Megalopolis could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that Mantines had not only opened her gates vnto Cleomenes, but slaine the Achean Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yeelded vnto him, without compulsion; and that Aristomachus, once Tyrant of Argos, and since Generall of the Acheans, was now revolved vnto the enemie, following the fortune of Cleomenes. Ptolemie was too sarre off to helpe; and the necrenesse of Antigonus was very dange-to rous; yet might be vsefull, if this King would as Polybius saith) like others, be friend or enemie, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall hereof, Aratus practifed with some of Megalopolis, whom he found apt vnto his purpose; and in-

Structed them how to deale both with Antigonus, and the Acheans.

The Citie of Megalopolis had beene well affected to the Macedonians, euer fince the time of Philip the Father of Alexander, who had obliged it vnto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay neerest vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore descrued succour; yet could not well bee relieued by the Achaans, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadours should bee sent vnto the generall Councell of Achaia, requesting leave and 20 good allowance, to trie the fauour of Antigonus in their necessitie. This was granted for lack of what elfe to answere; and the same Embassadours dispatched away to Antigonus. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predecesfours; of their present neede; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aide. But when they delinered the more generall matter, wherein Aratus had given them instruction; shewing how the ambition of Cleomenes, and violence of the Ætolians, might redound to his owne great losse or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how Aratus himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the Acheans under the Patronage of 30 Macedon: then beganne Antigonus to lend a more attentiue eare to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote vnto the Megalopolitans, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farre forth, as it might stand with the Achaans good liking. Particularly he commended himselfe, by these Messengers, to Aratus; affuring them, that he thought himselfe highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have been grounded vpon any hatred to the Masedonians, but only vpon a just and worthy loue to his owne Nation. With this answere they returne to Megalopolis: and are presently fent away to the Councell of Achsia; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessitie of the time required.

.40 The Achaens were glad to heare, that Antigonus was so inclinable to their defire; and therefore were ready to entertaine his fauour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto Aratus gaue his consent; and praised the wisedome of his Countrimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest meanes of their common safetie: adding neuerthelesse, that it were not amisse, first of all to trie their owne abilitie; which it it failed, then should they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protestor. Thus hee shewed himselse moderate, in that which himselse of all others did most wish to the end, that hee might not afterward sustaine the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amisse; since it might appeare, that he had not beene Author of this Decree, but only sollowed, and that so leisurably, the generall consent.

Neuerthelesse it true estimation, this sinenesse of Aratus might have beene vsed, with his greater commendation, in a contrarie course. For it had beene more honourable, to make an end of the Warre, by yeelding vnto Cleomenes that power which they gaue vnto Antigonus: since therby he should both have freed his

Countrie from all further trouble; and withall should have restored vnto the vniuerfall state of Greece, that honorable condition, whereof the Macedonians had berest it. But it is commonly found (which is great pittic) that Vertue having risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the seat of Principalitie. by length of time, and fuccesse of many actions; can ill endure the hastic growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it selfelikely to bee ouer-topped. Other cause to despise the Lacedamonians there was none; than that they lately had bin in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why Aratus should prefer Antigonus before Cleomenes, than that he had stood indoubt of the one, when he thought himselse more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was instly plagued, when he 10 faw his owne honors reversed by the insolent Macedonians; and in stead of living as a companion with Cleomenes, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posteritie of Hercules was faine to doe sacrifice vnto Antigonus, as vnto a God, and was finally poisoned by Philip, whose Nobilitie was but of fine descents, and whom perhaps he might haue seene his fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the Macedonians, the loue of Ptolomie was lost: who forthwith tooke part with Cleomenes, though he did not supply him with such liberalitie, as hee had vsed to the Acheans; being warned, as may seeme, by their example, to be more warie both in trusting & disburling. Cleomenes himselfe, whilest this businesse with Antigonus was afoot, paffed through Arcadia with an Armie, & laboured by all meanes 20 to draw the Acheans to battaile. At the Citie of Dymes in Achaia were affembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking helpe of the Macedonian. Thither went Cleomenes, and there fought with them; where hee had fo great a victorie, that the enemie was no longerable to keepe the open field. The calamitie was such, that Aratus himselfe durst not take vpon him to be their Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the Achaens were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted upon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate vnto themselues the command of Peloponnesus, but suffer the Lacedemonians (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in Warre. Hereunto if they would 39 condescend, he promised vnto them, that he would presently restore al places taken from them, and al his prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enjoy their owne Lawes and Liberties without molectation. This gentle offer of Cleomenes was very pleasing to the Acheans: who desired him to come vnto the Citie of Lerna, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre.

Now seemed the affaires of Greece likely to be settled in better order, than thev had ever beene fince the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warres, year or fince the Perfan Inuasion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindred all. with a draught of cold water, which Cleomenes dranke in a great heat, and thereupon fell extreme fick, and so could not be present at Lerna, but caused the Parliament to 40 be deferred to another time. Neuerthelesse he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the Achaans in their desire of his friendship: who assembled againe at Argos, there to establish the League. But Aratus was violently bent against it; and sought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Countrimenafraid of refoluing. When all would not serue turne, he betooke himselfe to his cunning; and sent word to Cleomenes, that hee should doe well to leave his Armie behinde him, and come alone into Argos, receiving Hostages for safetic of his person. Cleomenes was already farre on his way, when he met with this advertisement : and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had beene an easie matter, to have told him so 50 much at the first, and not have made him come so farre with an Armie, which afterwards he must dismisse. Yet that which chiefly seemes to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with themselves and their Messengers, or if he would ad-

uenture himselfe into the Citie, then to deprine him of all Royall shew, that might breede respect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeede which Aratus feared. and for which he fought to hinder his comming thither in person lest the people, hearing the promises of Cleamenes ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle words, & finish the bargaine without more adoe. Therefore Cleomenes wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks: and Aratus was not farre behinde with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betweene feare of the one, and reuerence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceede, but abruptly brake vp, leaving all as it were to fortune. Cleomenes 10 tookehis aduantage of their present weakenesse, and renewed the Warre, Many Cities yeelded vnto him willingly; many hee forced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wanne Argos, which neuer King of Sparta before him could doe. In this case Aratus sent his owne sonne to Antigonus, entreating him to deferre no time, but come presently to relicue the distressed Acheans, Antigonus gaucas good words as could be wished: sauing that he vtterly refused to doe any thing, vnlesse he might first haue Acrocorinibus put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horse against his enemie the Stag: but with condition, that the Horse should suffer himselse to be saddled & bridled. Aratus was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing 20 the Corinthians had no way descrued, to be thus given away to the Macedonians. Yetat length an occasion was found; for that the Corinthians, perceiuing what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So hee withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and fent word to Antigonus, that the Castle should be ready to let him in. The Corinthians on the other lide ranne to Cleomenes; who loft no time, but made hafte with them to Corinth, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to saue it from Antigonus, by surrounding it with Trenches, that none might

that Aratu his house and goods, within the Towne, should be safely kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to a-30 greement, and not to bring in the barbarous Macedonians, and Illyrians, to Peloponnefu: promiling that if he would harken to these perswasions, then would he give him double the same pension, which hee had beene wont to receive of King Ptolemie. As for the Castle of Corinth, which was the gate of Peloponnesus, and without which none could hold affured foueraigntie of the Countrie; he defired thatit might not be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be injurtly kept by the Lacedamonians and Acheans. All this entreatic served to no purpose. For Aralus, reiecting vtterly the motion, fent his owne sonne as an Hostage to Antigonus; and laboured with the Acheans, to put Acrecorinthus into his hands. Which when Cleomenes understood, he seised upon the goods of Araius in Corinth, and wasted all the

issue nor enter without his leaue. Whilest this was in doing, he tooke speciall order,

40 Countrie of Sicyon, whereof this his Aduersarie was natiue.

Antigonus in the meanetime drew neere to the Ishmus; having passed with his Armie through Euber, because the Atolians held the streights of Thermopyle against him. This they did, either in fauour of Cleomenes, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, whereunto the Macedonians might attaine by the good fuccesse of this iournie. At his comming thither he found the Lacedamonians ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard battaile, but rather to wearie him thence with hunger, against which hee came not well prouided. Antigonus therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able fo to doe: hee fecretly got into the Corinthian Hauen; 50 but was violently driven out againe, with great losse of men; finally he resolved to turne aside, and seeke a passage ouer the gulfe of Corinth, to Sieyon, or some other

part of Achaia; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not

In this perplexitie newes from Argos came by Sea, that greatly comforted Anti-

gonus, and no leffe troubled his Endmies. The echican's were gotten into that Cities. and the Garrison which Cleamenes had left therein, thoughir was not driven out of the Citadell, yet was hardly diffressed, and stood in neede of present helpe. Areos had alwaies bin endmie to Sparra, and well affected to the Kings of Macedon. When Cleomenes tooke it, he forbare to chase our those whom he most suspected; partly, arthe entreatic officiends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperitie. They were glad indeede of Cleomenes his victories, both in Argos and elfewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditours, as he had lately done in Sparta. But that which Cleomenes had done in Sparta, was agreeable to the Spartan institution: inother places, where it would 10 haus beene tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their vniust hopes, beganne to turne good Common-wealths-men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because hee would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the Atheans; affailed his Garrison; cut in pecces the Rescue that he sent; and compelled him at length, to forsake the desence of Corinth, and looke vnto the enemies that were behind his backe. For when he vnderstood. by continual meffages, that his men which held the Citadell at Argos, were almost loft : hee beganne to feare, left his labour inguarding the entry should grow friuolous; the Acheans in the meane while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore hee for sooke his custodie of the Ishmus, and made all haste towards Argos: which if he 20 could faue, he meant to truft fortune with the rest. And so farre he prevailed at his comming to Argos; that both Argues and Acheans were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets; when the horse men of Antigonus were discouered a-farre off, hasting to relieue the Citizens; and Antigonus himselfc (to whom Corinth was yeelded, as soone as the Spartan had turned his backe) following apace with the bodie of his Armie. Cleamenes therefore had no more to doe, than to make a saferetrait. This he did; and got him home into Laconia: loosing in short space all, or most, of that which he had beene long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himselfe at Argos, and commended the Citizens, went into Arcadia; where he wanne such Castles as were held for Cleomenes, and restored 30 them to the old Possessors. This done, he tooke his way to Agium, where was held a Parliament by the Acheans: to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake braue wordes, that filled them with hope. The Acheans were not behinde with him; but made him Captaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into covenant with him, That they should not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, & somwhat longer, Aratus was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to Sicyon, his owne Towne (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours. as facrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of Aratus and his Si- 40 evenians, was followed by the rest of Achaia: which had made (for sooth) a very wise bargaine, if in stead of Cleomenes that would have beene a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherewith to pay his Macedonians, imposed the burthen vpon the Achaans. This was hardly taken: yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was Aratus himselfe ouer-carefully respected; when the statues of those T yrants, which he had throwne downe in Argos, were againe erected by Antigonus; or when the statues, which he had erected, of those that had taken Acrocorinthus with him, were all throwne downe by the same King, and one only left vnto himselfe at his earnest entreatie. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spightfull. Neuerthelesse in taking re- 50 uenge vpon those that offended him, Aratus did satisfie his owne passion by the aide of these Macedonians. For with extreme torments he did put Aristomachus to death, who had beene once Tyrant of Argos; afterwards Generall of the Achaens; and from them revolting vnto Cleomenes, did fall at length into their hands. In like fort

handled hee (though not as yet) the Mantineans for their ingratitude and crueltie flewed to the Acheans. For he flue all the principall Citizens, and fold the reft, men, women, and children, all for bond-flaues: dividing the fpoile; two parts to the Macedonians, and the third to the Acheans. The Towne it felse was given by Antigonus to the Argines: who peopled it with a Colonie of their owne; and Aratus having charge of this businesses, caused it to be new-named Antigonus. Surely of this crueltie there can be no better excuse; than even the flatterie, which Aratus was driven to vieto Antigonus: for as functions it was a token of servicitie, whereinto they had viged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus require. To But leaving to speake of this change, which the comming in of the Macedonian wrought, in the Civill state of the Acheans; Let vs returne into his warre against

the Lacedamonian. The next Summer Antigonus wanne Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenu , Heraa, and Telphussa: Mantinea he dispeopled, as was said before; in Orchomenus he placed a Garrison of his Macedonians; the rest he restored to the Acheans; with whom he wintred at Ægium, where they held a Parliament. Once only Cleomenes had met him this yeare; and that was on the borders of Laconia, where he lay ready to defend his owne Territorie. The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed Antigonus to Mantinea, and to those other Townes that hee wanne, was this: He had few Soul-20 diers, and not monie enough to wage more. Ptolemy the Agyptian promised much, but would performe nothing, valefle he might have Cleomenes his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into Agypt; yet the aide came not. For Ptolemie was flow; as dealing in the bufineffe of Greece, rather for his mindes fake, than vpon any apprehension of necessitie. Cleomenes therefore prouided for himselfe, as well as his owne abilitie would serve. He manumised all the Heilotes, which were the Lacedamonian flaues: taking monie for their libertic, and arming two thonfand of them, after the Macedonian fashion. Having thus increased his forces, hee came on the sudden to Megalopolis; that lay secure, as having defended it selfe in more dangerous times, and having now Antigonus neere at hand in Agium. The 30 Towne he wanne: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare armes, role haftily against him;& though they could not drive him out, yet faued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their cleape. He tent after the Citizens, offering their Towncand goods to them againe, if they would bee of hispartic. Butthey brauely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to Sparta a great bootie that he found therein. These newes assonished the Achains at Agum: who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. Antigonus fent hastily for his Macedonians, out of their wintering places: but they were folong in comming, that Cleomenes was fafely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himselseto Argos, thereto passe the rest of this valucky winter, somewhat 40 further from the eyes of the greened Acheans. When he had laine awhile at Argos, Cleomenes was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than Antigonus had then about him. The Argines perceiuing that their Countrie would be spoiled, if Antigonus did not iffue into the field ; were very earnest with him to goe forth and fight. But hee was wifer then to be moued with their clamours; and fuffered them to fee their villages burnt; to bid him religne his Office of Protector vnto some that were more valiant; and to satisfic their passions with soolish wordes; rather than he would be ouer-come in fight, and thereby lose more honour than

50 vnto Lacedemon.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for warre, Antigonus gathered together all his troups; meaning to requite these brauado's of his enemie, with the conquest of Sparta. Cleomenes on the other side, laboured to keepe the warre from his owne gates; and therefore entred vpon the Countrie of Argos, where he made his owne gates; and therefore entred vpon the Countrie of Argos, where he made

could easily be repaired. By this Cleamenes had his desire, in weakning the reputati-

on of his enemie: though he thereby added-neither followers, nor other ftrength,

fuch hauocke, as drew Antigonus thither, from his intended inualion of Laconia. Many great affronts the Macedonian was faine to endure, in coasting the Spartan King; that ranging ouer the Countrie of the Argines, Phliasians, and Orchomenians, draue a Garrison of his out of oligyrtis; and did sacrifice, asit were, before his face, in the suburbs of Argos, without the Temple of Iuno, that was shut up; sending vnto him in scorne, to borrow the keyes. These were light things; yet served to dishearten the schaan side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore hee concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by fetting vp his reft, without more delay, vpon Sparta it selfe. He had in his Armie eight and twentie thousand foot and 10 twelue hundred horse, collected out of sundrie Nations, as Macedonians, Illyrians, Ganles, Epirots, Baotians, Acarnanians, and others; together with the Acheans, and their friends of Peloponnesus. Cleomenes had of all forts, twentie thousand, with which he lay at Selasia: fortifying slightly the other passages into Laconia, through which the Macedonians were not likely to sceke entrance. Antigonus comming to Selasia, found his enemic so strongly incamped, vpon and between the hils of Ena and Olympus, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before hee could aduance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which he greatly defired, without the hazzard of his whole armie, in affayling their wel-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their 20 hopes and feares) both Kings being refolued to make an end one way or other; Antigonus attempted with his Illyrians, to force that part which lay on the hill Eua, but his Illyrians were so ill seconded by the Achaan foot, that the Spartan horse, & lightarmed foot, incamped in the streight vallie between those hils, issuing forth, fell vpon their skirts; and not onely disordered them, but were like to have endangered al the rest. If Cleomenes himselfe had stood in that part of the battaile, he would have made great vse of such a faire beginning. But Euclidas, his brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this adpantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground affoorded, whereon he lay. Philopæmen the Arcadian of Megalopolis, who afterwards proued a famous Captaine, served 30 then on horse, as a private yong man, among the Achaans. He seeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their Illyrians were driven to fall backe vpon the Army following them; perswaded the Captaines of the Achean horse, to break upon the Spartan Mercinaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that Antigonius had given order, that they should keepe their places, vntill they received a figne from him, which was not as yet. Philopamen perceiving them to be more orderly, than well aduised; entreated some of his owne Countrimen to follow him; gaue a charge vpon the Spartans; and forced them not onely to leave the Illyrians, but feeke how to faue themselves. Being so farre advanced, he found the place which the Illyrians had attempted, like enough to bee wonne, 40 through the vnskilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore hee alighted, and perfwaded the men at armes his Companions to doe the like: the folly of Euclidas being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon cuen termes. So he recouered the Hill top; where though he was fore hurt, yet yee made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the Lacedamonians were beaten from it, with great flaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of Euclidas, made Cleamenes lose the day: who fighting brauely on the other fide, vpon Olympus, against Antigonus himfelfe, was like to have been furrounded and loft, if he had not withdrawne himselfe with an ex- 50 traordinarie speede. In this battaile ended the glorie of Lacedamon, which, as a light readie to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, then in many ages past.

Cleomenes

Cleomenes fled vnto Sparta: where he had no defire to flay, finding onely two hundred left, of fixe thouland Spartans that he had led vnto this battaile, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So hee perswaded his people to yeelde themselves vnto Antigonus; and promising to doe all that should at any time lie in his owne power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided, against all that might happen) and imbarqued himselfe for Agypt. Hee was louingly entertained by Ptolemie Euergetes; who vndertooke to restore him to his Kingdome; and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gallant behauiour and qualities. In the meane scason bee had a 10 pension allowed him, of source and twentie talents, yearely. But this Prolemic died; and his sonne Ptolemie Philopater succeeded him: a vicious yong Prince, wholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vnmindefull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore Cleomenes was defirous to returne into Greece, whither the troubles in Peloponnesus did seeme to inuite him; Ptolemie, and his Minions, would neither give him aide; nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he desired) to trie his owne friends in Greece, because he was too well acquainted with the weakenesse of Agypt: nor well knew how to detaine him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was; that with thirtie of his Countrimen, he vndertooke 20 a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the Alexandrians to rebell and seeke their libertie. In which attempt hee slue some enemies of his that he met; and having walked vp and downe the firects, without refifiance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) he, and his Companions, agreed together to bee ministers of their owne death. Vpon his dead bodie Ptolemie was bold to shew his indignation and flue his Mother and Children, that had beene sent thither as Hostages, together with the wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpontheold Queenc. Such was the end of Cleomones; a generous Prince, but Sonne of Leonidas, who had caused Agis, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to 30 come to such a bloudie ende, as now befell his owne Wife, Sonne, and Grand-

children. After the Victoric at Sellasia, Antigonus without resistance entred Sparta: whereinto neuer the sorce of any Enemie, before him, could make way, Hee kindely entreated the Citizens, and left them to their owne Lawes and Gouernment: tarrying there no longer, than two or three dayes; after which he hastened out of Peloponnessus, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedy departure was, an aduertisement that he received out of Macedon; how the Hyrians ouer-ranne, and destroied the Countrie. Had these news come a little sooner; or had Cleomenes either deserred the sight, a sew dayes longer, or at least-wise tarried a few dayes after the sight, in Sparta: the Kingdome of Lacedemon would have stood, and perhaps have extended it selfe over all Greece. But God had otherwise deter-

mined.

Antigonus fought a great battaile with the Illyrians, and ouer-came them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by ouer-strayning his voice; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space sinished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto Philip, the sonne of Demetrius, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that Antiochus, surnamed (I know not why) the Great; and Ptolemie, Philopater; beganneto raigne in Asia, and Egypt; Boyes all. Of these, Ptolemie, I have been the last when he first was King, yet continued a Boy,

50 though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuenteene yeeres of his raigne. The vnripe age of Philip and Antiochus, bred such intestine inconvenience to their Kingdomes, as is vsual in the minoritie of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the Romans; youn Mmmmm 2

which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

#### ð. VII

How the Illyrians infefted the coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romans.



Hilest things thus passed in *Greece*; and whilest the *Carthaginians* were to built in their conquest of *Spaine*: the *Romans* had found themselues worke among the *Sardinians* and *Consians*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished againe, when they rebelled. They made also warre with the *Hyrians*, wherein they got much bonour with

little paine. With the Gaules they had much adoe, that lasted not long; being rather, as Liule faith, a tumule then a warre. So that by all these light exercises, their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Ilands in the Mediterran Sea; it hath bene shewed before: of their dealings with the Illyrians and Gaules, it is not meet to

be vtterly filent.

The Elyrians inhabited the Country now called Slauonia: a trouble some Nation, 20 impatient of rest, and continually making warre for gaine, without either regard of friend or foc. They were inuited by Demetrius King of Mucedon, to helpe the Mydionians, his friends, that were befreged by the Atolians, for that they refused to be of their society. Before the Illyrian succours came, the Mydionians were so far spent, that the Ætolians contended about the booty : the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, clayming to have the honour of the victory, and the division of the spoile to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the fiege to an end, and wonne the Towne : others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretie strife, and somewhat like to that of the French in later 30 ages, who thought vpon dividing the prey, before they had wonne the victories, which anon they loft, at Poitters and at Agincourt. The Atolians wifely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor, should be iountly intitled in the victorie, and have equall authoritie in distribution of the gettings. But the Illyrians finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the Ætolians; & though good relistance was made, yet got the victoric, partly by force of their owne multitude, partly by helpe of the Mydionians, that were not idle in their owne businesse, but stoutly fallied out of the Towne. Many of the Atolians were flaine, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was loft: the Illy- 40 rians tooke the spoile, and went their way; the Mydionians erected a Trophie, inscribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the Atolians had directed them by example.

The fuccess of this voyage, highly pleased sigron King of the Illyrians: not only in regard of the monie, wherewith Demetrius had hired his assistance; or of the bootie that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoucts of the Greeks, hee found it not vneasie, to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the lesse warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that he fell into a Pleurife, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he less that

Tenta, his wife.

Tenta gaue her people free libertie, to roball Nation at Sea, making no difference between e friend and foe; as if shee had beene sole Mistresse of the salt Waters. Shee armed a fleet, and sent it into Greece: willing hee Captaines, to make

Warre where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell with the westerne coast of Peloponnesus; where they inuaded the Eleans, and Messenians. Afterwards they returned along by Epirus, & stayed at the Citie of Phanice, to take in victuailes and other neceffaries. There lay in Phanice eight hundred Gaules; that having beene Mercinaries of the Carthaginians, went about to berray, first Agricentum then Erys to the Romans; but fayling to do either, they nevertheleffe revolted, and were for their misdeedes disarmed, and sent to Sea by the Romans, yet entertained by these Epirots, and trusted to lie in Garrison within their Towne. The Gaules were soone growne acquainted with the Illyrians, to whom they betraied Phanies to which deferued none other, in trufting them. Al Epirus was prefently in armes, and hastned to drive out these vnwelcome guests. But whilest the Epirots lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another Illyrian Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, under one Scerdilaidas; whom Queene Tenta had fent to help his fellowes. Vpon this aduertisement, a part of them is sent away towards Antigonia, to make good that Towne, and the threights adioy sing, by which these new commers mustenter into their Countrie; another part of these remaines at Phanice, to continue the fiege. Neither the one, northe other, feed well in their businesse. For seerdilardas found meanes to joyne with his fellowes; and they that were befreged within Phanice, fallied out of the towns, and gaue fuch an ouerthrow 20 to the Epirots, as made them despaire of saving their Countrie, without great and speedie helpe from abroad. Wherefore Embalfadours were fent to the Achaens and Ætolians: crawing their helpe, with very pittifull termes of entreatie. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Armie, sent by these two Nations, was readie in Epirus, to present battaile vnto Scerdilai das. But Scerdilai das was called home, by letters from Tenta the Queene, that fignified a rebellion of some Illyrians against her: so that he had no minde to put his forces to hazzard, but offered compolition; which was accepted. The agreement was, That the Epirots might ransometheir Towne, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the Illyrians should quietly depart, with all their bootie and slaues. Having made this profitable 30 and honourable bargaine; the Illyrians returned into their own Countrie by Land, sending their bootie away by Sea.

At their comming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, they had taken many Italian Marchants, whileft they lay at Phanice; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the Roman Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadours were sent to require of Teuta, that she should abstaine from doing such injuries. These Embassadours found her very iolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that shee had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought al to good order, saue only the towne of Ista, which 40 her forces held streightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperitie, shee could hardly affoord a good looke to the vnmannerly Romans; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, Pyracie, required amends. Yet when their fpeech was ended, she vouchfafed to tell them, That injurie in publike shee would doe them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subjects to get commoditie, how thev best could, by Sea. But (said the yonger of the two Embassadours) we Romans have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publike, of those private wrongs that are borne out by publike authoritie: therfore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your Kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These words the

Jo Queene tooke so impatiently, that no renenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, shee caused him to be slaine: as if that had been the way, to set her heart at rest, which was indeede the meane, to disquiet and afflich it ener after.

The Romans, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by
Mmmmm 3 Sea,

Liu. 1.21.

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After this good beginning, the Confull failed alongst the coast, to apollonia; ac- Apollonia, a Companied with Demetria, whom he vsed thenceforth as his counsailer and guide. Dirtachium.or To Apollonia came also Posthumus, the other Consull, with the Land-Armie, num- Daragge, ypon bred at twentie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten to the Sca-coast. wards Dyrrachium, which the Illyrians had befieged; but vpon newes of the Roman Siffopolis. Armie, they disperse themselues. From thence the Romans enter Illyria, and take Parthenia; beat the Illyrians by Sea, take twentie of their ships; and enforce the Queene Teuta to for sake the coast, and to couer her selfe in Rifon, farre within the Land. In the end, part of the Romans haste them homeward, and leaue the best 10 places of Illyria in the hands of Demetrius; another part staics behinde, and profecutes the warre, in such fort, that Teuta was forced to begge peace: which shee obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit, That shee should quit the better part of Illyria, & pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth, neuer fend any of her ships

one or two vessels, vnarmed, and by way of Trade. After this Illyrian warre, the Romans sent Embassadours into diversparts of Greece, signifying their loue to the Countrie, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made warre with good successe vpon Tenta, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: 20 which if it hapned, they were wife enough to play their ownegames. But no fuch matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thankes; and a decree made at Corinth. That the Romans thenceforth might be partakers of the Ilhmian pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vaine Greekes, and therefore well taken by the Romans: who by this Illyrian Expedition got nothing in

of warre, towards the coasts of Greece, beyond the Iland of Liffa: except it were some

Greece, sauc a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

d. VIII.

Of the warre betweene the Romans and Gaules, somewhat before the comming of HANNIBALinto Italie.

He Gaules that dwelt in Lumbardie, were the next against whom the Romans tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested Rome; sometimes with their owne forces, and sometimes with the affistance of those that inhabited France. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke Rome, and burnt it : though the iffue of that

Warre proued notanswerable to the beginning, if we may give credit vnto Roman Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Ma-40 ny ouerthrowes they received; and if they got any victorie, it yeelded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than welladuised: lightly stirred up to warre, and lightly giuing ouer. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The Romans were acquainted with their temper, by long experience; and knew how to handle them: yet gane alwaies carefull heede to their approch, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was sudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon Rome, were called warres, but tumultus Gallici; tumults of the Gaules; and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to Italie, and vied to rife with great Armies: but 50 after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occafion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow; they would rest ten, or twelue yeeres, fometimes twentie or thirtie : till they were stirred vp againe, by yonger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested; the state of Rome, that against these made only desensive warre, had leisure to grow, by setting

Sea, confisting of two hundred faile, commanded by C. Fulurus; the other by Land led by A. Polthumus. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring satisfaction; for this injurie is of such nature, as must be requited with mortall warre. It is indeed econtrarie to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to bee this; that since without mediation, there would never be an end of warre and destruction, therfore it was equally receiued by all Nations, as a leffon taught by Nature, that Embaffadors should passe freely, and in safetic, between enemies. Neuerthelesse, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King, or State, lay hold vpon Embassiadours sent by their enemies, not vnto themselves, but vnto some third, whom they to should draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embassadours (thus emploied, to make the warre more terrible) as it is to kill the men of warre, and subjects, of an enemie. And so might the Athenians have answered it, when they flew the Lacedamonian Embassadours, that were sent to Xerxes, to draw him into a warre vpon the Athenians. Neither are those Embassadours, which pra-Etile against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law what soeuer. For whereas the true Office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practife against the life of another, much leffe may an Embassadour doe it without incurring justly the fame danger of punishment, with other Traitors, in which case, his place gives him 20 no priviledge at all. But we will leave this dispute to the Civilians; and goe on with the reuenge, taken by the Romans, for the flaughter of their Embassadour Corun-

The Illyrian Queene was secure of the Romans, as if they would not dare to firre against her. She was indeede in an errour; that hath vndone many of all forts, greater and leffe than she, both before and since: Hauing more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things. The Greekes were at that time more famous than the Romans; the Ætolians and Epirots had the name of the most warlike people in Greece; these had shee casily vanquished; and therefore thought, that with the Romans she should be litle troubled. Had the confidered, that her whole Armie, which wrought 30 fuch wonders in Greece, was not much greater, than often thousand men; and that neuerthelesse, it preuailed as much, by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; shee would have continued to vse her advantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mightie than her selfe. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. Shee sent foorth a greater fleet than before, under Demetrius of Pharos; with the like ample commission to take all that could bee gotten. This fleet divided it selfe; and one part of it sell with a Dyrrachium, a Dyrrachium; the other, with Corcyra. Dyrrachium was almost surprized by the

fometime cal-fementime cal-fementi and now Du- wasted the Isle; and belieged the Towne. Hereupon the Atolians and Acheans were watted the mesand beneged the 1 owne Hereupon the Aloisans and Acheans were racte, feated additional to the here; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; losing, besides organized the state of th aict Sea, be thers of leffe note, Marcus Carynensis, the first Prætor of Achaia, whom Aratus suctweene the ceeded. The Towne of Coreyra, difmaied with this ouerthow, opened the gates llands of Pha-ros and coregra, vnto Demetrius Pharius; who tooke possession of it, with an Illyrian Garrison: senb coreyra, an ding the rest of his forces to beliege Dyrrachium. In the meane scason, Teuta was anlland of the Adriatick Sea, gric with her Captaine Demetrius: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to trie a-

not farre from ny other course, rather than to trust her.

The Romans were euenreadie to put to Sea, though vncertaine which way to led now corfu, and in the post take, when aduertisement was brought to C. Fuluius the Consult, of Demetrius his 50 and in the post take, when aduertisement was brought to C. Fuluius the Consult, below to determine the consult was brought to C. Fuluius the Consult was been aduertised. fession of the feare and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduance the businesse in hand. Wherefore the Consult sailed thither; where hee found the Towne of Coreyra so well prepared to his hand by Demetrius, that it not only received him willingly, but delinered into his power the Illyrian Garrison, and fubmitted it selfe vnto the Roman protection.

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vpon others. Herein God prouided well for that Monarchie, which hee intended to raise: that the Gaules never fell vpon Italie, with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous warre. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilest Pyrrhus was transiling in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former Punick warres: it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious Citic. But it seemes that the Gaules had no better intelligence in the affaires of Italie, than strangers had in Gaule. At least, they knew not how to vse their times: and were therefor like to fmart, when soeuer the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their owne home: which was now after the first Punick Warre. Once before this, the Romans had beene bold, to set 10 vpon the Gaules in their owne Countrie; and that was three yeeres before the com. ming of Pyrrhus into Italie. At that time the Senones, a Tribe of the Gaules, inuading Hetruria, and belieging Arretium, had wonne a great battaile and flaine L. Cacilius with the most of his Armic. Mannius Curius the new Consull, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransome of prisoners. But these Embassadours they slue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the Romans followed it so well, that they expelled these Senones out of their Countrie, and sent a Colonie of their owne e There were to inhabit it. This caused the Boy, another people of Gaule, to seare the like meadivers nations fure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the Hetrurians to their fide. But the Romans overthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them fue for peace,

ly ia, Germanie, which lasted untill this end of the Illyrian warre. It vexed the Gaules, to fee a Roman Colonic planted in their Countrie; who had in Reurbonois in France, and in beene accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their Neighbours per-Aquitane; but

these Boy were force. Wherefore they laboured with the Transalpines (so the Romans called those in France, as lying from them beyond the Alpes, though to vs they are neerer; like as they called Cifalpines or by-bither the Alpes, those who dwelt betweene them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their 30 diffunction had caused their losse, so their vnion might recompence it, with large amends. But the businesse was so foolishly carried, that the Cisalpines and Transalpines, fell together by the cares, putting the Romans only to a tumult, without further trouble of warre. Soone after, they were viged by a greater indignitie, to goe more substantially to worke. For C. Flaminius, a popular man in Rome, proposed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, belides one Colonie already planted in the territorie of the Senones, as many more should be caried thither, as would serve to people the whole Countrie betweene Ancona and Ariminum: exterminating vtterly those Gaules. Such an offer, were it made in England, concerning either Virginia, or Guiana it selfe, would not over-joy the Multitude But the Commonaltie of Rome tooke this in so good part, not with standing all danger joyned with the benefit, that Flaminius had ever after their good will. This dreadfull President extremely displeased the Boy: who being Neighbours

to Ariminum, feared the like displantation. And because all the rest of the Gaules had reason to resolue, that themselves also should bee rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the Insubrians, which inhabited the Duchie of Milan, joyned with the Boil, & vpon a common purse entertained the Gessates, Nations about Rhodaf cenomanni, nus, wageable as the Switzers in thefetimes. The Geffates having received a great are the people Impreft, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings, Concelitanus & Aneroeabout Bergamo, flus: who with the Boij and Infubrians, compound an Armie of fiftie thousand foot, and twentie thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that euer invaded the Roman Territorie; to whom, the Seno-galli, that had beene beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrarie side, the 50 these cenoman- Venetians, and the f Cenomanni, adhered to the Romans: as better beleeving in their prosperitie and rising fortune. For scare of whose incursions therefore, the Gaules the Countie were forced to leave a good part of their Armic, on the frontier of Milan: With the rest of their forces they entred into Tuscane. The Romans hearing of this danger,

fend Amilius to Rimine, to stop their passage; and in the place of C. Atilius their other Confull, who then was in Sardinia, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of Tuscane.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the confideration of this powerfull Armie, which the Gaules had affembled, they caused a view to bee taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of those of their Allies; who were no lesse willing than themfelues, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their owne destruction could not bee prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of Rome. The numbers, found in this Multer, deserue to be recorded : be-10 cause they set out the power of the Romans in those dayes. With the Consults they fent forth to the warre foure Legions of their owne: cuery Legion confifting of fine thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any miladuenture came to these) of the Sabines and Hetrurians fiftie thousand foot, & fourethousand horse; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of Hetruria. Of the V mbri and Sarfinates, which inhabited the Apenines, there were twentie thousand; and of the Venetians and Cenomans, other twentie thousand: which latter Armies were directed, to inuade the Boy, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the generall Armie of the Gaules should be thereby greatly dimi-20 nished. There were besides these, to bee ready against all vicertaine chances of

warre, thirtie thousand foot, and fifteene hundred horse, garrisond in Rome it selfe, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Ouer and about these great troupes; in the Roll of the Latines, that was sent vnto the Senate, there were numbred fourescore thousand foot, and fine thousand horse; in that of the Samnites, seventie thousand foot, and of horse seven thousand, in that of the B Japy ges, and Mellapy ges, fiftie thousand foot, and fixteene thousand g Japy ges and horse; the Lucans sent a list of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the Mellapyzes h Marfi, Marrucini k Ferentani, and the Vestini, of twentie thousand foot, and four one Nation thousand horse. The Romans had also two Legions in Sicil, and about Twentum, who are also

30 containing eight thousand foure hundred foot, and soure hundred horse. So as of called Sometimes Period. the Romans and Campans jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there ares, Apulians, were registred two hundred and fiftiethousand foot; and of horse, three and twen-and calle vante tie thousand : of which, reckoning the Romans apart, there were an hundred and fiftie thouland foot and about fixe thouland horse. Casting up the whole forces of all containing the the Provinces in Italie, both of the Romans and their Confederates, it amounted to head-land of feuen hundred thousand foot, and seventie thousand horse. But the number is catabria. fomewhat miffe-cast by Polybius; not with a purpose to enrich himselfe by the dead h A people of paies: for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, he falls shorenine thoufand two hundred of the foot.

How great focuer this Muster was, it seemes to have beene like vnto that, which them a people Loclowick Sforza made, when Lewesthe twelfth inuaded Milan: at what time, the bet- k A people of ter to encourage himselfe, and his subjects, hee tooke a Roll of all persons able to Campaniascalbeare armes, within the Duchie, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth Ferentines, faith part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of Trebia, Trasymene, Leander. and Canne, did not confume any fuch proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the Romans faine to arme their flaues, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrow at Canne. Wherefore the maruaile is not great, that the Carthaginians and others were little terrified, with report of fuch a multitude. For all heads are not fit for helmets: though the Roman Citizens were, in generall, 30 as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the Gaules keepe on their way: and entring into Tuscane, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards Rome; hoping to finde the Romans, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the

Italic. There were alto of

of the French

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Roman Armic, sent into Tuscane, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had missed of them, came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their journie. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backes, they turned head : and in the same evening discovered the Roman Armie, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant necessitie, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratageme: that shewed no great finenesse of wit, but such, as well bescemed those that had none other occupation than warre; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night. they cause their foot to march away, but not farre: leaving their horse in guard; to whom they give order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speede, as 10 might rather argue a running away, than a retrait, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The Romans, interpreting this their hastie departure, as the Gaules desired they should, follow them in disorder. The Gaules returne; charge them; and kill fixe thousand vpon the place; the rest take a peece of ground of aduantage, and defend themselves, till L. £ milius, being at Ariminum, comes to their succour. Vpon the comming of the Consull, the Gaules consult, whether they should give the Romans battaile, or forbeare. In which dispute, Aneroestus, one of their Kings, perfwades them, rather to returne into their owne Countries; where, after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carriage, pester, or other impediment. This aduice 20 they all embrace; for feeing they that were Mercinaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies; they thought it wisedome, to hazzard

neither it, nor themselves, any further.

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This indeede had beene a good refolution, if they had taken it, before the enemic had beene in fight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer beene found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an enemies Armic. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaics going on from the pursuing enemie, they finde within a few miles, either streight, hedge, ditch, or place of disaduantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knowes it, as well as the Captaine, that he which for sakes 39 the field, perceives, and feares some advantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betraier of those succours that Reason offereth, when it hath once posses the heart of man, it calleth thence both courage and vnderstanding. They that make the retrait, are alwaies in feare to be abandoned; they that leade the way, feare to be ingaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heeles that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, runne, and perish, if those that fauour the retrait, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable ouerthrow, that the French received in Naples, in the yeere 1503. vpon a retrait made by the Marques of Sal, doth testifie no leffe. For although a great troupe of French horse, sustained the pursuing enemic a long time, and gaue the foot leifure to trot away; yet being retarded by often tur- 40 nings, the Spanish foot ouer-tooke and defeated them vtterly. During the warres betweene the Imperialls, and the French; Boiss and Mont were lost at Brignolles, who in a brauerie would needes see the enemie, before they left the field. So was Strosi ouerthrowne, by the Marques of Marignan, because he could not be perswaded, to dislodge the night before the Marques his arrivall. Therefore did the French King Francis the first, wisely: when without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before Landersey, by night; as many other, the most aduised Captaines, (not finding themselves in case to give battaile) have done. Ie ne trouve point (saith the Marshall MONLVC) au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retrait; I finde nothing in the arte of marre fo difficult, as, to make a safe retrait. A sure Rule it is, that there 50 is leffe dishonor to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof M'. de la None giues this judgement, of a daies retrait, madein France, presently before the battaile of Moncountour. For (faith he) staying vpon our reputation, in Thew not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeede, by dislodging by day:

whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disaduantage, and to our ruine. And vet did that worthy Gentleman, Count Lodowick of N affau, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the retrait at Moncountour with fo great resolution, as hee faued the one halfe of the Protestant Armie, then broken and disbanded, of which my selse was an eye-witnesse; and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the Gaule, embracing the safe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turne their backs to the enemie, & their faces homeward. Amilius followes them. as necreas he can, without ingaging himselfe, attending his advantage. In the meane while, C. Atilius the other Confull, with the Legions of Sardinia, lands at Pifa; fo 10 as the Gaules, inclosed betweene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Reare, and Front. To sustaine Amilius, they appoint the Gessand the Milanois; in the Front, they range the Piemontois, and the rest of the Gaules inhabiting vpon the River of Po. The manner of the fight Polybius defcribeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the Gaules fell; and so did Atilius the Consull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the Gaules, Concolitanus and Aneroestus, with fortic thousand of their

Vassalls.

After this fatall ouerthrow, the Gaules lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in Italie. For they were inuaded the yeere following this ouerthrow. by the 20 new Consulls, Faluius, and Manlius. The Romans knew well how to vse their vi-Ctorie: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeeres time, to the Gaules , to repaire their forces, as the Gaules had done to them. These new Consulls beat the Boil; but by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that raigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second yeere, Furius, and Flaminius, inuade the Milanois; and prevaile very farre, being strongly affisted by the Cenomanniand the Venetians. Neuerthelesse these Consulls were renoked out of their Prouince, by the Senate of Rome, and compelled to refigne their Office: because the Augures, or Sooth ayers, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all forts of their divination, the Romans were extremely superstitious) had not 30 only foreshewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. C. Flaminius, receiuing letters of this renocation, from the Senate, and being otherwise aduertised of the contents, was not hastie to open them : but first gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Countrie; then pervsed the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, foreagainst the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that hee sided in faction with the Commonaltie, though a man of great

This was that Flaminius, who had propouded the Decree, for dividing the Countrie of the Senones among the people of Rome. He was the first, or one of the first, 40 that understanding the Majestie of Rome to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegacie, or grand Commission; did not fland highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, & taught them to know and vsetheir power, ouer himselse, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the furer fide, and found imitatours, that rose by the fame arte; which in processe of time, grew the only or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being deposed; M. Claudius Marcellus, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio, were chosen Consulls, for the rest of that yeere. The Gaules about this time desired peace, and were like to have obtained it: though the new Consulls To were against it, as fearing to want worke. But when thirrie thousand of the Gellates, following their King Britomarus, were come ouer the Alpes, and joyned with the Insubrians: all other discourse, than of present warre, was at an end. So the Consults hasted into their Pronince, where they belieged Acerra, a towne not farre from 200uaro (so farre had the Romans pierced already) in the Duchie of Milan. To divert

# CHAP. III. Of the second Punick Warre.

è I.

10 The warres of HANNIBAL in Spaine. Quarrels between the Romans and Carthaginians.
HANNIBAL befiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whileft the Romans are bufied
with the Illyrians. Warre proclaimed betweene Rome
and Carthage.



A N N I B A L, the fonne of Amilear, was about fixe and twentie yeeres old, when hee was chosen Generall of the Carthaginian forces in Spaine. Hee was elected by the Armic, as soone as Afaribal was dead: and the election was ratified by the state at Carthage; wherewith Hanno and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the Barchine samily (so called of Amilear, whose surname was Bareas) that had command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps have been eleste envied, by these domestical commens; if the Allies and Friends

of the Barchine house, had not also borne the whole sway in government, and beene the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall goodwill, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of Amilear, in saving his Countrie from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it 30 with treasures and great reuenewes; so was it retained by the same good artes, among his friends and followers. Hanne therefore, and his Partifans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was vnreproueable; nor to performe the like services vnto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautelous advice of not prouoking the Romans. This they scasoned otherwhiles with detraction; saying, that the Barebine faction went about to oppresse the libertie of the Citie. But their malicious words were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no leffe Barehine, than Hannibalhimselfe. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the Romans, to the ar-40 ticles of peace, affoorded no securitie to Carthage; were shee never so quiet, and officious; vnlesse she would yeeld to become their Subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than untill the Romans could find fome good aduantage, to renew the Warre: it was rather desired by the Carthaginians, that whilest their owne state was in good case, the warre should beginne; than that in some vnhappie time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Armie or Fleet, they should be driven to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; & to give away balely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, vpon termes of disaduantage.

This disposition of his Countrimen, Hannibal well understood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deuised of this businesse) it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Armie into Italie, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and affistance, euen of those people, that helped to increase the Roman armies in forreigne was so for the free feet of the start 
them from this siege, Britomarus sate downe before Clastidium, a Towne in the same Tract, with great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the Insubrians, to attend vpon the Confulls at Acerra, and to looke to the defence of Milan. But this would not (uffice to make the Romans breake up their fiege. Marcellus, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, & fixe hundred foot lightly armed; thought to deale well enough with those at Clastidium. Britomarus heard of the Consulls comming; and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the Romans had no leifure to rest themfelues after their journie, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein Britomarus had done well; if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauerie, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both other fe and foot: but he thought fo well to of his owne personall valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, prouoking any one to fight with him. Marcellus was no leffe daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that fufficed to commend him. He flue and difarmed Britomarus, in prefence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke fuch courage, and his enemies were fo difmaied, that without much trouble of fight, the Romans obtained a great victorie. This was the third and last time, that ever any Roman General flue the General

This was the third and last time, that ever any Roman Generall slue the Generall of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victorie, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereofonly Romulus, Cossus, and this Marcellus, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two Scipio's, and diverso ther Roman Captaines, especially Casar, 20 were better men of warre than any of these three; though they never offered up to Iv piten, Opima spairs; the Armour of a Generall slaine by themselves, when they were Generall, nor perhaps affected so to doe.

After this victorie, Acerra was yeelded to the Romans; and Milan soone after: with all thatbelonged to the Cisalpines, or Gaules, that dwelt in Lumbardie. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had for so many yeeres vexed the State of Rome, and in former times taken the Citic it selfe, brought to nothing in a short time, their pleasant and sertile Territorie possess by the Romans; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting, Italie, so many as would not subject their neckes to the Roman yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themseliues in 30 the cold and barren Mountaines, like Out-lawes and Theeues. And thus did the Romans spend the three and twentie yeeres, following the peace made with Carthage. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed by the Temple of Ianus: which they neuer did before, (it sanding alwaies open, when they had any warre) saue once, in the raigne of Yumas, nor in long time after, vntill the

raigne of Augusus. But this their present happinesse was not to last long:
a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had euer beene,
was to come vnto their gates; which being well ended,
they might boldly vndertake, to extend their
Monarchie as farre, as their ambition
could reach.

CHAP.

50

\* A people (faith Stepha-

Red, if the matter were openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad socuer they would be, to heare that he had set the war on foot, would neuerthelesse bee slow and timorous as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen; then were the Romans like to be made acquainted not onely with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be difcoursed of, in procuring allowance to his dessigne. This might suffice to disorder the whole Proiect. Wherfore, he resolved to lay siege vnto Saguntum; which might seeme not greatly to concerne the Romans; and would highly please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in mind the indignitic of that Spanish Townes alliance with their 10 false friends. So should hee assaie both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

Hauing thus concluded, he neverthelesse went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approached unto Saguntum by degrees. This he did (faith Livie) to give some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the warre again a Saguntum, but had been drawne thither by course of businesse. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needefull to finish the conquest of the rest, before hee did any thing that should prouoke the Romans. First therefore he entred vpon the Territorie of the \* Oleades; and having belieged Althau (Livie calleth it Carteia) their chiefe 20

Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Master, not only therof, but of all the other townes of their Countrie. This Nation which he first undertooke, being subdued, and the River of Evio.

But in the old winter at hand; he rested his Armie in New Carthage, or Carthagena; and imparted

description of liberally to the Souldiers, the spoiles he had gotten in his late conquest.

miss)neere the Spaine, in Ortelius, they are a A people of Caltile the old. of the Vaccei

In the Spring following, he pursued the warre against the "Faccai: and without found neere any great difficultie, wanne first Salmantica, now called Salamanca; and after it, b Ar-Tagus; andby bucala, by affault: though not without a long siege, and great difficultie. But in his SHIGHS, not tar from New Car- returne, he was put to the heighth, both of his courage, and of his Martiall judgement. For all such of the Vaccai, as were able to beare armes, being made desperate by the spoile of their Countrie, with those of Salamanca, and of the Oleades, that 20 b Arbucala, or had escaped in the late ouer-throw, joyning themselves with the Toletans; compounded an Armie of an hundred thousand able men: and stayed Hannibal on the bankes of the River Tagus, which runneth to the Sea by Lisbourne in Portugale. These foure nations, having had experience of Hannibals invincible courage, and that he neuer faw enemic, vpon whom he durst not give charge; were throughly. refolued, that his natural valour would at this time no lesse neglect the cold aduice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to vse it. But he that makes himselse a bodie of Crystall, that all men may looke through him, and discerne all the parts of his disposition; makes himselse (withall) an Asse: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or 40 drive him. Wife men, though they have fingle hearts in al that is iust and vertuous: yet they are like coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true. that this subtile Carthaginian, when he served vnder Ashubal, was, of al the men of marke in the Armie, the most aduenturous. But that which may beseeme a Captaine, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath fometime succeeded well with such great ones, as have beene found more fortunate, than wife. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to diffemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himselfe from the River side, as if fearefull to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multi- 50 tude, from their bankes of advantage. The Spaniards, apprehending this in fuch fort, as Hannibal defired that they should; thrust themselves in suric and disorder, into the swift streame, with a purpose to charge the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences on the contrarie fide. But when Hannibal

faw them in their way, and well-neare ouer; he turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing: and thrust his Horse-men, both above and beneath them, into the Riuer. These carrying a kind of Lance de gay, tharpe at both ends, which they held in the middest of the staffe; had such an advantage over the foot. that were in the Riuer, under their strokes, clattered together, and vnable to moue or shift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they slew all those, (in a manner) without reliftance, which were alreadic entred into the water; and purfued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a slaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any Spaniard, on that fide the River of Iberus, (the Saguntines excep-10 ted) that had the daring to lift vp their hands against the Carthaginians.

Снар.3. §.1.

The Saguntines, perceining the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They sent Embassadours to Rome, and bemoned themselves, as likely to fuffer that, which afterwards they fuffered indeede; only because of their alliance and friendship with this honorable Citie, which the Carthaginians hated. This tale moued the Senate: but much more a report, that Saguntum was alreadie besieged. Hereupon some cric out, that Warreshould be proclaymed by Land and Sca; as also that the two Consuls should be sent with Armies, the one into Spaine, the other into Africk. But others went more Roman-like to worke; and carried it. So it was onely concluded; that Embassadours should be sent into Spaine, to view the state 20 of their Confederates: which were indeede none other, than the Saguntines. For if Hannibal intended warre against Rome, it was likely, that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plaulible occasion to take armes against him: if he had no such purpose; yet would it bee in their power, to determine what they listed themselves. vpon the report of these Embassadours; and this their gravitie, in being not too rash at first, would serue to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadours Liniereports, that they found Hannibal before Saguntum; but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to Carthage, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But Polybius, an Historian of finceritie lesse questionable, tels, that they found him at Carthagena; and had conference with him, though such as 30 left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the rest of Hannibal his whole course. And furely we might wonder, why the Carthaginians should afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embassage (as Liuie confesseth) and fall to disputation about the couenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was fent voon none other pretence, than prevention of warre.

Whilest the Embassadours passed to and fro, Hannibal prepared not onely his forces, but some Roman pretences, against Saguntum. He found out Mamertines, or people that should do as the Mamertines in Sicil had done for the Romans; and implore his helpe against the Saguntines. These were the Turdetani; a Nation adjovning to Saguntum, and having many quarrells with them: (as happens commonly 40 among Neighbours) of which, Hannibal himselfe had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, what socuer it was, as made him able to say, that the Saguntines had first prouoked him, ere he meddled with them; he made no more ado, but fate downe with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more fecure, than he had formerly been, of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the Roman Embassadours, with any trembling reverence, as of late yeresthey had beene wont. Neuerthelesse, hee was glad of any handsome colour, to shadow his actions, not only because the warre, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in Italie. The Romans had the like, though contrarie desire. They were glad 50 of the quarrell: as hoping, that Carthage, with all thereto belonging, should therby in short space become their own. Yet were they not hastie to threaten, before they were readie to strike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readinesse to be sent into Spaine, where they thought to make Saguntum, the seat of the

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In the meane while, Demetrius Pharins, whom the Romans had made King over a great part of Illyria, rebelled against them: eitheir for that he found himselfe ouerfireightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions; or rather because he was of an unthankefull disposition. The commotion of the Gaules, and afterward, the fame of the Carthaginian warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perills, even with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had received of their gift. But hee was a Traitor to his owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Iles of Greece: against the couenants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further and sei- to fed upon some places, that the Romans kept in their owne hands. If he had begun fooner, or rather if he had flaied fomewhat longer, he might have sped better. For the busines with the Gaules, was ended; with Hannibal, not throughly begun: when he declared himselfe, by his doings, an enemie, and was vanquished. The Roman Conful, Emilius, was fent against him: who in seven daies wan the strong Towne of Dimalum, and thereby brought fuch terror vpon the Countrie round about, that Embassadors were sent from al places, to yeeld themselves, without putting him to further paines. Only the Citie of Pharus, in which Demetrius lay, prepared to refift: which it might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not been too foolish. Æmilius landed a great part of his Armie, in the Isle of Pharus, by night; and be- 20 flowed them in couert; prefenting himselfe the next morning, with twenty thips before the Towne, and offering to force the Hauen. Demetrius with all his power iffued out against the Consul; and was soone intercluded from the Town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had shipping readie for him, and embarqued himselfes leaving all his estate vnto them, of whose liberalitie he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet preuented it not the siege of Saguntum; before which Hannibal sate downe, cre Emilius was landed in Illyria. In the beginning of the siege, the Carthaginians were much discoraged, by reason of the braue fallies made by the Saguntines; in one of which, their Generall received a dan. 30 gerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many daies ynable to moue. Neuerthelesse he was not vimindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gaue order to raife certaine mousable Towers, that might equal those which were built on the walls of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great & large breach was made, by the fall of diners Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot affault was given: but it was fo well fustained by the Saguntines, as the Carthaginians were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Town, which vpon the first furie they had won; but they were purfued even to their own trenches and camp. Neuerthelesse the Carthaginian Armie, wherein were about an 40 hundred and fiftie thousand men, did so wear ie the townesmen with continual trauaile, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full possession of the Citie, by some counter-works of the Saguntines, that were also readie to be won. In this extremitic, there was one Alcon a Saguntine, that conveyed himselfe out of the Towne, to treat with Hannibalfor some accord. But the conditions which the Carthaginian offered, were so seuere, & without al compasse of honour, as Alcon durst not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For Hannibal demanded all that they had; gold, filuer, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the Citie it selfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that he would affigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carrie out with 50 them any other thing, wherewith to sustaine themselves, than the clothes on their backs; or other armes to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better haue submitted themselues vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might have enjoyed their lives, & faued the honor of their wives and daughters)

daughters) than to haue rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did : by whom their wives and daughters were defloured before their faces; and all put to fword, that were about foureteene yeares of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and fell their bloud at the dearest rate, they shut themselves vp like most wretched creating tures in their owne houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had to dying vnreuenged. The treasures found in Saguntum, which were very great Habit nibal kept, therewith to pay his Armie: the flaues, and other bootie, hee divided a mong his Souldiers; referuing some things of choice, wherewith to present his

10 friends at Carthage, and to animate them vnto the Warre. These tidings exceedingly vexed the Romans; who had good cause to be angry at their owne flownesse, in forbearing to send helpe vnto the Saguntines, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe reuenge. To this end they fent Embassadours againe to Carthage : demanding onely, Whether it were by generall confent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that HANNIBAL had made warre upon Saguntum; which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hercunto answere was made, in the Senate of Carthage, to this effect: That this their second Embassage, howsoeuer qualified with mild words, was indeede more insolent then 20 the former. For in that, they only required inflice against Hannibal; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of Carthage, was vrged to pleade guiltie, or not guiltie! But (said the Carthaginian speaker) whether the Generall of our Armie in Spaine, in besieging Saguntum, have only followed his owne counfaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs. it is not the question which the Romans ought to ask vs. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is; Whether it were lawfull, or unlawfull, for HANNIBAL to doe as he hath done. For it belongs to vs, to call our owne Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errours; to you, to challenge vs, if wee have done any thing contrary to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with Luctatius the 30 Gonful, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended : but the Saguntines were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, betweene you and Aldrubal, wherein you will say, that the Saguntines were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught vs, how to answere that particular. For what source you found in the Treatic betweene vs and Luctatius, to your owne disaduantage, you cast it voon your Consuls presumption; as promifing those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of Rome. If then it bee lawfull for the Romans, to disauow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise warrant; the 40 same libertie may we also assume, and hold our selues no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which afdrubal hath made for vs, without our commandement and confent.

This was an impertinent answere, and little better then a mecre cauill. For Lu-Etatius the Consull, in his Treatic of peace with the Carthaginians, had expresly referred the allowance thereof to the people of Rome. It had beene therefore much better, to have dealt plainely; and to have alleaged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the Romans, in robbing the Carthaginians of the Isle of Sardinia, and withall of twelve hundred talents: which perjurie the state of Carthage, being now growne able, would reuenge with open 50 warre. As for the Saguntinessit little skilled that the Romans had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inferted their names into the Treatie of peace with Afdrubal: seeing that the Treatie with Afdrubal, and all other businesse betweene Rome and Carthage, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away Sardinia, were no better then Roman injuries; as implying this commination, Doe

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what locuer we require, else will we make warre, without regard of our oath which wee bane alreadie broken.

But this the Carthaginians did not alleage, forgetting, in heat of contention (as Polybius takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since Livie himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of Sardinia from the Carthaginians, did inflame the spirit of Amilear with defire of revenge: we may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie was omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulnesse, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the warre, now towards, had long beene thought vpon, and like to be made with extraordinarie force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the Carthaginian 10 Senate moued the Roman Embailadours, to deliuer vnto them in plaine termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the Saguntines, and the confining of their Armies within Iberus; those were but their pretences. Whereupon Q. Fabius gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had been laide in the hollow therof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and Warre: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Euen which of them you your Selfe have a fancy to offer vs. Marry then (quoth Fabius) take the Warre, and Share it among you. Which all the Assembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolued to make warre, it was meerely triuolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, have ever been maintayned by the partie vnwilling, or vnable to sustaine the warre. The rustic sword, and the emptie purse, doe alwaies plead performance of covenants. There have beene few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwife understood the obligation of a Treatic, than with the condition of their owne aduantage: and commonly (seeing peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best aduised have rather begunne with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the Arragonois with the French in Naples; Henrie the second, of France, with the Imperialls, when he wrote to Brifac, to surprise as ma- 30 ny places as he could, ere the warre brake out; Don John, with the Netherlands; and Philip, the second, of Spaine, with the English, when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But Hannibal, besides the present strength of Carthage, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditarie desire. that violently carried him against the Romans. His father Amilear, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his iourney into Spaine, had solemnely bound him by oath, to pursue them withimmortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischiese, as soone as he should be a man, and able. Hannibal was then about nine yeeres old, when his father caufed him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make 40 this vow: so that it was no maruaile, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this fort, as it were by Legacie, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine ownepart, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselues enemies to the people of England.

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H.

# è. II.

HANNIBALtakes order for the defence of Spaine and Africke. His iournie into Italie.



CHAP. 2. S.2.

Arrebeing thus proclaimed, Hannibal resolued, not to put vo his fword, which hee had drawne against the Suguntines, vntill hee had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of Rome. So began the fecond Punick Warre; fecond to none, that ever the Senate and people of Rome sustained. Hannibal wintred at Carthagena; where hee li-

censed his Spanish Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother Aldrabal, for the 20uernement of Spaine in his absence. Hee also tooke order, to send a great many troups of Spaniards into Africk, to equall the numbers of Africans formerly drawne thenceinto Spaine; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the Spaniards, hee transported into Africk thirteene thousand, eight hundred, and fiftic foot, and twelue hundred horse; also eight hundred flingers of the \*Baleares. Besides these, he selected foure thousand soot, al yong men, \* 200 and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of Spaine; which he appointed to be garrifond 20 in Carthageit selfe, not so muchin regard of their forces, as that they might serve for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the Spanish Citizens, and

those that swayed most in their seuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. Hee also left with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fiftie and seuen Gallies: whereof thirtie seuen were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of Africans, and other Nations strangers, he left with him aboue twelue thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twentic Elephants.

Hauing in this fort taken order for the defence of Spaine and Africk; he fent Difcouerers before him, to view the passages of the Pyrengan Mountaines, and of the Alpes. He ai fo fent Embaffadors to the Mountainers of the Pyrenes, & to the Gaules, 30 to obtaine a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armie entire into Italie, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the Romans. His Embassadors, & discouerers, being returned with good fatisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past over the River of iberus, with an Armie confifting of fourescore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of Spaine, into which he had not entred before, hee now subdued : and appointed Hanno (not that old enemie of his house, who late still at Carthage) to gouerne Spaine on the East side of Iberus; to whom he left an Armie often thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of Spaine, fome of his Spanish Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that o-40 there might not also doc, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the journie seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his armie, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, and nine thoufand horse, he past the Pyrenees, and entred into Gaules. He found the Gaules that bordered vpon Spaine, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrie: but wonne them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molestation, hee came to the banke of Rhodanus; where dwelt, on each side of the Riuer, a people called Volca. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to 50 keepe him from paffing ouer the water. But he was greatly affifted by some of those Gaules, that inhabited on the West side of Rhodanus, to wit, by those of Viuaretz and Lionnois. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods. into the Countrie of Daulphine, thinking to defend the further banke against him: yet fuch as remained, being delirous to free their Countrie of so many ill guests,

were better pleased to have their Countriemen beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their owne flore of corne and cattaile wasted, by the long flay of fo great an Armie, as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, higher vp the River; and lent him guides. When the vessells for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse: he fent Hanno, the some of Bomilear, vp the River : himselfe in the meane while midking countenance to enter the Foorde below. The end of this labour was: that Hanno charging the Gaules vnawares upon their owne fide, and Hannibal, at the fame time, paffing the River in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with fome difficultie; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was hee greatly troubled in conueying ouer his Elephants; who maruailously seared the water. He was therefore driven to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and turfe; whereof hee fastened one to each banke, that might serve as a bridge, to and from another of the

fame fort, but loofe, vpon which the beaits were towed ouer.

Having past this first brunt, and over come both the rage of the River, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the Gaules Cisalpines, that inhabited Piement and Milan, who lately had revolted from the Romans. These informed him of the passages of the Alpes, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; & from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding; hee found himselfe extremely incumbred by 20 the Savoians: and loft, both of his carriages, and of his Carthaginians, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainely affailed by them, before he could recouer the plaine Countries on the other fide. And whereas this journie ouer the Mountaines cost him sifteene dayes trauaile, he was every day, more or leffe, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall, extremely beaten with grieuous weather and snow: it being in the beginning of Winter, when he beganne, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now ready to receive them; with the affiftance and conduct of the Cifalpine Gaules, who by their proper forces had so often inuaded the Roman Territorie; gaue them great comfort, and encouragement to goe on : having no- 30 thing else of difficultie remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely the Roman Armies, and relistance.

#### **3.** III.

How the Romans in vaine sollicited the Spaniards and Gaules to take their part. The rebellion of the Cifalpine Gaules against the

He countries of Spaine and Gaule, through which the Carthaginians marched thus farre, had beene follicited before, by the fame Roman Embaffadours, who had denounced the warre at Carthage. Thefa, as they were infruded by the Senate. Tooke Section in their many hours. they were instructed by the Senate, tooke Spaine in their way home-ward from Carthage, with a purpose to draw into the Roman Alliance,

as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at leaft, to diffwade them from contracting any friendship with the Carthaginians. The first which they attempted, were the Volcians, a people in Spaine; from whom, in open affembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this vncomfortable answere. With what face (saith 50 he)can yee Romans perswade vs to valew your Alliance, or to preferre it before the friendship of the Carthaginians; seeing we are taught by the example of the Saguntines, to be more wife, than fo? For they, relying on your faith and promifed affiftance, have beene veterly rooted out, and destroied by the Carthaginians; whom

they might else haue held their affured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of Spaine haue found them. Yee may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answere for the rest of our Countriemen) the Romans henceforth are not to expect any kindnesseat our handes: who are resoluted, neuer to make accompt of their protection, nor amitie. From the Volcians, the Embassadours tooke their way towards the Gaules; vsing their best arguments to perswade them, not to suffer the Carthaginians to passe into Italie, through their Territoric: and withall greatly glorifying themselues, their ftrength, and large Dominion. But the Gaules laught them to scorne, and had hard-10 ly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by refifting Hannibals passage into Italie, entertaine a war which is not meant to be made against vo? Shall we hold the warre among our selues, and in our owne Territorie, by force, which marcheth with a speedy pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies? Haue the Romans deserved so well of vs, and the Carthaginians so ill, that wee fhould fet fire on our owne houses, to saue theirs from burning? No, wee know it well, that the Romans have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselues, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the Carthaginians, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

With this unpleasing answere the Embassadours returned home: carrying no good newes, offriends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of Massilia, which were Consederates with Rome, that the Gaules were determined to take part with their enemie. Of this inclination, the Cifalpine Gaules gave hastie proofe. For when the newes was brought into Italie, that the Carthaginians had passed lberus, and were on the way towards Rome; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the Boij, and Insubrians, against the Romans. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new Roman Colonics, at Cremona, and Placentia, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the Carthaginian succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had given 30 to the Romans, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemes that they could not winne; for Hannibal shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the Roman Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Country) to flie to Modena: where they belieged them. The liege of Modena had continued some small time; when the Gaules, having little skill in affaulting Cities, waxed wearie, and feemed defirous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the Romans. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand vpon the Roman Deputies, thereby to redeeme their Holtages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the Romans sent out Embassadours to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. Manlius the 40 Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the reliefe of the besieged. But the Gaules, having laid a strong ambush

in a wood ioyning to the way, fell vpon the Prætor so opportunely, as he was vtterly ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recouered, by fast running, a little village, but defencible, vpon the Riuer of Po. When this was heard at Rome, C. Atilius, another of the Prætors, was haltily fent, to relieue the belieged, with one Legion, and fine thousand of the Roman affociates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Armie, and supplied by a new leuie.

As the Gaules were too rash and hastie: so were the Romans too slow, and indeede too ill-aduised, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perswaded, that To Carthage, which had almost feruilely endured so many indignities, in time of the late peace; would be so braue and couragious on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of Italie it selfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in Spaine, the other in Africk: refting fecure of all danger at home. Titus Sempronius tooke his way toward Africk, with an hundred & threescore Quinqueremes, or Gallies, of fiue to an Oare; which preparation may seeme to threaten euen the Citie of Carthage, to which it shall not come neere. P. Cornelius Scipio, the other Consult. made all possible haste, by the way of Genoa, into Provence; and vsed such diligence. having the winde also favourable, as in five dayes he recovered Massilia. There hee was advertised, of Hannibal his having passed the River of Rhodanus; whom hee thought to have found busic yet awhile in Spaine. Hannibal had also newes of the Confuls arrivall: whereof he was neither glad, nor forry; as, not meaning to have to doe with him. Each of them fent forth Scouts, to discouer the others number and doings: Hannibal, about five hundred Numidians; Scipio, three hundred of his better appointed Roman horse. These met and fought, and the Numidians were 10 beaten: yet could not the Romans greatly bragge, having flaine only two hundred, and lost of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when Scipio drew necre, to have met with the Carthaginians; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as hee then found affuredly true) with an intent to looke vpon the walls of Rome. This interrupted his intended voiage into Spaine. Neuerthelesse hee sentaway thither his brother Cn. Cornelius Scipio, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Armie, to trie what might bee done against Aldrubal and the other Carthaginian Lieutenants in that Countrie, Hehimselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to Pifa; and so passing through Tuscane into Lumbardie, drew together the broken troupes of Manlius and Atilius, that lately had beene beaten by 20 the Gaules: with which forces he made head against the enemie, thinking to finde him ouer-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull journie.

## ð. IIII.

Scipio the Roman Confulouer come by HANNIBALAt Ticinum. Both of the Roman Confuls beaten by HANNIBAL, in a great battaile at Trebia.

I lue moneths Hamibal had spent in his tedious journie from Carthagera; what great muster he could make, when hee had passed the Alpes,
it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand,
and his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to have beene
only twenty thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse. Hamibal himfelfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of Iuno Lacinia, agreeth with the latter fumme. Yet the Gaules, Ligurians, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the bankes of Rhodinus, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all save those remembred by himselfe in 40 the Inscription of his Altar in Iuno's Temple, are like to have perished, by diseases, enemies, Rivers, and Mountaines; which mischieses had devoured, each, their seucrall (bares.

Having newly passed the Alpes, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armie in the Countrie of Piemont; he fought to winne the friendship of the Taurins, who lay agoodly City, next in his way. But the Taurini held warre at that time with the Insubrians, which were his good friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amitic. Wherefore he affaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three dayes. Their spoile ferued well to hearten his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour name of Augu- places. So the Gaules, without more adoc, fell vnto his side: many for feare, many 50 fla Taurinorum. for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countrie: which joyned, or was all in a readinesse to joyne, with the Carthaginians; when the newes of Scipio the Consul his arrivall, made some to be more aduised, than the rest. The name of the Romans was terrible in those quarters; what

a These dwelt

was in the Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Kon man Confull was already gotten through the most defencible passages, ere any speech had been heard of his approch: many fate still, for very feare, who else would faine have concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for great ter feare, offered their feruice against the Carthaginians, whom neverthelesse they wilhed well to focede.

CHAP.3. S.4.

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals halten to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was at Ticinum, now called Pania; where each of them wondred at the others great expedition: Hanni-10 balthinking it strange, that the Conful, whom he had left behind him on the other fide of the Alpes, could meet him in the face, before hee had well warmed himselfe in the Plaines; Scipto admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountaines, and the great foirit of his Enemie. Neither were the Senate at Rome little amazed. at Hannibals successe, and sudden arrivall. Whereforethey dispatched a Messenger in all hafte ynto Sempronius, the other Conful, that was then in Sicilia, giving him to vnderstand hereof : and letting him further know, that whereas he had beene directed to make the warre in Africa, it was now their pleasure that hee should for beare to profecute any such attempt, but that hee should returne the Armie vnder his charge, with all possible speede, to saue Italie it selfe. According to this order, Sem-20 pronies fent off his Fleet from Lilybaum; with direction to land the Armie at Ariminum, a Port Towns not farre from Rauenna; quite another way from Carthage. whither he was making hafte. In the meane while, Scipio and Hannibal were come fo neere, that fight they must, ere they could part afunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had:vnto which Hannibal added the R hetorick of a present example, that he shewed vpon certaine prisoners of the Savoyans, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into Italie. For these, having beene no lesse miserably settered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their defire, than to be delinered from their miseries by any kind of present 20 death, were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were flaine, with condition being the Victor, to receive his libertie, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did Hannibal cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftaines of the Gaules were wont to yfe in fingle combats. Every one of these vnhappie men wished, that his owne lot might speede; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whole good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutedly: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having 40 none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poore creatures were willing, vpon whatsoeuer vneuen termes, to ridde themselues out of slauerie. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld these, wrought also vpon the Carthaginians, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his liberty, together with an horseand armour; but cuen him also, who being slaine in fight, bad escaped that miferable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiuing what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them; beganne to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaves had done; all to line victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed farremore grieuous) to line in a perpetual flauerie: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himselfe any hope of life by flight; since the Mountaines, the Ri4-32

uers, the great distance from their owne Countries, and the pursuit of mercilesse Enemics, must needes retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore praied them to remember, that they, who had even now praifed the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case; seeing there was neuer any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their enemics. On the contrarie, he told them, that the Romans, who were to fight vpon their owne soile, and in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many waies to faue themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necesfitie. (to which nothing feemes impossible) did no way presse them, or constraine them. In this fort did Hannibal, with one substantial argument, That there was no 10 meane betweene Victorie and Death, encourage his Companions. For (faith a great Captaine of France )la comodite de la retracte aduance la fuite; The commoditie of a retrait. doth greatly advance a flat running away.

Scipio. on the other fide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge ouer the River of Ticinus, did not negled to vie the best arguments and reasons hee could to encourage the Armie he led:putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and ouer how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armic commanded by Hannibal, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of Carthaginians, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by 20 Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of Brigants and Theeues. than an Armie like to encounter the Romans; but so weather-beaten, and starued. as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustaine the first charge that should be given vpon them. Nay (said he) yee your selves may make judgement what daring they have now remaining, after fo many trausiles and miferies: fecing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the Roane, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven backe to the very Trenches of their Campe, but Hannibal himselfe, fearing our approch, ranne head-long towards the Alpes: thinking it a leffe dishonour, to die there by frost famine, and precipita- 39 tion, than by the sharpe swords of the Romans, which had so often cut downe his people, both in Africa, and in Sicil.

It was not long after this, ere the two Generalls met : each being farre advanced before the groffe of his Armie, with his Horse; and the Roman having also with him fome light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discovered the approch one of the other; Scipio sent before him his horsemen of the Gaules, to beginne the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground betweene their troupes, to affilt them: himfelfe with his Roman men at armes, following softly in good order. The Gaules (whether desirous to trie the metall of the

Carthaginians, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the Romans) behaued themselues 40 couragiously, and were as couragiously opposed. Yet their foot that should have aided them, shranke at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This not with standing, the Gaules maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as prefuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Confull vnmindfull to relieue them : their hardinesse deserving his aide; and the hastie flight of those that should haue flood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore hee aduentured himselfe so farre, that he received a dangerous wound; and had been eleft in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed Africanus) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this refere, to a Ligurian flave. Whilest the Re- 50

mans were busied in helping their Consull; an vnexpected storme came driving at their backs, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. Hannibal had appointed his Numidian light-horse, to give vpon the Romans in flanke, and to com-

passe them about, whilest he with his men at armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The Numidians performed this very well: cutting in peeces the fcattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter, and then falling on the backs of those, whose lookes were fastened upon Hannibal and Scipio. By this impression, the Romans were shuffled together, and rowted : so that they all betooke them to their speede, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When Scipio faw his horse thus beaten, and the rest of his Armie thereby greatly discouraged; hee thought it a point of wisdome, having lost so many of his Fleet vpon the first puffe of winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extremest of the 10 tempest over-tooke him. For he saw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, hee in a manner stole the retrait; and recovered the bridge over Ticinus, which hee had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left fixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the last that should have passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of warre, Si certamen quando á, dubium videatur : tacitam miles arripiat fugam : fuga enim aliquando laudanda: which must be understood in this sort; If a Generall of an Armie, by some unprosperous beginnings doubt the successe; or find his Armie fearefull or wavering; it is more profitable to steale a safe retrait, than to abide the uncertaine enent of battaile.

It was two daies after, ere Hannibal could passe the River; Scipio the whilest refreshing his men, and easing himselfe of his wound in Placentia. But as soone as Hannibal presented his Armie before the Towns, offering battaile to the Romans, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their campe; the Gaules, that hitherto had followed Scipio for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forfake him. They thought that now the long-defired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than Aneroeftus, Britomarus, and the Geffates, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to helpe themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the Roman campe; wounded and flue many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled ouer to the Car-

20 thaginians, and prefented their feruice. Hannibal received them exceeding courteoully, and dismiss them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more vie to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other service at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Conful stale a retrait, as hee had done before; but not with the like case and securitie. Hannibal had a good eye vpon him; and ere he could get farre, sent the Numidians after him: following himfelfe with all his Armie. That night the Romans had received a great blow, if the Numidians, greedie of spoile, had not staid to ransack their campe; and thereby giuen time to all, saue some few in Reare, that were slaine or taken, to passe the River 40 of Trebia, and faue themselves. Scipio, being both vnable to travaile by reason of his wound, and withall finding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Conful; incampes himselfe strongly upon the bankes of Trebia. Necessitie required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For every day, more & more of the Gaules fel to the Carthaginian fide; among who came in the Boil, that brought with them the Roman Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as Pledges, to redeeme their owne Hostages; but now they deliner them vp to Hannibal, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose helpe they conceived better hope of recovering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, Hannibal, being in great scarcity of victuals, 50 attempted the taking of Clastidium, a Towne wherein the Romans had laid up all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a Brundusian, whom the Ros

mans had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little monie.

The newes of these disasters, brought to Rome, filled the Senate and People, ra-

ther with a defire of hastic reuenge, than any great forrow for their loss received; seeing that, in a manner, all their toot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore hasted away Sempronius, that was newly arrived, towards Ariminum, where the Armie, by him sent out of Siell, await and is comming. He therefore hasted hither; and from thence hee marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the bankes of Trebia. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Consuls denised about that which remained to bee done: Sempronius receiving from Scipio the relation of what had passed since Hannibal: arrivall; the fortune of the late sight; and by what errour or misaduenture the Romans were therein soiled: which Scipio chiefly laid on the revolt and treason to

Снар. 2. §. 4.

Sempronius, having received from Scipio the state of the affaires in those parts: fought by all meanes to trie his fortune with Hannibal, before Scipio were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the vi-Storie, which he had alreadie, in his imagination, certainely obtayned. He also feared the election of the new Confuls: his owne time being well-neere expired. But Scipie perswaded the contrarie; objecting the vnskilfulnesse of the new-come Souldiers: and withal gaue him good reason, to assure him that the Gaules, naturally vnconstant, were vpon termes of abandoning the partie of the Carthaginians, those of them inhabiting betweene the Riuers of Trebia, and Po, being alreadie revolted. 20 Sempronius knew all this as well as Scipio: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonour, which he might otherwise cafily have avoided. This resolution of Sempronius was exceeding pleasing to Hannibal: who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, confishing in strangers, to wit, in Spaniards and Gaules; he no leffe feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatiencie of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To turther the defire of Sempronius, it fell out so, that about the same time, the Gaules inhabiting neere vnto Trebia, complayned of injuries done by the Carthaginians. They did not supply Hannibal with necessaries, as hee supposed that 30 they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their fakes, and to fet them at libertie, he had vndertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to bee his owne Caruer; and tooke from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hercupon they flie to the Romans for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they resuled to joyne with Hanmioal. Scipio cared not much for this : he suspected their fallhood, and was affured of their mutability. But Sempronius affirmed, that it flood with the honor of Rome, to preserve the Consederates from suffering injurie: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the Gaules. Therfore he sent out a thousand horse: which com- 40 ming vnlooked for vpon Hannibal his forragers, and finding them beauy loaden cut many of them in pieces, and chaced the rest even into their owne campe. This indignitie made the Carthaginians fallie out against them: who caused them to retire faster then they came. Sempronius was readie to back his owne men; and repelled the enemies. Hannibal did the like. So that at length, all the Roman Armic was drawne forth; and a battaile readie to bee fought, if the Carthaginian had not refused it.

This victorie (for fo the Conful would have it called) made the Romans in generall desirous to try the maine chance in open field: all the perswasions of Scipio to the contrarie notwithstanding. Of this disposition Hannibal was advertised by 50 the Gaules, his spies, that were in the Roman Campe. Therefore he bethought him selfe how to helpe sorward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces: Hee found in the hollow of a water-course, over-growne with high reede, a fit

trench to couer an ambush. Thereinto he cash his brother Mago, with a thousand choice horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armic, after they had well warmed and well fed themselves in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Conful. Earely in the morning, he had fent ouer Trebia some companies of Numidian light-horse : to braue the enemic, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. Semprentus was ready to take any opportunitie to fight: and therefore not onely iffued out of his campe, but foorded the River of Trebia, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of foode, did so enteeble and coole their courages, as they 10 wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the Latines : having of the one, fixteene, of the other, twentie thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse: thrusting their light-armed, and Darters, in loose troups in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The Carthaginian numbers of foot, were in a manner equall to their enemies; in horse, they had by farre the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the Roman horse, ranged on the flankes of their foot, were broken by the Numidians; when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the Spaniards, Gaules, and Elephants, when finally the whole Armic was vnawares prest in the Rearc, by Mago and his two 20 thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush: then fell the Ramans, by heapes, under the enemies swords; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the Riuer, by the horse-men that pursued them, there escaped no more of fixe and thirtie thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and

Three great errours Sempronius committed, of which every one deserved to bee recompenced with the losse that followed. The sirst was, that hee fought with Hannibal in a Champaine, being by farre inseriour in horse, and withall thereby subject to the African Elephants, which in inclosed or vn-even grounds, and woodlands, would have beene of no vse. His second errour was, that he made no discoverie of the place vpon which he fought; whereby he was grossely over-reacht, and instruct, by the ambush which Hannibal had laid for him. The third was, that hee drencht his soot-men with emptie stomachs, in the River of Trebia, even in a most cold and stossie whereby in effect they lost the vse of their limbs. For as one saith well; There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to present an Armie tyred with travaile, to an enemie fresh and sed, since where the strength of bodie faileth, the generalitie of minde is but as an unprositable vapour.

The broken remainder of the Roman Armic, was collected by Scipio, who got therewith into Placentia; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the Carthaginiam; who either perceived him not, because of the shewres; or 40 would not perceive him, because they were over-wearied. Sempronius escaped with extreme danger, shying through the Countricthat was over-runne by the enemies horse. Hee was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by sewer, than could have made resistance, if the enemie had met with him. Neverthelesse horse to away, and came to Rome, where hee did his office in choosing new Confuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh

Supply against Hannibal.

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The departure of HANNIBAL from the Cifalpine Gaules into Hetruria. FLAMINIVS the Roman Conful flaine; and his Armie destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thrasymen.

He Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and vnfit for service:

to the great contentment of the Romans, who being not able to keepe 10 to the great contentment of the Romans, who being not able to keepe the field, lay warme in Placentia, and Cremona. Yet Hannibal did not the field to the field of the field o fuffer them to rest very quiet: but vexed them with continuall alarmes; assayling divers places; taking some; beating the Gaules their adherents; and winning the Lygurians to his partie, who presented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two Roman Quæstors or Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Centlemen the Sonnes of Senatours, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the Romans, he held in streight places, loden with yrons, and miserably sed: those of their followers he not onely well entreated, but sent them to their Countries without ransome; with this protestation. That he therefore undertooke the Warre in Italie to free them from the 20 oppression of the Romans. By these meanes he hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and affistance. But the Gaules were not capable of such perswasions. They stood in seare, lest he should make their Countrie the seate of the Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieued than reason willed them, at his feeding voon them, and wasting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gaue him the aduice, were readic soone after to practise against him: but were in like fort detected. He was therefore glad to vie Perwigs of haire, and falle beards of divers colors, to the end that he might not be described, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Faine hee would have passed 30 the Apennines, upon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarrie among the Gaules, till he had seene more Swallowes than one. At length, when the yeare was somewhat better opened, he resolued to take his leave of these giddie Companions, and bring the warre necrer to the gates of Rome. So away hee went, having his Armie greatly increased with Ligurians and Gaules; more seruiceable friends abroad, than in their owne Countrie. That the passage of the Apennine Mountaines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet fince the Roman Armies found no memorable impediment. in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell vpon Hannibal, when hee was trauailing through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the 40 extremitie of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that journie. Neverthelesse to avoide the length of way, together with the refistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have beene erected upon the ordinarie passages towards Rome: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauaile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of Tuscane. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, saue one, together with the vsc of one of his eyes; by the moystnesse of the airc, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In briefe, after hee had with much adoe recoursed the firms and fertile Plaines he lodged about Arretium: where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the 50 Roman Confuls.

C.Flaminius, and Cn. Seruiltus had of late beene chosen Consuls for this yeere: Seruilius, a tractable man, and wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate; Flaminius,

an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as hee thought) of his Confulship, by a deuice of the Senators, was afraid to be served to againe, vnleffe he quickly finished the warre. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at Rome, when he entred into his Office, lest his aduersaries, by fayning fome religious impediment, should detaine him within the Citic, or find other bufinesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that hee hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Towne; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came at Ariminum. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, renoked him by Embassadors: but 10 he neglected their injunction, and hasting to meet with the Carthaginians, tooke his

way to Arretium, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consul, promised vnto Hannibal great assurance of victorie. Therefore he prouoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the Roman: hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere Serulius came with the rest of the Armic. All the Countrie betweene Fefula and Arretium he put to fire and fword, even vnder the Confuls nofe; which was enough to make him ftirre, that would not have fitten still, though Hannibal had beene quiet. It is true, that a great Captaine of France hath faid; Pays gafte vefte pas perdu; A wasted Countries not thereby lolt. But by this waste of the Countrie, Flaminius thought his owne honour 20 to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemie. Many advifed him (which had indeede beene best) to have patience awhile, and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to heare: faying, that he came not to defend Arretium, whilest the Cartbaginians went, burning downe al Italie before them, to the gates of Rome. Therefore he tooke horse; and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Enlignes stucke so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Enfigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or falfe, Tullie makes a jeast : saying, that the cowardly knaue did faintly pull at it (asgoing now to fight) having hardily pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answere of Flaminius (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that 30 it should be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weak to lift it; asking withall; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this jealousie both hee, and the Senate that gaue him cause, are likely to re-

All the Territorie of Cortona, as farre as to the Lake of Thrasymene, was on a light fire, which whilest the Consul thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he purfued Hannibal so vnaduisedly, that he fell, with his whole Armie, into an ambush cunningly laid for him, betweene the Mountaines of Cortona, and the Lake. There was he charged vnawares, on all fides, (faue only where that great Lake of Perufia permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flie from them) knowing 40 not which way to turne, or make relistance. So was hee flaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thousand dead carkasses of his Countrimen. About sixe thoufand of his men, that had the Vantgard, tooke courage as for the most part happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, reconcred the tops of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and given charge vpon the Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which kindled by necessitie, had wrought the effects of hardinesse; was well asswaged, when they ceased to despaire, of saving their lines by slight. They stood still, in a could sweat, upon the Hill-top; hearing under them a terrible noise, but not dis-50 couering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all the morning. When it grew toward noone, the aire was cleared, and they might plainly discerne

the lamentable slaughter of their fellowes. But they staid not to lament it : for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were descried, and attached by

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the enemies horse. This they should have thought vpon sooner; since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For descryed they were, and Maharbal lent after them; who over-tooke them by night in a Village, which hee furrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendring their armes, vpon his promise of their lines and liberties. This accord Hannibal refused to confirme; saying, that it was made by Maharbal, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein hee taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith; and fitted them with a tricke of their owne. For if it were lawfull unto the Romans, to alter couenants, or adde unto them what they lifted; if the Carthaginians must be fain to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, 10 belides their first bargaine; as also to renounce their interest in Sardinia, and bee limited in their Spanis Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the Romans. whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can Hannibal bee as Roman, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousnesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it looseth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand Italian Prisoners, or thereabout, hee had in his hands : of which all that were not Romans, hee fet free without ranfome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their fakes, and to free them and others from the Roman tyrannie, that he had vndertaken this warre. But the Romans hee kept in straight prifon, and infetters; making them learne to eate hard meate. This was a good way to 20 breede in the people of Italie, if not a loue of Carthage, yet a contempt of Rome: as if this warre had not concerned the generall safetie, but only the preserving of her owne neck from the voke of flauerie, which her ouer-strong enemies would thrust vpon her in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by fuccesse of many ages, is not lost in one or two battailes. Wherefore more is to bee done, ere the Carthaginian can get any Italian Partifans.

Presently after the battaile of Thrasymene, C. Centronius, with source thousand Roman horse, drew necrevito the Campe of Hannibal. Hee was sent from Ariminum, by Seruslius the other Consul, to increase the strength of Flaminius: but comming too late, hee increased only the misaduenture. Maharbal was imployed by Hannibal, 30 to intercept this companie, who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yeelded to mercie, the next day. Seruslius himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the Gaules; against whom hee had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in Hetruria: that made him hasten backe to the defence of Rome.

In these passages, it is easie to discerne the fruits of popular lealousie, which perfwaded the Romans to the yeerely change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all 40 men are farre better taught by their owne errours, than by the examples of their fore-goers. Flaminius had heard, in what a trap Sempronius had bin taken vp but the yeere before, by this fubtile Carthaginian; yet fuffered he himselfe to be caught soone after in the same manner. Hee had also belike forgotten, how Sempronius, fearing to be preuented by a new Conful, and ambitious of the fole honour of beating Hannibalin battaile, without helpe of his companion Scipio, had been rewarded with Thame and loffe: elfe would be not, contrarie to all good advice, have beene so hafty to fight, before the arrival of Servilius. If Sempronius had been econtinued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the fecond time, and have fearched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: 50 both which this new Conful Flaminius neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Gouernment of France ten yeeres, Cafar brought that mightie Nation, together with the Heluetians and many of the Germans, under the Roman yoke; into which parts had there beene every yeere a new Lieutenant ent, the

would hardly, if euer, haue beene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selfe, within one yeeres compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helpes, whereby to prosecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes haue commonly left their Deputies in treland three yeeres; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them haue returned as wise, as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they beganne but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Gouernement, fitting the Countrie, they haue beene called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But to it hath euer beene the course of the World, rather to follow old errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouernours, to vp-hold their slothful ignorance; by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, haue perswaded the imitation.

## VI.

How Q.F. ABIVS the Roman Dictator, lought to consume the force of HANNIBAL;
by lingring warre. MINVIIVs, the Masser of the Horse, bonoured and advanced
by the People, for bold and successeful attempting, advantures rashly upon HANNIBAL; and is like to perish with his Armie,
but research of FABIVS.

Reatly were the Romans amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than cuer did warre, fince Rome it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow; that when Pyrrhus had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all Italie was strangely affected with his successe, and held him inadmiration, as one that 30 could worke wonders. But Pyrrhus his quarrell was not grounded vpon hate : hee only fought honour, and fought (as it were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himfelfe like a courteous enemie. This Carthaginian detested the whole Roman name; against which he burned with desire of reuenge. Ticinum, Trebia, and Thrasymene, witneffed his purpose, and his abilitie. Which to withstand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long beene out of vie, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Confuls, and scarcely subject vnto comptroll of the whole Cities Wherefore this Officer was seldome chosen, but vpon some extremitie, and for no longer time than fixe moneths. He was to be named by one of the Confuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were fo, that the Conful (if he flood vpon his 40 prerogatiue) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the one Consul being dead, and the other too farre off; the People tooke vpon them, as having supreme authoritie, to give the Dignitic by their election, to Q. Fabius Maximus, the best reputed man of warre in the Citie, Novum factum, novum consilium expetit; Contrarie winds, contrarie courses. Q. Fabius chose M. Minutius Rufus Master of the horse: which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this Minutius grew afterwards famous, by taking more vpon him.

The first act of Fabius, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion beene also good. But if it were true (as Liuie reports it) that the bookes of Sybil were consulted, and Liui. 150 gaue direction in this businesse of deuction; then must we believe, that those books of Sybil, preserved in Rome, were dictated by an entill spirit. For it was ordayned, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to Mars, should be made anew, and amplified; as having not been rightly made before also that great Plaies should be vowed ynto Iupiter, and a Temple to Yenu; with other such trumperie. This

Acue

vehemencie of superstition, proceeds al waies from vehemencie of seare. And surely this was a time, when Rome was exceedingly distempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sonnes returne aliue from Thrasymene, may serue to beare witnesse; though it bee more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and towers of the Citie were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon Riuers were broken downe; and all care taken, for desence of Rome it selfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly fet forth against Hannibal; word was brought, that the Carthaginian fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to Cn. Scipio in Spaine. Against these Carthaginians, Fabius commanded Seruilius the Consul to put to Sea; and taking vp 10 all the lhips about Rome, and Oslia, to pursue them: whilest he, with the Legions, attended upon Hannibal. Foure Legions he had leuied in haste: and from Ariminum he received the Armie, which Servilius the Conful had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after Hannibal; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the Numidian horse had over the Romans, he alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard accesse. Hannibal in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrie, and vfed all manner of crueltie towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the Roman Nation of whom he did put to the fword, all that were able to beare armes. Passing by Spoletum and Ancona, he incamped upon the Adriatick shores; refreshed his dif- 20 cased, and ouer-trauailed Companies; armed his Africans after the manner of the Romans; and made his dispatches for Carthage, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that hee had gotten. Having refreshed his Armie; fed his horses; cured his wounded Souldiers; and (as Polybius hathir) healed his horse heeles of the scratches, by washing their pasternes in old wine : he followed the coast of the Adriatick Sca towards Apulia, a Northerne Prouince of the Kingdome of Naples; spoiling the Marrucini, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ranne, he had not taken any one Citie: only he had affaied Spoletum, a Colonie of the Romans; and finding it well de-

fended, presently gaue it ouer.

The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. This the Protestant Armie foundtrue at Poictiers, a little before the battaile of Moncounter: and their victorious enemies, anon after, at St. Iean a' Angeley. But Hannibal was more wife. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as should detaine him, and give the Romans leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once hee was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented Fabius with battaile, as soone as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravado's. But Fabius would not bite. Hee well knew the differences, betweene Souldiers bred vp, euer 40 fince they were Boyes, in warre and in bloud, trayned and hardened in Spaine, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the Romans and such, as had no oftner seene the enemie, than bin vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the Carthaginian so neere, as hee kept him from ftraggling too farre; and preserved the countrie from vtter spoile. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and hee brought them first to looke on the Lyon a farre off, that in the end they might sit

Now Minutius had a contrarie disposition, and was as fierie as Flaminius; taxing Fabius with cowardife and feare. But all stirred not this well-aduised Commander. 50 For wise men are no more moued with such noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indifcretion, and danger, than to pursue misfortune: It wasteth it selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Armie that desires battaile: and this of Hannibal, was both the invading, and

CHAP.2. S.6. the victorious. Fabius therefore suffered Hannibal to crosse the Apennines, and to fall you the most rich and pleasant Territorie of Campania; neither could be by any arguments be perswaded to aduenture the Roman Armie in battaile: but being farre too weake in horfe, he alwaies kept the Hills and fast grounds. When Hamibal saw he could by no means draw this warie Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on: and that the towns flood firme for the Romans, whose Legions were in sight, though a-farre off; he resolved to rest his Armie, that was loaden with spoile, in some plentifull and affured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he must paffe along by the Dictators campe, that hung ouer his head upon the Hills of Callito cula, and Casilinum: for other way there was none, by which hee might iffue out of that goodly Garden-countrie, which hee had already wasted, into places more aboundant of prouision for his wintering. It was by meere error of his guide, that he first entred within these streights. For he would have bin directed vnto Cassinum. whence he might both affay the faire Citie of Capua, which had made him friendly promises vnder hand, and hinder the Romans from comming neere it to preuent him. But his guide mif-vnderstood the Carthaginian pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from Cassinum to Cassinum, whence Fabius hoped that he should not easily escape. Now beganne the wisdome of Fabius to grow into credit; as if he had taken the Carthaginians in a trap, & wonne the victorie, without blowes, 20 But Hannibal reformed this opinion, and freed himselfe, by a slight invention, vet feruing the turne as well as a better. In driving the country, hee had gotten about two thousand Kine; whose hornes he dressed with drie faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those, that knew it to be the worke of a terrible enemie. What it should meane, Fabius could not tell: but thought it a denice to circumuent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when some of these fierie Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemics were behind their backs, and fell among the light-armed Carthaginians, that were no leffe 30 afraid of them. So Hannibal, with his whole Armie, recoursed fure ground, without molestation: where he stayed till the next morning; and then brought off his light

footmen, with some flaughter of the Romans, that began to hold them in skirmish: After this, Hannibal made semblance of taking his journie towards Rome: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the Citie, whilest the Carthaginian wasted all the Plaines. The Carthaginian tooke Geryon, an old ruinous Towne in Apulia, for faken by the Inhabitants; which he turned into Barnes and Store-houses for winter, and incamped under the broken walls. Other matter of importance he did none but the time passed idlely, till the Dictator was called away to Rome, about some businesse of Religion, and left the 40 Armie in charge with Minutius, the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiencie. Hee was fully perswaded, that his Romans, in plaine field, would be too hard for the Africans and Spaniards: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by fubtiltie & ambush, which he thought himselfe wife enough to preuent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so carnestly, as he was preferred by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthineffe to command, before the cold and warie Fabius. In this jollitic of conceit, hee determined to fight. Yet had hee beene peremptorily forbidden so to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victorie, which hee held vindoubtedly his owne; the love of the Armie; and the friends that he had at home bearing Office in Rome, were enough to fauchim from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer fo hainoufly. Hannibal on the other fide was no leffe glad, that he should play with a more adventurous gamester. Therefore hee drew necre: and to prouoke the Romans, fent forth a third part of his Armie to waste the

Countrie.

Countrie. This was boldly done, seeing that Minutius incamped hard by him: but it seemes, that hee now despised those whom hee had so often vanquished. There was a peece of high ground betweene the two camps; which because it would bee commodious to him that could occupie it, the Carthaginians seized vpon by night with two thousand of their light armed. But Minutus, by plaine force, wanne it from them the next day; and entrenching himselfe thereupon, became their nee-

rer neighbour. The maine businesse of Hannibal at this time was, to prouide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which hee knew to bee the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he 10 could give the Romans another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his ownemen, terrifichis enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Countrie at will. Since therefore Minutius did not in many dayes iffue forth of his campe, the Carthaginian sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in haruest. This advantage Minutius wifely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and fetting it in order presented battaile to Hannibal, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horse, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, hee fent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no relistance. This angred Hannibal, that was not able to helpe them; but worse did it anger him, when the Romans 20 tooke heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceived that it was meere weakenesse. which held him within his campe, & therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not relift their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, Aldrubal came from Gerron with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the Roman horse. This emboldened Hannibal to issue forth against the Romans; to whom neuerthelesse hee did not such hurt, as hee had

For this peece of service Minutius was highly esteemed by the Armie. & more highly by the People at Rome, to whom he fent the newes, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the Roman Armie had recoursed 30 foirit, so farre forth that it dared to set vpon Hannibal in his owne campe; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Euery man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as farre out of liking with Fabius, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that hee had not done anything wifely, in all his Dictatorship: saving that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeede in no other thing hee had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyfull of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline; and searefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. Hee said that hee knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if hee 40 were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence; the other taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons enery one cryed out; especially Metellus, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he lift, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italie to bee wasted beforchis eyes, to the vtter shame of our State; vnlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what he meanes by this. Into the place of C. Flaminius hee bath not chosen any new Consul all this 50 while; Seruilius is sent away to Sea, I know not why; Hannibal and Hee, have as it were taken Truce; Hannibal sparing the Dictators grounds: (for Hannibal had indeede forborne to spoile some grounds of Fabius, that so hee might bring him into enuic & suspition) & the Dictator giving him leave to spoile all others, without impeachment.

peachment. Surely his drift is cuen this: He would have the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and have the sole Government both of our Citic, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltie of Rome, which gaue him this authoritie, should againe take it from him, and conferre it voon one more worthy. But lest, in moung the people hereto, I should feeme to doe him injurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joyned in equall authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor leffe necessarie, than was the electing of this

Dictator, by the People.

Снар. 2. §.6.

10 Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which Fabius had taken against Hannibal, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publike, was leffe than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in paffing of any Act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the Propounder, should stand vp, and formally deliuer his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both vnto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) vnto that Dignitie, whose great power had freed the State at seuerall times, from the greatest dangers. Only C.Terentius Varro, who the yeere before had beene Prætor, was glad of fuch an opportu-20 nitie, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonne of a Butcher; afterwards became a shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew; by often brabblings, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being advanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very basenesse. And now hee thought the time was come, for him to give an hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, searing or fauouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot inuective, not only against Fabius, but against all the Nobilitie : faying, that it grieued them to see the people doc well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter of Gouernement; that they fought to 30 humble the Commons by pourtie, and to impourish them by warre; especially by warre at their owne doores, which would foone confume enery poore mans li-

uing, and findehim other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wife: and fince they had found one, (this worthy Master of the horse) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrie, to reward him according to his good deferts; and give him authoritie, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that so hee might be encouraged and enabled, to proceede as he

had begunne. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, Fabius had dispatched the election of a new Conful, which was M. Atilius Regulus, in the roome of C. Flaminius : and having 40 finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiving well, that he should not becable to withstand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The newes of Minutius his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as Fabius: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, beganne to treat with him as a Companion; afking him at the first, in what fort he thought it best to divide their authoritie: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them, successively, for fome longer time, should command in chiefe. Febius briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equal to the Dictator; but that he should neuer be his superiour: He would therefore divide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome. Minutius was not herewith greatly plea-50 fed; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke such wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neuerthelesse hee meant to doe his best; and so taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and an halfe from the Dictator.

Needfull it was (though Liuie seeme to taxe him for it) that he should so doe. For where two seuerall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto the other, nor ioy-

ned in Commission, but have each entire & absolute charge of his owne followers there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one campe shall not hold them both, without great inconucnience. Polybius neither findes fault with this diffunction; nor yet reports, that Fabius was vn willing to command in chiefe fucceffinely (as the two Confuls vsed) with Minutius, by turnes. Hee faith that Minutius was very refractarie; and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupen referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces betweene them, as is faid before, or elfe to have command over all by courfe. This is likely to bee true. For natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loofe from the 10 rigour of authority, loue nothing more, than to contest with it:as if herein confished

the proofe and assurance of their libertie.

It behoued the Master of the horse, to make good the opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no leffe carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was Fabius of avoiding the necessitie. That which Minutius and Hannibal equally de ired, could not long be wanting. The Countrielying betweene them was open and bare vet as fit for ambush, as could be wished : for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many, and spacious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, Hannibal bestowed fine hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not 20 be discoucred. But left by any misaduenture they should be found out, and buried in their holes, he made offer betimes in the morning, to feize vpon a peece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eies and thoughts of the Romans, from their more needfull care, to businesse little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had prouoked Minutius, to aduenture vpon the Carthaginians. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like fort as hee got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that Hannibal seconded his owne troupes with fresh companies) hee followed in person with the Legions. He was soone caught; and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilest 30 the Romans desended themselves, loosing many, and those of their best men: Fabius drew neere, in very good order, to relieue them. For this old Captaine, perceining a farre off, into what extremitic his new Colleague had rashly thrown himselfe, and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the diffrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himselse by hasting to doe good, than by suffering his enemie to feele the reward of doing ill. Vpon Fabius his approch, Hannibal retyred: fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. Minutius forth with submitted himselfe to Fabius; by whose benefit hee confessed his life to have beene saved. So from this time forwards, the 40 Warre proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would haue it; both whilest his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise asterwards, when he delinered vp his charge vnto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Seruilius the Consul had pursued in vainc a Carthaginian fleet, to which he came neuer within kenning. He ranne along all the coast of Italie; tooke hostages of the Sardinians and Corficans; passed ouer into Africk; and there negligently falling to spoile the Countrie, was shamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, heereturned home by Sicil; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Conful, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

d. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, choose a rash and unworthic Conful. Great forces levied against HANNIBAL. HANNIBALtaketh the Romans provisions in the Castle of Canna. The new Confuls fet forth against HANNIBAL.



CHAP.3. S.7.

Ith little pleasure did they of the poorer fort in Rome, heare the great commendations, that were given to Fabius by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a greatouerthrow but he had neither finished the warre, nor done any thing in apparance thereto tending. Rather it might seeme, that the reputation of this

his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the flow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Elfe, what meant the Confuls to fit idle the whole winter, contrarie to all former custome; fince it was neuer heard before, that any Roman Generall had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performanceras if it were honorable to doe iust nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were readie euery man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his own

20 private losse, vpon the ill administration of the publique. This affection of the people, was very helpful to C. Terentius Varro, in his fuit for the Confulship. It behoued him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Cominaltie were then in such a moode, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinfman, Bibius Herennius, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to vse the libertie of his place: in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modestie. This bold Orator stuck not to affirme, That Hannibal was drawn into Italie, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen: That Minutius indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been ouer-20 throwns, and was rescued by Fabius with the other two: but had al been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victorie of Minutius, when he comanded ouer al as Master of the horse; That without a Plebeian Conful the warre would never be brought to an end; That fuch of the Plebeians, as had long fince been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the meaner fort, cuer fince themselves were freed from contempt of the more mightie; That therefore it was needful to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a Plebeian, a meere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could wish more, than to keep it, by well descruing of them. By such perswasions, the Multitude was won, to be wholly for Teretius: to 40 the great vexatio of the Nobles, who could not endure, to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honor; and therfore opposed him with al their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fel out, or at least was alleaged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending vpon Hannibal, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he againe deposed; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an Inter-regrum, wherein they might better hope to preuaile in choice of the new Confuls. This Inter-regnum tooke name and being in Rome, at the death of Romulus; and was in vie at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. Al the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted 50 themselues into Tens, or Decuries; and gouerned successively, by the space of flue daies, one Decurie after another in order: yet fo, that the Lictors, or Virgers, carrying the Fasces, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only vpon the chiefe of them with these Ensignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Consuls; and put in vie, when by death, or any casualtie, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the

Ppppp

VII.

old yeare, to substitute new for the yeare following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would have it, there necded no more, than to let slip fine daies, & then was all to begin anew by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well asswaged. Vpon such change of those, that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to fue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publiquely declare themselues to secke those Offices. But no deuice would serue, against the generall fauour borne vnto Terentius, One Inter-regnum passed ouer; and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was believed) of this meane, but worthie man, seemed so manifest, 10 that when the People had vrged the bulinesse to dispatch, only Terentius was chofen Conful : in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hercvoon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinary marke had ftood for the place before; it was now though meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great fufficiencie, and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and opposite. So L. Amilius Paulus, he who few yeares since had ouer-come the Illyrians, and chaced Demetrius Pharius out of his Kingdome, was vrged by the Nobility to fland for the place; which he easily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great busi- 20 nesse of the Common-wealth. For, not with standing his late good service; He, and M. Liuius that had been his companion in Office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the People, and called vnto judgement: wherin Liuius was condemned, and Emilius hardly escaped. But of this iniuftice they shall put the Romans well in minde each of them in his fecond Confulship, wherein they shall honorably approue their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most gricuous losse; the other brauely winning in the most happic victorie, that euer befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, Varro and Paulus, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the warre: wherein though Varro made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would worke, and that hee would aske no more, than once to have a 20 fight of Hannibal, whom he promifed to vanquish the very first day; yet the prouidence and care of Paulus, travailed more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainely boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls Seruilius and Atilius; desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuerthelesse, to ply the Carthaginians with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armic which they were now leuying, they might find the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemic, and the Enemic well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the flanders, with which Terentius and his Adhe- 40 rents had burdened them. What number of men they raifed it is vncertaine. Fourescore thousand foot, at the least, and fixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which Varro had so greatly desired, of looking voon Han-

Hiero, the old King of Syracuse, as he had relieued the Carthaginians, when they were distressed by their owne Mercinaries; so did he now send helpe to Rome, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barlie, and other prouisions: searing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by having them somewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also counsaile, to send forces into Africa; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might divert the warre from home. His gifts, and good advice were louingly accepted; and instructions were given to Titus Octavilius the Prætor, which was to goe into Sicil, that he should accordingly passe over into Africk, if he found it expedient.

The great Leuies, which the Romans made at this time, doe much more serve to declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not eafily drawne into the field, and fitted for feruice. For besides these Armies of the Confuls, and that which went into Sicil; twentie fine thouland with L. Pollhumius Albinus another of the Prætors, went against the Gaules, to reclaime that Propince, which the passage of Hannibal through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to do as they did. They fent Embassadors to Philip the sonne of Demetrius, King of Macedon; requiring him to deliver into their hands Demetrius Pharius: who having been their 10 Subject, and rebel, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the Illyrians, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was alreadic past. What answere they received, it is not knowne: only this is known, that Demetrius Pharius was not fent vnto them; and that Philip hencefoorth beganne to have an eve vpon them. little to their good. As for the Illyrian monie; by the shifts that they were driven foone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little foeuer) would have beene welcome to Rome, and accepted, without any cauil about forfeiture for non paiment of the whole.

Whilft the Citie was builed in these cares, the old Consuls lay as necre vnto Hannibal, as possibly as they could, without incurring the necessitie of a battaile. Many 20 skirmishes they had with him; wherein their success for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other feruices, but was indeed the occasion, to draw on the miseric following. Hamibal, for the most part of that time, made his abode at Geryon, where lay all his store for the Winter. The Romans, to be neere him lodged about Cannussum; and, that they might not be driven to turne aside for all necessaries, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Casse of Canna: for the town was razed the yeere before. This place Hannibal wanne; and thereby not only furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemics to want many needfull things, vnlesse they would be troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himselfe to abide in that open Countrie, fit for the service of his horse: longer then the Romans, having so many mouthesto feed, could well endure to tarrie; without offering battaile; which he most desired. Of this missay when

horfe: longer then the Komans, having to many moutness to feed, could well endure to tarrie; without offering battaile; which he most desired. Of this mishap when Seruilius had informed the Senate, letting them understand, how this Peece, taken by Hamibal, would serve him to command no small part of the Country adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a battaile with the Carthaginian, rather than suffer him thus to take roote in the ground of Italie. Neuerthelesse, as swertened unto Seruilius, that hee should have patience yetawhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as need required.

When all things were readie in the Citie, and the season of the yere commodious to take the field; the two Confuls, with their armie, set forth against Hannibal. This was alwaies done with great solemnite: especially, when soener they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemie. For Sacrifices, and solemne Vowes, were made unto supiter, and the rest of their gods, for good successe and vistorie: which being performed; the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for loue, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, & dismissed with friendly leauetaking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited to the very set willius Paulus, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthie of

ted you Amilius Paulus, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthie of this honor, or likely to do his countrieremarkable service. Terentius his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no lesse in greatnes, than the other was in dignitic. At the parting; Fabius the late Distator, is said to have exhorted the Consul Paulus, with many grave words, to shew his magnanimitic, not Pppp 2

onely in dealing with the Carthaginians, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious follic of his fellow-Conful. The answere of Paulus was, That hee meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the multitude; that he would doe his best for his countrie: but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would thinke it lesse rathnesse to aduenture upon the Enemies sword, than upon the malice of his owne Citizens.

### d. VIII.

Dissension betweene the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that HANNIBAL was upon point of flying out of Italie, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battaile of Canna.

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Helenew Generals, arriving at the Camp, dismissed M. Atilius one of the last yeares Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakeness.

Servilius they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that Emilius thought necessarie, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered

more cause of seare, than of courage. Hee willed them to consider, not only now. their victories in times past against the Carthaginians, and other more warlike Nations than were the Carthaginians, but even their own great numbers: which were no 20 lesse than all that Rome at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrie stood; how the state and safety thereof rested upon their hands; ving some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectual part of his Oration was, That Hannibal with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victorie by plaine force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at Trebia and Thrasymene. Herewithall he taxed the inconsiderate rathnesse of Sempronius and Flaminius; of whom the one saw not his enemies, vntill he was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkenesse whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, de- 30 claring what advantages they had against the Enemie; and how destitute the Enemie was of those helps, by which he had hitherto preuailed against them : hee exhorted them to play the men, and doc their best. They were easily perswaded : for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the Roman vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cause to thinke, that vnder a Captaine so well experienced, and euery way sufficient, as Amilius was knowne to bee, they should easily prevaile against the Carthaginians: that came farre short of them in all things else, faue craft; which would not alwaies thriue. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire that they should have heart to fight; nor that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, 40 hauing preconceiued a victorie, thought all delaies to be impediments: and thereby fought to robbe themselves of their best helpe; which was, good conduct. They remembred what talke they had heard at Rome: and were themselves affected with the Vulgar desire, of ending the warre quickly; wherein since Amilius had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them for beare to vse it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Conful Terentius: who was no leffe popular in the Campe, than he had been in the Citic. Expectation is alwaies tedious; and neuer more, than when the Euent is of most importance. All men longed, both at Rome, and in the Armie, to be freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Feare: therfore Terentius, who hastned their desire 50 to effect, was likely to winne more thankes, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the Romans thinke themselves to have the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which sew are more dangerous; Dissensing

of their chiefe Commanders. Varro would fight : Amilius would fo too, but faid that it was not yet time; why? because the enemie mult shortly dislodge, and remoue hence, into places leffe fit for his horfe. But shall the Romans wait, till Hannibal, having eaten up his last yeares provisions, returne into Campania to gather a second Harnest? This would (said Varro) sauour too much of Q. Fabius: And your haste (faid Paulus) doth fauour no lesse of C. Flaminius. Their deedes were like their wordes: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably every day. Amilius lodged fixe miles from Hannibal, where the ground was somewhat vneuen. Thither if the Carthaginians would take paines to come; hee doubted not to fend them away 10 in such baste, as they should not leave running till they were out of Italie. But they came not. Terentius therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and befeeching him to flay. Nevertheleffe he fate downe close by Hannibal: who as an unbidden guest gaue him but a rude well come and intertainement. The Carthaginian Horse, and light Armature, fel vpon the Roman Vantcourrers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whileft it was yet in march; but they were beaten off, not without loffe, for that the Romans had among their Velites, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the Carthaginians had none. The day following, Æmilius, who could not handsomly withdraw the Army out of that level ground; incamped upon the River Aufidus; sending a third part of his forces over the wa-20 ter, to lie vpon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselues. Hee neuer was more vn willing to fight, than at this prefent; because the ground served wholly for the aduantage of his enemie; with whom he meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equal termes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when Hannibal should dislodge, and remoue toward Gergon, Canna, or fome other place, where his store lay, for want of necesfaries: whereof an Armie forraging the country, was not likely to carrie about with it sufficient quantitie, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed ouer with silence, That Linie differeth much in his Relation from Polybius: telling many strange tales, of the miserie into which Han-20 nibal had been driven; and of base courses that he devised to take, if the Romans could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (faith Liuie) but ten daies prouision of meat. He had not monie to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruly Rabble, gathered out of severall Nations, so that he knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the Spaniards were readie to forfake him, and runne ouer to the Roman fide. Yea Hannibal himfelfe was once youn the point, to have stolne away into Gaule with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length for lacke of all other counsaile, he refolued to get him as farre as he could from the Romans, into the Southermost parts 40 of Apulia; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficultie in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieued with the more carly haruest. But whilest he was about to put this deutee in execution, the Romans pressed him so hard, that they even forced him vnto that, which hee most desired; cuen to fight a battaile vpon open Champaine ground: wherein hee was victorious; It was not vncommendable in Liuie, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and; where they did ill, to fay, That, without their owne great folly, they had done paffing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing onely by report. For thus hee faith; HANNIBAL de fug d in Galliam [dicitur] agit affe; HANNIBAL [is faid] to have bethought himfelfe of flying into Gaule: where he makes it no more then a matter 50 of heare-fay; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the processe it selfe. it is very incredible. For if Hannibal, comming out of Gaule, through the Marishes and Bogs of Hetruria, could finde victuailes enough, and all things needfull vinto his Armie, the Summer forgoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeare; especially seeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great haruch; since

he had long beene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no fmall part of the Romans provisions? Suteable hereunto is all the rest. If Hannibal had taken nothing but corne and cattaile; his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutinic for pay. But he brought gold with him into Italie: and had so well increased his stock, since he came into that Countrie, that hee had armed his African Souldiers, all Roman-like; and loaden his followers with spoile: having left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemie; when the Romans were not willing, as finding it not easie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who give it as a principall commendation vnto Hannibal, That hee alwaies kept his Armie free from fedition, 10 thoughit were composed of fundrie Nations; no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so doe, having not only pronounced, That which of his men focuer fought brauely with an Enemie, was thereby a Carthaginian; but solemnely protested and sworne, (befides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserve and seeke it, free Citizens of Carthage. The running away into Gaule, was a sensesse deuice. Hannibal, being there with his whole Armic, tooke so little pleasure in the Countrie and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now doe there with his horse? or how could hee bee trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he defire to liue; having betrayed all his Army; and relinquished his 20 miserable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therfore Plutarch omitteth; who in writing the life of Hannibal, takes in a maner al his directions from Liuie. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians loue to extoll their owne countrimen; and where a losse cannot be dissembled, nor the honour of the victorie taken from the Enemie, and given vnto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on somestrange misgouernment of their own forces: as if they might easily have wonne all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemie can hope to find in them another time in the T

Now let vs returne backe to the two Armies, where they lie emcamped on the River Aufidus. Varrowas perswaded, that it concerned him in honor, to make good 30 his word vnto the people of Rome; and fince he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the consent of Paulus, now at length to vie his owne authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of day he beganne to passe the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But Paulus came to him; and fought, as in former times, to have disswaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrie to a needlesse bazard. Against whose wordes and substantial arguments, Terentius could alleage none other, than point of Honour. Hannibal had presented them battaile at their Trenches: should they endure this Brauado? He had sent his Numidians over the River but even the day before, who fel vpon the Romans that 40 were fetching water to the leffer Campe; and draue them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to affaile: must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the Roman Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of fuch courage, as promifed affured vi-Ctorie. When Amilius perceiued, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion; he tooke all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand Roman foot he caused to be left behind, in the greater campe, opposite vnto the Carthaginian; to the intent, that either Hannibal might bee compelled, to leave behind him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucity he was leffe able to spare from the battaile, than were the Romans) or that these ten thousand, falling vpon the Carthaginian Campe, when the fight beganne, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might therby (as commonly doe such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemics in the heate of fight. This done; the two Consuls went ouer the water with their Armic to the leffer Cump, whence

whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. Hannibal was glad of this, as he had great cause; and, without any delay, passed likewise oner, somewhat higher up the streame, which ranne from the South; leaving in his owne campe fo many, as he thought would ferue to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He bade them looke about them; and view the ground well, vpon which they were to fight. They did fo. And could you (faid he)pray for any greater fortune, than to joyne battaile with the Romans vpon such a levell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevaile? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (faid he further) yeare first of all to thanke the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Vs, that have trained them along, and drawne them into necessitie of playing for their lives, where they are fore to loofe them. As for these Romans. I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first but now vee may euenencourage your selues, by calling to minde that they are the men. whom ye have as often beaten as seene. Of one thing only I will put you in mindes That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects; as, to drive them before you out of Gaule; and to winne the open Countrie, and fields of Italie; both of which yee haue obtained: now are yee to fight for the Townes themselves, and all the 20 riches within them; which this victorie shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, yee shall bee Lords of all that the Romans

hold.

When he had said this; his brother Wage came to him, whom hee had sent to view the countenance of the Enemie. Hamibal asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to have with these Romans? Worke enough (answered Mage) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus Hamibal replied) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, search them never so diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is Mage. With that hee fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladded the souldiers, who thought their so Generall would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that Hamibal, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one Mage about many thousand Romans; or whether he intimated, that the Romans were no lesse troubled with thinking vpon Mage and his Companions, than was Mage with beholding

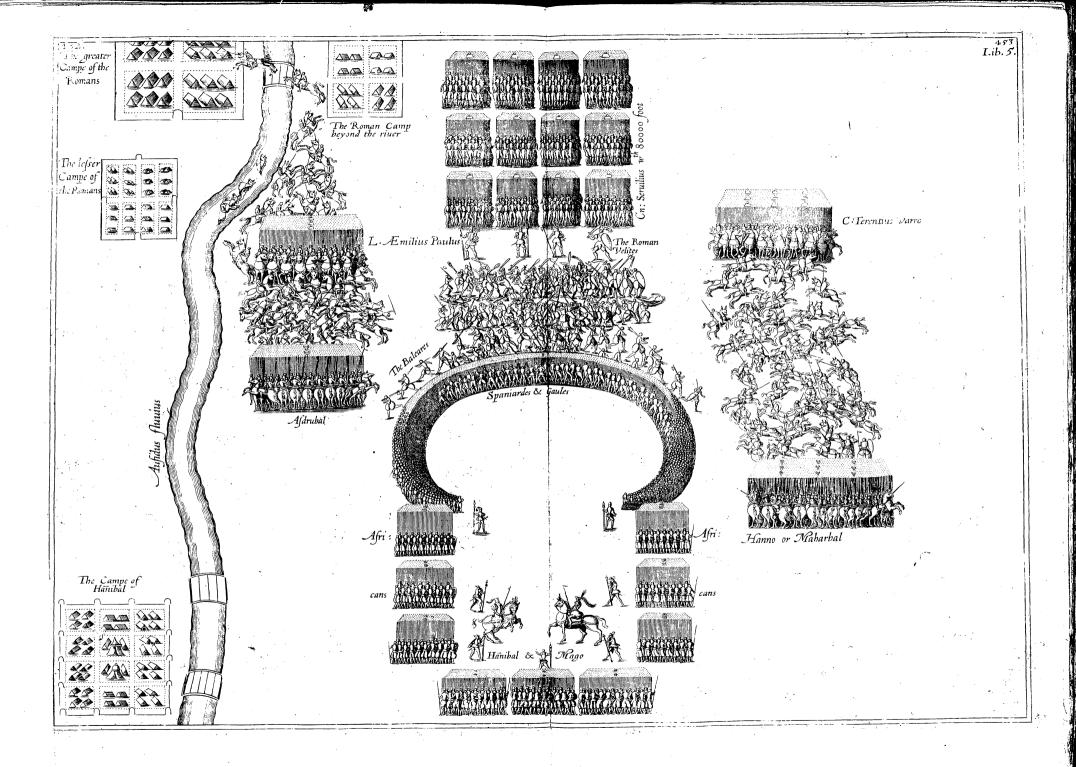
thousand Romans; or whether he intimated, that the Romans were no less troubled with thinking vpon Mago and his Companions, than was Mago with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant only to correct the sad moode of his brother with a jest, and shew himselfe merry vnto the Souldiers: this his answere was more manly, than was the relation of his discouerer. But if Hannibal himselfe had beene sent forth by Mago, to view the Romans; he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captaine Gam, before the battaile of Agineonry, made vnto our King Henrie the sist saying, that of the Frenchmen, to there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners; and enow to run the forest states of the principal are not the same of the same to the same

there were enow to bee killed; enow to bee taken prifoners; and enow torun away. Euen fuch words as thefe, or fuch pleafant jefts as this of Hannibal, are not without their moment; but ferue many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke vpon fuch paffions, as muft gouerne more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boasts.

In this great day, the Carthaginian excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his militarie skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousnesse of the place, into which hee had long before conceined the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; He marshalled his Armie in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might doe best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the Baleares, hee sent off before him, to encounter with the Roman Velites. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French name Ensans perdues; but when we yied our owne termes, the forlorne hope. The grosse of his Armie following them, he ordered thus. His Africans, armed after the Roman manner, with the spoiles which they

had gotten at Trebia, Thrasymene, or elsewhere; and well trained in the vse of those weapons, that were of more advantage, than those where with they had formerly ferued; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene these bee ranged his Gaules and Spaniards, armed, each after their owne Countrie manner; their shields alike; but the Gaules vling long broad swordes, that were forcible in a downe-right stroke; the Spaniards, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the Gaules, naked from their nauell vpwards, as confident in their owne fiercenesse: the Spaniards, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in qualitic, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The Gaules were strong of body, and surious in giuing 10 charge; but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The Spaniards were leffe eager, but more warie; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were ouer-preffed, nor afraid to returne, and renew the fight, vpon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence joyntly vnto them both. For they faw themselves well and strongly flanked with Carthaginians and other Africans; whose name was growne terrible in Spaine, by their Conquests; and in Gaule, by this their present warre. Since therefore it could not bee feared, that any great calamitie should fall 20 vpon them, whilest the wings on either side stood sast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrinke, or forbeare to imploy the vtmost of their hardines, as knowing that the Enemie could not presse farre vpon them, without further engaging himselfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the Carthaginian had in horse: by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make agood retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Considence. Hannibal therefore caused these Gaules and Spaniards to advance; leaving void the place wherein they had flood, and into which they might fall backe, when they should becouerhardly pressed. So, casting them into the forme of a Crescent, Hee made them as it 30 were his Vantguard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the emptie space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thinne, as seruing only to guide it orderly backe, when neede should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthned & thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have beene so great, that it shadowed the Africans, who stood behinde it: though such figures, cut in brasse, as I have seene of this Battaile, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appeare: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of Africans, or others, were left in the Reare, to second the Gaules and Spaniards, when they were driven to retrait; though it be manifest, that Hannibal in person stood betweene the 40 last rancks of his long battalions, & in the head of his Reare, doubtles well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalion and the Riuer Aufidus, were the Gaules and Spanish horse, under the command of Asarubal: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was Hanno (Liuie faith Mabarbal) with the Numidian light-horse. Hannibal himselfe, with his brother Mage, had the leading of the Rearc. The whole summe of Hannibals Armie in the field this day, was tenne thousand horse, and fourtie thousand foot; his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and Hee, five to three against them in horse.

The Roman Armic was marshalled in the vsuall forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had beene found concenient against the Carthagmians, in the former warre. It was indeede no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks thick and short, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Reare, that it might stand saft compacted as a wall, vnder shelter whereof the disordered troupes might re-allie themselues. Thus much

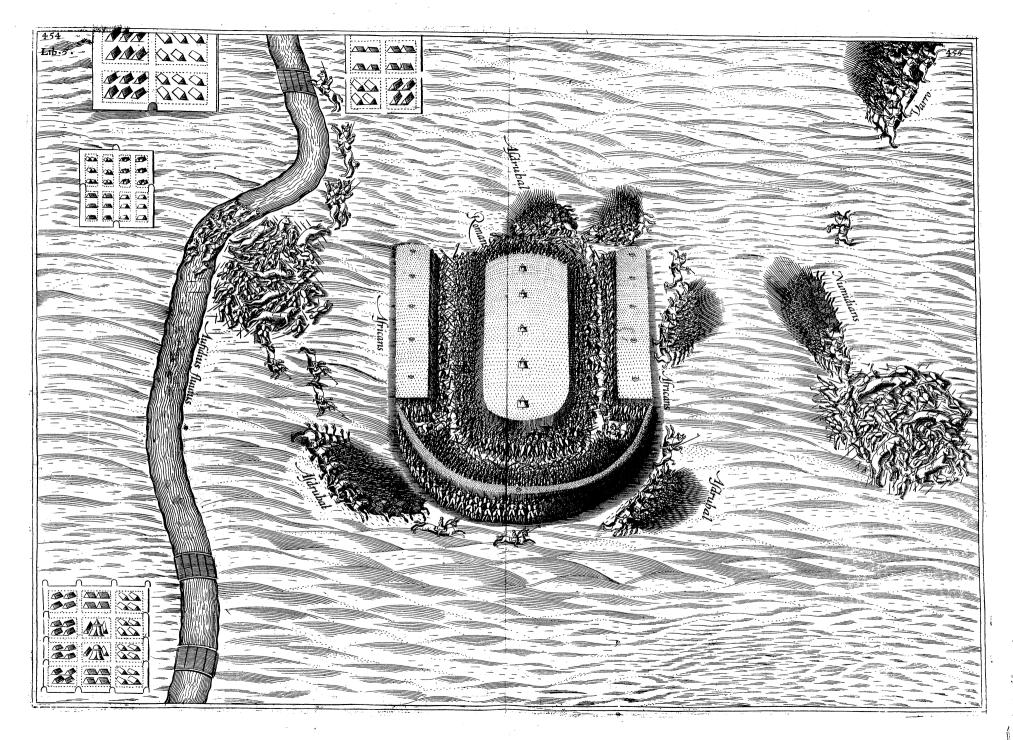


it seemes, that Terentins had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailes accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his vnderstanding. But the Carthaginians had here no Elephants with them in the field: their aduantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattailing was very vnprofitable, for a smuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than vpon a long flanke. As for Emilius; it was not his day of command: He was but an Affiftant; and in such cases it happens often, that wife men yeeld for very wearinesse vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the River, were the Roman horse-men, under the Consul Paulus: On the left wing, was C. Terentius Var to the 10 other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the Latines, and other Associates: Cn. Servilius the former yeeres Conful, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and offended neither part; the Garthaginians having their

faces Northward; the Romans toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betweene the Roman Velites and Hannibal his Darters and flingers of the Bileares: Adrubal brake vpon the Conful Paulus, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of service on horse-backe, vsed in those times, wheeling about Alman-like; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way lest, but to pierce and breake thorow. Wher-20 fore they not only vsed their Lances and Swordes; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so, their horses running from under them. fell many to the ground; where starting vp againe, they beganne to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the Roman horse were ouer-borne, and driven by plaine force to a staggering recoile. This the Consul Paulus could not remedy. For Afdrubal, with his boifterous Gaules and Spaniards, was not to bee relifted by these Roman Gentlemen, vnequall both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battailes came to joyning, the Roman Legionaries found worke enough, and somewhat more than enough, to breake that great Crescent, vpon which they first fell: so strongly, for the while, did the Gaules and Spanish foot make relistance. Wherefore 20 the two points of their battaile drew towards the midft , by whose aide, these Oppolites were forced to disband, and flie backe to their first place. This they did in great halte and feare: and were with no lesse haste, and follie pursued. Vponthe Africans, that flood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was void roome enough; and for a fmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the safe retrait, where Hanmbal with his Carthaginians was ready to reenforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retrait, or flight, of the Gaules and Spaniards; it hapned, as was necessarie, that they who had flood in the limbe or vtter compasse of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concaue surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside out-40 ward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vntouched, only turning round, and recoiling very little. So the Romans, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe-circle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thinne & broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men rowted, and seeming vnable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot bin cast into this one great body, that was in a manner dissoluted. But whilest the Legions, following their supposed victorie, rushed on vpon those that stood before them, and thereby vnwittingly engaged themselves deepely within the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two African Battalions on either side advanced so farre, that getting beyond the R care of them, they 50 inclosed them, in a manner, behinde : and forward they could not passe farre, without remouing Hannibal and Mago; which made that way the least case. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as couered the Africans; who lay behinde it undifferenced, untill now. For it is agreed, that plut in vit. the Romans were thus empaled vnamares; and that they behaved themselves, as Hannib.

men that thought vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the Gaules. Neither is it credible, that they would have beene so mad, as to runne head-long, with the whole bulke of their Armie, into the throat of flaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to cscape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rathnesse of inferiour Captaines: but fince the Conful Paulus, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot bee supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. Astrubal, having broken the troupes of Roman horse, that were led by the Consul Paulus, followed your them along the River side, beating downe and killing, as many as he could, (which to were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himselfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, not with standing the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuerthelesse hee cheared up his men as well as hee could, both with comfortable wordes, and with the example of his owne front behaviour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did Hannibal among his Carthaginians, in the same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Conful received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt : and though a troupe of Roman Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to saue him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he 20 was compelled, by wounds and weakeneffe, to for fake his horse. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the Conful had given order fo to doe: as in many battailes, the Roman men at armes had left their horses, to helpe their foot in diffres. When Hannibal (for he was neere at hand) perceived this, and underflood that the Conful had willed his horse-men to dismount. He was very glad of it, and pleasantly faid, I hadrather he would have delivered them onto me, bound hand and foot: meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while C. Terentius Varro, with the horse of the Associates, in the left wing, was maruailously troubled by Hanno (or Maharbal) and the Numidians: who beating up and downe about that great fandy Plaine, raifed a foule dust; which a strong Southwinde, 30 blowing there accustomarily, draue into the eyes & mouthes of the Romans. These, ving their aduantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor fulfaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yetatthe first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battailes were even ready to joyne; fine hundred of these Numidians came pricking away from their fellowes, with their shields cast behinde their backes, (as was the manner of those which yeelded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themselues. This was good lucke to beginne withall, if there had beene good meaning. Varro had not leafure to examine them; but caufed them, vnwcaponed as they were, to get them behind the Armic, where he bade 40 them rest quietly till all wasdone. These crafty adventures did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yeelded. Vnder their Iackets they had short swords and ponyards: besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were flaine, and therewithall flew upon the hindmost of the Romans, whilest all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischiese, and raised yet a greater terrour. Thus Hannibal, in a plaine levell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight & resistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. Astrabal, having in short space broken the Roman troupes of horse, and cut in peeces all, saue the Companie of A- 50 milius that rushed into the grosse of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, betweene the Riuer and their owne Battalions; did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell back behind the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came up to the Numidians: with whom hee joyned and gave



vpon Terentius. This fearefull cloude, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other fide: fo did it prognosticate a dismall florme vnto those, vpon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore Terentius his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to fullaine; thought it the belt way, to avoide the danger by present flight. The Consul was no lesse wife than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his owne perill; nor more desperate, in striuing to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many shranke from him, to sustaine the impreffion alone, which he could not have endured with their affiliance. Now hee 10 found, that it was one thing to talke of Hannibal at Rome; and another, to incounter him. But of this; or of ought elle, excepting hafty flight, his present leisure would not serue him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying troupes, followed the light Numidians: appointed by Afarubal vnto the pursuit, as fittelt for that service. As drubal himselfe, with the Gaules and Spanish horse, compassing about, fell ypon the backes of the Romans; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner furrounded on all parts elfe. He brake them cafily; who before made ill refiftance, being inclosed, & laid at on every fide, not knowing which way to turne. Here beganne a pittifull slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whilest every one sought to avoide 20 those enemies, whom hee saw neerest. Some of the Roman Gentlemen that were about £milius, got vp to horse, and saued themselves: which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could doe; yet I will rather beleeue it, than suppose that Liuie so reporteth, to grace therby his Historic with this following tale. CN. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS, galloping along by a place, where he faw the Conful litting all bloudied upon a stone entreated him to rise and saue himselfe ; offering him his assistance and horse. But PAVLVs refused it ; willing LENTVLVS to Shift for himselfe, and not to loose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to be brought againe into judgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guiltie himselfe of that dayes losse. Further hee willed LENTVLVS to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to FABIVS: willing 30 them to fortific Rome, as fast and well as they could; and telling FABIVS, that Hee lived and died mindfull of his wholesome counsaile. These words (peraduenture) or some to like purpose, the Consul vttered to Lentulus, either when against his will hee was drawne to that Battaile, or when bee beheld the first defeat of his Horse, at what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but Hannibal knew what he faid a good while before this; when he thought the Conful and his troupe, in little better case than if they had beene bound. The whole Grosse of the Romans, was inclosed indeede as within a sacke; whereof the African Battalions made the sides; the Spaniards, Gaules, and Hannibal with his Carthaginians, the bottome; and Afdrubal with his horse, closed up the mouth in which part, they first 40 of all were shuffled together, and beganne the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. Emilias therefore, who could not lit his horse, whilest the battaile yet lasted, and whileft the spaces were somewhat open, by which hee might have withdrawne himselfe; was now (had hee neuer so well beene mounted) vnable to flie, hausing in his way so close a throng of his owne miserable followers, and so many heapes of bodies as fell apace in that great Carnage. It fufficeth vnto his honour, That in the Battaile hee fought no lesse valiantly, than hee had warily before, both abstained himselfe, and disswaded his sellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was veterly loft, it had laine in his power to faue his owne life, vnto the good of his Countrie, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that he either too much disease. 50 med himselse; or being too faintly minded, was wearie of the World, and his vnthankefull Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in Emilius, as proceeding out of Roman valour; then was the English vertue of the Lord John Talbot, Vicount Lifle, sonne to that famous Earle of Shrewesburie, who died in the Battaile of Chastillon, more highly to be honoured. For Emilius was old, gricuously,

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if not mortally, wounded, and accomptable for the overthrow received: Talbet was in the flowre of his youth, vnhurt, easily able to haue escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to for sake his father; who for esceing the loffe of the battaile, and not meaning to flame his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone, and leave him.

In this terrible ouerthrow died all the Roman foot, faue two or three thousand, who (as Liuie faith) escaped into the leffer campe; whence, the same night, about fixe hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conueyed themselues away ere morning, about foure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troups, 10 partly dispersed, into Cannusum: the next day, the Roman Camps, both lesse and greater, were yeelded vnto Hannibal by those that remained in them. Polybius hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom Amilius had left on the West side of Aufidus (as was shewed before) to set upon the campe of Hannibal, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their defire, which they had well-necre done, the battaile was lost; and Hannibal, comming over the water to them, draue them into their owne campe; which they quickly yeelded. having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first fight of Hannibal, comming upon them with his victorious Armie, a great number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whilest their fellowes, making defence in vaine, 20 retired into their campe, and held the Enemie bussed. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having served at Canna, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of Rome, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting. Of the Roman horse what numbers escaped, it is vncertaine: but very few they were that faued themselves in the first charge, by getting behinde the River; and Terentius the Conful recouered Venusia, with threescore and ten at the most in his companic. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvaile: for Venusia lay many miles off to the Southward; fo that his necrest way thither, had beene through the midst of Hannibals Armic, if the passage had beene open. Therefore it must needes be, that 30 when once he got out of fight, he turned vp fome by-way; so disappointing the Numidians that hunted contre. Of fuch as could not hold pace with the Conful, but tooke other waies, and were scattered ouer the fields; two thousand, or therabouts, were gathered up by the Namidians, & made prisoners: the rest were slaine, all sauce three hundred; who dispersed themselves in slight, as chance led them, and got into fundry Townes. There died in this great Battaile of Canna, besides L. Amilius Paulus the Conful; two of the Roman Quaftors or Treasurers, and one and twentie Colonells or Tribunes of the Souldiers, four fcore Senators, or fuch as had borne Office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall marke, as having beene Adiles, Pretors, or Consuls: among whom was Cn. 40 Seruilius the last yeeres Consul, and Minutius, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaile, Liuie makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: too few to have defended, for the space of one halfe houre, both the Roman camps; which yet the same Linie saith, to have beene overcowardly yeelded vp. We may therefore doe better, to give credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the Senate, and faying, That they were no lesse than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that thefe three thou fand were only such as the Enemie spared, when the furie of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their companie were either flaine or fled. So 50 the reckoning falls out right: which the Romans, especially the Conful Varro, had before cast vp (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the side of Hannibal there died some foure thousand Gaules, sifteene hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts: a losse

not fensible, in the joy of so great a victorie; which if he had pursued, as Maharbal aduifed him, and forthwith marched away towards Rome; it is little doubted, but that the Warre had presently been at an end. But he beleeved not so farre in his owne prosperitie; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to vie.

## è IX.

Of things following the battaile at Canna.

Ot without good cause doth Polybius reprehend those two Historians, Fabius the Roman, and Philinus the Carthaginian: who regarding more the pleasure of them, vnto whose honour they consecrated their transiles, than the truth of things, & information of posteritie; magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceeds dings, the one of his Carthaginians, the other of his Roman Quirites and Fathers confoript. No man of found judgement will condemne this libertie of censure, which Polybius hath vsed. For, to recompense his junioritie, (such as it was) he produceth 20 substantiall arguments, to instific his owne Relation; and consuteth the vanitie of those former Authors, out of their owne writings, by conference of places ill co-

hering: which paines it is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had hee beene borne in either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and beene contented, to have all men thinke better and more honourably than it descrued, of his owne Countrie. The like disease it is to be feared, that wee shall hereafter finde in others; and shall have cause to wish, that either they were fomewhat lesse Roman, or else, that some Works of their opposite Writers were extant, that fo we might at least heare both sides speake; being henceforth destitute of Polybius his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But fince this cannot be, we must be 20 sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and believe so much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reason, or (at least) faire probability. This attentiue circumspection is needfull euen at the present: such is the repugnancie, or forgetfulnesse, which we find in the best Narration, of things following the Battaile of Canna. For it is said, that foure thousand foot and horse gathered together about the Conful Terentius at Venusia; that others, to the number of ten thousand got into Cannusium, choosing for their Captaines, yong P. Scipio, and Ap. Claudius; yet that the Conful Terentius Varro, joyning his companie vnto those of Scipio at Cannussium. wrote vnto the Senate, that he had now well-neere ten thousand men about him:

40 rifen, that had bene taking order for pacifying those tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the first bruit of the ouerthrow, and yet, that Embassadours from Capua (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or, without further circumstance, to side with Hannibal) were sent vnto Terentius, and found him at Venusia, a pretie while before he wrote those letters, which ouer-tooke (in a maner) at Rome the first newes of the ouerthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter enfuing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

that these letters of the Conful were brought to Rome, when the Senate was newly

When Hannibal had facked the Roman campe, and truffed up the spoiles, forth-50 with he dislodged, and marched away into Samnium; finding a disposition in the Hirpines, and many other people thereabout, to for sake the Roman partie, and make alliance with Carthage. The first Towns that opened the gates vnto him, was Cosla, where he laid vp his baggage: and leaving his brother Mago to take in other places, He hasted into Campania. The generall affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities

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Liu. 1.19.

of Italie, was inclinable vnto him; not only in regard of their grieuous loffes, fuffained abroad in the fields, which the Romans themselves, who could not hinder him from spoyling the Countrie, especially the poorer fort of them, did hardly endure: but in a louing respect vnto that great courtesse (as it seemed) which he vsed, vnto fuch of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victorie at Canna, He had louingly dismissed as many of the Italian Confederates of Rome, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate, against him that had sought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared hee to winne their loue with gifts; pretending, to admire their valour; but feeking indeede, by all waies and meanes, to make them his, whileft all other motiues were concurrent. At this time also hee beganne to deale kindly (though against his nature) with his Roman prisoners: telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate; but being prouoked by injuries, sought to right himselfe and his countrie; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, Rome or Carthage. should beare sourraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroyed. So he gave them leave to choose ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransome; and together with these, he sent Carthalo a Nobleman of Carthage, and Generall of his Horse, to feele the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by fo much aduerfitie, and could stoope vnto desire of peace. But with the Romans these artes prevailed nor, as shall be shewed in due 20 place. The people of Italie, all or most of them, saue the Roman Colonies, or the Latines, were not only weary of their loffes past, but entertained a deceivable hope. of changing their old Societie for a better. Wherefore not onely the Samnites, Lucans, Brutians, and Apulians, ancient enemics of Rome, and not vntill the former generation vtterly subdued, beganne to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the Campans, a Nation of all other in Italie most bound vnto the state of Rome, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as streightly conjoyned, as were any saue the Latines. changed on a sudden their loue into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Province of Italie, if not (as some then 20 thought) of all the Earth: and the Citic of Capha, answerable vnto the Countrie. whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse convenient a seat of the Empire, than was either Rome or Carthage. But of all qualities, brauerie is the least requisite vnto soueraigne command. The Campans were luxurious, idle, and proud : and valuing themselves like layes by their feathers, despised the vnfortunate vertue of the Romans their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the majestic of Rome, and could not endure to heare of Innovation. But the Plebeian faction had lately so prevailed within Capua, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of Pacuvius Calanius an 40 ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was vp-held by furthering al popular defires: whereof, the conjunction with Hannibal was not the least. Some of the Capuans had offred their Citie to the Carthaginian, shortly after the battaile of Thra-(ymene: whereupon chiefly it was, that Hannibal made his journie into Campania; the Dictator Fabina waiting upon him. At that time, either the nerenes of the Roman Armie, or some other searc of the Capuans, hindred them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leifure to treat about any article of new Confederacie : or had leifure ferued, yet were the Multitude (whose inconstant loue Hannibal had wonne from the Romans, by gentle vlage, and free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any fuch negotiation, without aduice 50 of the Senate; which mainely impugned it. So they that had promifed to yeeld vp their town to Hannibal, & to meet him on the way, with some of their nobility, that should affure him of all faithfull meaning; were driven to fit still, in a great perplexitie :as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered them-

selucs, to draw upon them the hatred of the Romans. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incenfed against their Senate; on whom they cast all the blame, cassly pardoning their owne cowardize. The People holding so tender a regard of libertie, that cuen the lawfull Gouernement of Magistrates grieued them, with an imaginarie oppression; had now good cause to scare lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed, and by helpe of the Romans, bring them under a more streight subjection, than ever they had endured. This feare, being readie to breake into some outrage, Pacuvius made vse of, to serue his owne ambition. He discoursed vnto the Senate, as they sate in Councell, to about these motions troubling the Citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a Roman Ladie, and given his Daughter in marriage to a Roman: but, that the danger of for faking the Roman partie was not now the greatest: for that the People were violently bent euen to murder all the Senate, and afterward to joyne themfelues with Hannibal; who should countenance the fact, and saue them harmelesse: This he spake, as a man well known to be beloued himselfe by the People, and prinie vnto their designes. Hauing throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: He promised neuerthelesse to deliuer them all, and to fer things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other affurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. 20 They all agreed. Then shutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leave; Hee called the People to affembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knewe they would be glad to heare, he told them, that these wicked Gouernours were furprised by his policie, and all fast, readie to abide what sentence they would lay vpon them. Only thus much he aduited them, as a thing which necessitie required, That they should choose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger vpon the old. So rehearling vnto them the names of one or two Senators, hee asked what their judgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Choose then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the Mul-20 titude, vnprouided for such an election, was filent; vntill at last, some one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were vtterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some knowne fault, basenesse, and infufficiencie; or else euen because they were vnknowne, and therefore helde vnworthie. This difficultie in the new Election appearing more and more, whilest more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, having beene named among the first, and not thought fit enough) Pacuvitus entreated, and casily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleffe) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the People, as in former times, honoured 40 Parwins, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themselues indebted, for saving all their lines. Neither did the Senate faile after this, by all obsequiousnesse, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawlesse Wil, who else were likely to cast them downe: All the Citie being thus of one minde; onely feare of the Romans kept them from opening their gates to Hannibal. But after the Battaile at Canne, this impediment was removed: and few there were, that would open their mouthes to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the Campans, did then serue the Romans in the Isle of Sicil: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so farre, that Embassadors were sent vnto Terentius the Consul; to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wheresoever they found him, found him weakely attended, and as weake in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the service of their State; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them the greatnesse of the Roman misfortune: faying, that all was loft; and that the Campans must now, Qqqqq 2

not helpe the Romans, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselues, but, make warre in their defence against the Carthaginians; as the Romans had sometimes done for the Campans against the Samnites. Hereunto hee is said to have added a foolish Inucctive against Hannibal & his Carthagintans : telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of flaughtered carkales, and to feede vpon mans flesh; with fuch other stuffe, as onely bewraied his owne feare. As for the Campans themselves, He put them in minde of their present strength: they having thirty thousand foot. and foure thousand horse; with monic, and all provisions, in aboundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder then they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in adventuring 10 to seeke their owne libertie. Hauing reported this at Capua: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to Hannibal, with whom they easily made Alliance, upon these conditions; That the Campans should be absolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizen of theirs should be subject vnto any Carthaginian Magistrate, in what case soeuer, whether in Warre or Peace; and, That Hannibal should deliuer vnto the Campans three hundred Roman prisoners, such as they themfelues would choose, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in Sicel.

Against all this Negotiation, Decius Magius an honourable Citizen opposed himfelse carnestly: vsing, in vaine, many perswasions, to the wilfull and head-strong 20 Multitude; whom he put in minde of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were fending Embassadors to Hannibal: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded but most carnestly, when a Carthaginian Garrison was entring the Towne: at which time he gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it and to ent it in pieces, that, by fuch a notable piece of service, they might make amends vnto the

Romans, whom they had for saken.

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Aduertisement hereof was given to Hannibal: who lying about Naples not farre off, sent for Magius to come speake with him in the campe. This Magius refused: alleaging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection vnto any 30 Carthaginian; and therefore would not come. Hannibal thereupon hasted himselfe towards Capua: for bearing to attempt any further upon Naples; which he thought to have taken in his way by Scalado, but found the walls too high, and was not well prouided, to lay siege vnto it. At Capua hee was entertained with great solemnitie and pompe : all the people issuing forth of the Towne, to behold that great Commander, which had wonne so many noble victories. Hauing taken his pleasure in the fight of that goodly Citie, and passed ouer his first Entertainements; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the Roman yoke; promising, that ere long all Italie, and Rome it selfe, should bee driven to acknowledge Capua as chiefe, and receive Law from thence. As for Decius Magius, who 40 openly tooke part with the Romans their enemies; Hee prayed them, that they would not thinke him a Campan, but a Traitor to the State: and vie him accordingly, giving sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and Magins deliuered vnto Hannibal; who vnwilling to offend the Capuans, at his first comming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if he kept him alive, thought it best to send him away to Carthage. Thus Hannibal settled his friendship with the Campans: among whom, only this Decius Mazius had openly dared to speake against him; being assisted by Perolla the fonne of Pacuvius. This Perolla would have murdered Hannibal, whilest hee was at Supper, the first night of his comming; had not his Fathers authoritie kept him 50 from making any fuch attempt. All the Towne (belides) were so carnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are faid to have murdered all the Romans, vpon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of Capua, ranne some other Townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. No.la, Nuceria, Naples, Casiline, and deerra, were the Cities next adioyning, that stood out for the Romans. Against these Hannibal went, thinking to finde them weakely manned as they were indeede though floutly defended.

The Romans at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Townes; but were faine to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. Rome it selfe was in extreme feare of Hannibals comming, at the first report of the ouerthrow at Canne and the griefe of that 10 loffe was so generall, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the losse alreadie received, or the feare of destruction presently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to ftint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the ftreets were full. Courriers were fent forth, to bring affured tidings how all went: whereof when letters from the Conful Varro had throughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ranne into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was faid) from their fatall bookes, buried aliue two men and women Gaules and Greekes, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of Sibyl gaue them fuch instructions; we may justly thinke, that sibyl herselfe was instructed by the Deuill. Yet is it not 20 improbable, that extremity of feare caused them to barken to wicked Soothfavers; whose detestable counsailes they afterwards, for their owne honour, (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the bookes of Sibyl. An Embassadour was fent to Delphi, to confult the Oracle of Apollo; and enquire with what prayers and fupplications they might pacific the gods, and obtaine an ende of these calamities. This is enough to discouer the greatnesse of their feare; though not seruing to give remedie. At the same time came letters out of Sicil, from the Prætor Octacilius; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to passe ouer into Africk. In these were contained newes, of one Carthaginian fleet, that wasted the Kingdome of Hieron their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the 30 Iles Ægateis, which was in readinesse to set vpon Lilybeum, and the rest of the Ro-

man Province, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of Hieron.

In the middest of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home Terentius the Conful, that he might name a Dictator, to take foueraigne charge of the Weale publique, with absolute power, as necessitic required. It must needes seeme strange, that all forts of people went forth to meet the Conful, & bid him welcome home, gining him thankes for that he had not despaired of the Weale publique. But this was done (as may seeme) by order from the Senate : which therein (doubtlesse) prouided wisely, for vpholding the generall reputation. If his comming into the Citie, had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people : what elfe would have 40 followed, than a contempt of their wretchednesse, among those that were subject vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gaue it not) of bestowing vpon him their welcome, and thankes; they noysed abroad a fame, which came perhaps vnto the earcs of Hannibal, of their Magnanimitie and Confidence: that might seeme grounded on their remayning strength. This therefore was wifely done: But whereas Linie would have vs thinke, that it was done generoully, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleeue him not. It was done fearefully, and to couer their griefe: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his head; as in few yeres after, Cn. Fuluius had his life brought Lius 1.26; into question, and was banished by them, being lesse blame-worthy, for a smaller To offence, M. lunius, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and

T. Sempronius, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised foure new Legions, and a thousand horse : though with much Lind, 22: difficultie; as being faine to take vp some, that were very Boies. These foure Legions, are elsewhere forgotten, in accompt of the forces leuied by this Dictator; and

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two Legions only fet downe, that had beene enrolled in the beginning of the yeere for custodie of the Citie. Wherfore it may be, that these two Legions being drawne into the field; foure new ones of Pratextati, or Stripplings, were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to bee reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them eight thousand sturdie flaues, that were put in hope of libertie, if they should descrue it by manfull service. This not sufficing; The Dictator proclaimed, that who locuer ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith bee difcharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serue in the Warre. To arme these Companies, they were faine to take downe, out of their Temples and Porches, the 10 spoiles of their enemies that had beene there set vp : among which, were fixe thoufand Armours of the Gaules, that had beene carried in the Triumph of C. Flaminius. a little before the beginning of this Warre. To fuch mockeric had God brought the pride of the Romans, as a due reward of their infolent oppressions, that they were taine to iffue forth of their own gates, in the habit of firangers, when Hannibal was readie to encounter them with his Africans, armed Roman-like.

About the same time it was, that Carthalo, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at Canne, came to Rome. Carthalo was not admitted into the Citic, but commanded. whilest he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the Roman Territoric. To the meffengers of the captiues, audience was given by the Senate. They made car- 29 nest Petition, to be ransomed at the publike charge; not only the teares and lamentation of their poore kins folke, but the great neede, wherein the Citie then flood, ofable Souldiers, commending their fute; which yet they obtained not. Besides the generall custome of the Romans (held by long Tradition, and strengthned by a notable Precedent, when Regulus was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former warre) not to bee too tender of such as had yeelded to the Enemie; much was alleaged against these who now craved ransome: but the special point was; that they were wilfully loft, fince they might have faued them felues, as others did. It fufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Confuls: they were told, that this was great prefumption. The truth was, the 30 State wanted money: and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to avoid the difbursement; whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as wee find recorded. Neyther must wee regard it, that the flaues which were armed for the warre, are faid to have cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would have ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, deuised to countenance the Roman proceedings as if they had beene seuere; when as indeed they were futeable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggerly. Hercofit is no little proofe, That Hannibal valued those Roman slaves, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Masters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ransome: and likely it is, that hee offered them at the 40 price, whereat hee thought them current. But wee should suppose, that by trading with Hannibal, a better bargaine for flaues might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we withall consider, that these private men did only lend these slaves for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbeare the price of them ( when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) vntill the warre should be ended. If Hannibal would have given fuch long day of paiment; it is likely that the Romans would have beene his chapmen: but feeing he dealt only for ready monie, they chose rather to fav. We will not give, than, We cannot. The like aufteritic, vpon the same reason, but contrarie pretence, was vied toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great 50 Battaile. These were charged for having fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might have done fo. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) that which they call raggione del Stato may ferue for an excuse: when the Common wealth being driuen to a miserable Exigent, is faine to helpeit selfe, by doing iniuries to

private men. And so dealt the Romans now: condemning all those that had served at Canna, to be transported into Steil; and there to serve, not as others did, vntill they had fulfilled twentie yeeres in the warres, or else were sisting yeeres of age; but vntill this warre should be ended, how long socuer it lasted, and that without reward. The same thristic censure, was afterwards laid vpon others, for their misbehauiour: but neuer vpon any man of qualitic, sauconly (a good while after this, at better leisure) vpon Cacilius Metellus, and a few other hare-braind sooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of segret a losse, were deuting, after the battaile, which way to runne out of Italie, when Hannibakas yet had scarce one Towne within it. The inequalitie of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonatic: and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the People, neuer. Listle full:

theleffe it was quietly digested, the excuse being no lesse apparent than the fault. M. Iunius the Dictator, having dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie, tooke the field with five and twentiethou and men. What he did with this Armie, I cannot finde: nor more of him, than this, That he spent the time about Campanta; where (as may be prefumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that Hannibal did no greater evill: for of any cuill done to Hannibal, by the Romans in this their weake cftate, only Marcellus had the honour. Marcellus, being then one of the Prætors, lay at Offia with a fleet, ready to fet faile for Si-20 cil, hauing one Legion aboord his ships, & fifteene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp : with which forces he was to defend that liand, and doe what harme hee could in Africk. But hearing of the overthrow at Canna, hee fent these of his new Leuie to Rome, for defence of the Citie, and marched haftily with his Legion toward Cannussum: delivering the fleet empty of Souldiers, to P. Furius his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, & chiefe Citizens of Nola, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the Multitude (affected, as were the rest of the Campans) to let in the Carthaginian; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by feeming to deliberate about the Articles of this new Confederacie. Wherefore he made great journies thitherward; and arrived even time enough to prevent the E-20 nemie. Many idle walkes Hannibal made, betwixt Nola and Naples : affaying by faire words, and terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. Naples was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloialtie: it had also a sure Hauen, whereby it stood in the lesse feare, of sustayning much inconvenience, by spoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrie. But at Nolait was thought a valuable confideration, That Hannibal was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poore people were veterly vndone. So thought the Multitude : and fuch talke vled force, that had little feare of their owne private want or povertie, but a great desire to gratifie the Carthaginian. Of these, one L. Bantius was chiefe; a flout yong Gentleman, and Souldier of especiall marke, well beloued in the Citic, and one that had done 40 good service to the Romans: but was found by Hannibal, halfe dead at Canna, and after much gentle vsage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberall gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greatest thankes he could vnto so courteous an Enemie. Mar cellus perceiuing this, wrought vpon the same casie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had beene by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deferued of the Roman state, had not repaired vnto him the Prator, who defired nothing more than fuch acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and louing entertainement, being himselse also a man highly reputed for his personall valour, he made this Bantius to far in loue with him, that nothing could be attempted within Nola, against the Romans, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the comming of Marcellus, Hannibal remoued from about Nola; and assaicd, as formerly he had done, the Neapolitans: but they had lately taken in a Roman Garrison; vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a peremptorie answere, to his discontent. Thence went he to Nuceria: which he tooke by composition; and so returned back

Liu.l.24.

againe to Nola. Hee was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of Nolabore vnto him: who although they durft not ftirre in his quarrell, being ouerawed by the Roman Garrison; yet if they saw Marcellus hardly bestead, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies affailing him without, like enough it feemed, that they would not bee wanting vnto the accomplishment of their owne desires. Hee therefore brought his Armie close to the Towne, and skirmished often with Marcellus: not in hope thereby to doe much good but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which hee fought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night-time there passed messages betweene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if 10 once Marcellus, with all his forces, could bee trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne should presently rise; and seizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemie. Of this Negotiation Marcellus was advertised: and fearing, lest the Conspirators would shortly aduenture; even to finde him busied within the Citie, whileft the Carthaginians should scale the walls; he thought it the surest way, to cut off the enemies hope, and fend him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three Companies, within three seuerall gates looking towards the Enemie: He gaue a streight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus hee lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; against whom he had cuftomarily issued forth before more early cuery day, to skirmish. But when it was 20 further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought Hannibal, that furely all was discourred, and Marcellus now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bade his men bring ladders, and make ready for the affault; which was done in all halle. But when the Carthaginians were at the very walls, and thought nothing leffe, than that the Romans would meet them in the field: finddenly the middle pate was opened, wherat Marcellus, with the best and oldeft of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his vnexpected sallie the more terrible. Whilest the Carthaginians, much out of order, were fome of them flying before Marcellus, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like fort iffued they of the new-leuied Companies, 30 vpon the enemies backes. The fudden terrour was more availeable vnto the Romans, than their force: yet the Execution was fo great, that this was accounted as a victorie, and reputed one of the brauest Acts performed in all that warre; for afmuch as hereby it was first proued, that Hannibal might be ouer-come. After this, Marcellus, being freed from his enemics that were departed, tooke a strict accompt of the Citizens of 2 ola: condemning about threescore and ten of high Treason. whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the Towne in quiet obedience vnto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about Suessula. Hannibal in the meane season was gone to Acerra: where being excluded, he thought it no wisdome to loose time in perswassions, but laid siege vnto it, and beganne on all sides to close it vp. This ter- 40 rified the People, who knew themselves vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Towne emptie: which he sacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator that he was about Casiline, thither went Hannibal: as being vnwilling, that an Enemie so neere should disquiet him at Capua; where hee meant to Winter. It feemes, or rather indeede it is plaine, that the late victorie of Marcellus had nothing abated the spirit of the Carthaginian: who durst with a small part of his Armie seeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the Roman strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, vpon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thoufand of his men, at the most, and those not slaine in plaine battaile, but by a sudden so cruption; witneffeth chiefly, in what great feare they flood of Hannibal, and how Crest-fallen they were: that having three yeeres since demanded at Carthage, the body of Hannibal, to be delivered vnto their pleasure, by his owne Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmish not farre

from Rome he appeared to be a man, and not reliftlesse. At Casilinum the Dictator was not: but many Companies of Italians, Confederates of Rome, were gotten into the towns, and held it. Five hundred of the Pranestines there were, and aboue foure hundred of Perusia, with some of the Latines. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the Battaile of Canna, being fent by their feuerall States to the campe: whither whilest they were marching, the tidings of that great mislortune encountred them, and fent them backe for rowfull; for they loued well their Lords the Romans, vnder whose gouernement they lived happily. So came they all, one after another to Castline, where they met and Itaied. Neither had they staied there long; 10 ere they heard newes from Capua, How that great Citie became the Ring-leader of all the Campans into rebellion. The people of Casiline were affected as they of Capua: and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those Prenestines and their fellowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one for another, at last they sew all the Townssmen in a night, and fortified the Westerne part of the Towne (for it was divided by the River Vulturnus) against the Enemie. If they had runne away with the goods, and pretended, that these of Caliline were as the rest of the Campans, all Traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the Mamertines. But their constancie in desence of the place witneffeth, vpon what honest reasons they surprised it. Hannibal came thither, thinking to have encountred with greater forces: but these few found him more worke than he expected. Divers affaults hee gave, but was still repelled with losse: and many fallies they made, with variable event. The Enemie mined; and they countermined; opposing so much industrie to his force, that he was driven to close them vo. and feeke to winne them by famine. T. Sempronius Gracchus, that was Mafter of the horse, lay with the Roman Armie higher vp the River: who faine would have relieved Caliline, but that the Dictator, being gone to Rome about some matters of Religion, had given him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. Marcellus from Suessula could not come: his way being stopped by the ouer-flowings of Vulturnus, the Nolans also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of 30 the Campans, if he departed. Thus it is reported : but if the water staied his iournic. fuch entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarried at Rome folong, as till extreme famine had confumed the Garrison in Casiline. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was loft, because the Romans durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrells of corne were sent by night, floting downe the River; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stuck among the Willowes on the banke, whereby this manner of reliefe was discouered and preuented; Gracebus cast a great quantitie of Nuts into the streame, which faintly fustained the poore belieged men. At length, when all foode was spent, and whatsocuer grew greene under the walls was gathered for fallets; the Carthaginians 40 ploughed up the ground: whereon the belieged presently sowed Rape-seede. Hannibal seeing this, admired their patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at Cafiline, vntill the Rapes were growne. Wherefore, though hitherto hee had refused to hearken vnto any Compolition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacie; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent ransome, which when they had paid, hee quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven hundred Carthaginians he placed in Casiline; as a Garrison for defence of the Campans; vnto whom he restored it. To the Pranefine Souldiers great thankes were given, and louing rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of Rome. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in Praneste: which is no weake proofe, of the good estate wherin the Cities flourished, that were subject to the Roman Gouernement. This siege of Casiline was not a little beneficiall to the Romans; as having long detained Hannibal, and confumed much of his time, that might other wise have beene better spent. For Winter over-tooke

him, long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honor he knew not, when hee was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at Capua: where he refreshed his Armie, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beate the Romans in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

à. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage to be fent to HANNIBAL in Italie. 10 How by the malice of HANNO, and floth or parsimonie of the Carthaginians, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of FABIVS and other old Roman Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.

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Hen Mago, the sonne of Amilear, had spent some time about the taking in of fuch Italians, as fell from the Romans after the battaile at Canna; his brother Hannibal fent for him to Capua, and thence dispatched him away to Carthage, with the joyfull message of Victoric. 20 He told the Carthaginian Senate, with how many Roman Generalls

his brother had fought; what Confuls he had chaced, wounded, or flaine; how the flout Romans, that in the former war neuer shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator Fabius the only good Captaine because he neuer durst aduenture to come to battaile; that, not without reafon, their spirits were thus abated, since Hannibal had slain of them about two hundred thousand, and taken aboue fiftie thousand prisoners. He further told them of the Brutians, Apulians, Samnites, Lucans, and other people of Italie, that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted vnto the Carthaginians. Among the rest he magnified Capua, as a goodly Citie, and fit to be not only (as already it was) 30 Head of all the Capuans, but the chiefe seat of their Dominion in Italie: and there he informed them, how louingly his brother had beene entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the warre, He saidit was even at an end, if they would now purfue it closely, and not give the Romans any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repaire their broken forces. Hee willed them to consider, that the warre was farre from home, in the Enemies Countrie; that so many Battailes had much diminished his brothers Armic : that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new Italian friends, with exactions of monie, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must bee sent from Carthage: 49 reports it: and which the victoric would require with large amends. Finally hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the Roman Knights that were slaine, to be powred out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels. poore, the bra- or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatnesse of the Roman calamitic, for a smuch as none but the \* principall not altogether of that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament.

Whoso considers the former Punick Warre, may easily find, that the State of Carthage neuer did receive, in all the durance thereof, any fuch hopefull advertisements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no meruaile, if the Errand of Mago found extraordinarie welcome. In the vehemencie of this joy. Himileo, a Senator 50 adverse to the faction of Hanno, is said to have demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with Rome, Whether he were still of opinion, that Hannibal should bee yeelded up unto the Romans; or whether he would forbid them to give thankes un-Roman Equites. to the gods, for this their good successe. Hereunto though it bee not likely that

Hanno made the same formall answere, which Liute puts into his mouth, calling the Carthaginian Senators Patres conscripti, by a terme proper to the Romans, and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull overthrow received at the Ilands Leateis: vet the summe of his speech appeares to have beene no lesse malicious, than it is set downe for a fmuch as Hannibal himselfe, at his departure out of Italie, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this Hanno; saying, that his hatred against the Barchines, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of Carthave. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported faying, It ill beseemed him, who had vanquished the Romans, to call for 10 more helpe, as if he had beene beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled for footh with spoile, to make request for meat and monic. To these cauills, if anfwere were needfull, it might be faid, That other bootie than of horses and slaues: little was to be found in the Roman campe : the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few aliluer stude in the bridles and trappings of a Liu.Lizza their horses. If Hannibal had taken any maine convoy of mony and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great Armie in some other Province, (as the two Scipio's are afterwards faid to have done, when they wanne the campe of Afdrubal, that carried along with him all the wealth of Spaine, in his journie towards Italie) then might such an objection more justly have beene made vnto his demand of a supply. 20 But the most likely part of Hanno his Oration, and wherein hee best might hope to preuaile, contained a perswafion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to

feeke peace, whileft they had fo much the better in warre. What would have beene the issue of this counsaile, if it had beene followed. it were not casie to say. For though it bee likely, that the Roman pride would have brooked much indignitie, in freeing Italie from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely, that the faith, so often broken to the Carthaginians in former times, would have beene kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shamefull ouerthrowes; since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submiffiue behauiour could preserue Carthage from ruine, longer 30 than vntill fuch time, as Rome was at leifure from all other warres. This counsaile therefore of Hanno, though it might seeme temperate, was indeede very pestilent;

and ferued only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine confent of the Senate, that fortie thousand Numidians, fortie Elephants, and great abundance of filter, should bee sent ouer to Hannibal: and that, besides these, twentie thousand foot, and soure thousand horse, should be leuied in Spaine; not only to supply, as neede should require, the Armies in that Prouince. but to be transported into Italie.

This great aide, had it beene as carefully fent, as it was readily decreed, the Roman Historians would not have found cause, to taxe the rechlesse improvidence of 40 Hannibal, in forbearing to march directly from Cannato Rome, or in refreshing his Armie among the delights of Capua: the next yeeres worke would have finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous aduenture; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the Campans, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to bee imploied in the following warre. But either the too much carelefnesse of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their monie, before extreme necessitie required it; or the craftie malice of Hanno, and his fellowes, working vponthe private humours of men, that had more feeling of their ownecommoditie, than sense of the publike neede; vtterly peruerted, and made vnprofitable in the performance, the 50 order that had beene so well set downe. The b Elephants were sent : and some b Liu, 1263

monie peraduenture; vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of threescore thousand foot, and fourethousand horse, came not into Italie, till much was lost of that which already had beene gotten, and a great part of the old Carthaginian Armie, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of warre. Only

\* Thus Livie credible it is, fogreat, as the haue permitotherwile Ins Annuli, I be wearing of the

CHAP. 2. S.11.

fome small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into Spaine; and the journie of Afdrubal thence through France into Italie much talked o' but he not enabled therevnto, till many yeeres were past, and the Romans had

recouered their strength.

Heere wee may note, what great riches the Carthaginians drew into their Citie. both by the Tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of merchandize. For it is not long, fince the warre of the Mercinaries; and the perfidioustyrannie of the Romans, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impouerished Carthage: which was before brought into great want, euen by the expence of so much monie, as was to bee disbursed for re- to deeming of peace, after the loffe at Egateis. Yet we fee, what great Armies of Numidians, and Spaniards, belides those already on foot, are appointed to the service in Italic, and how little the Carthaginians feare the want of mony in these chargeable vndertakings: whereas the Romans, on the other fide, having three or foure veeres together beene forced to some extraordinary cost, are faine to goe vpon credit, even for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such aduantage, in meanes to enrich their Treasurie, had the wealthy merchants of Carthage, trading in all parts of the Mediterran Sea, cuen from Tvrus their Mother-City in the bottome of the streights vnto the great Ocean, aboue the Romans: who lived on the fruits of their ground; and received their Tributes 20 from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come. that the hatred of Rome found leifure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of Carthage; the impudence of Roman fallhood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discouered plainely whence the jealousie was bred, that this mighty Citie would againe rebell. For the Carthaginians, having giuen vo hostages, euen before the Roman Armie did set forth, to performe what soener should bee enjoyned them, with condition that their Citie might not bee destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded vp all their weapons, and engines of warre; the Romans told them plainly, That the Citic of Carthage, which was the Bodie of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt with all, but 30 the Towne must needes be demolished, and remoued into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (said the Romans) this Trade of merchandize, by which ye now liue, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of husbandrie; an wholsome kind of life. and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villainous dealing of the Romans, though sugred with glosing words, plainly shewes, what good observation the elder Cato had made of the hastie growth of Carthage in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter what soener it were, added still this conclusion, Thus I thinke; and that Carthage should be destroied; Hee may seeme, 40 not only to have had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there here had found in the Citie, but much more vnto these times, & the great height whervnto it rose, euen suddenly as wee see, out of many calamities, whilest the Romans thought, that it had not beene in case to dare so terrible a warre.

But as the Carthaginians, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the Romans; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good: having every one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly, was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had beene re- 50 quisite in the execution. It was easie for Hanno to perswade couctous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in Spaine. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Armie into Italie; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisedome, to commit

all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the Encmies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Gouernment of an ambitions man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could fo doc) finished the warre, might casily make \* Hannibala King, and subdue Carthage, with the forces that he had gi-bition Hanno

uen them to the conquest of Rome. By fuch malicious working of Hanno, and by their owne flackneffe, incredulitie, fed Hannihal By such maticious working of Hanno, and by their owne flacknesse, incredistite, see authors, but dulnesse, or niggardize, the Carthaginians were persuaded rather to make small diffunde ware bursements in Spaine, than to set vp all their rest at once in Italie. Yet was it indeed that so hee impossible, to hold a Countrie of so large extent, and so open a coast as that of might line compassed 10 Spaine, free from all incursion of the Enemic : especially the affection of the Natu- with Legions, to make a running warre, by which the Romans might have beene found occupied, make himselfe enen with the ordinarie Carthaginian Garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. a King Liu. For if it were thought meet, to deferre the profecution of their maine intendment lib. 11. against Rome it selfe, vntill such time as every little thorne were pulled out of the fides of so great a Prouince, then must Emporie have bin besieged & forced: which by reason of alliance with the Massilians, gaue vnto the Romans, at all times when they pleased, a readie and secure Harbour. But the Towne of Emporia was too strong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it selfe against the Barbarians; ha-20 uing not about four hundred paces of wall to the maine Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great Spanish Towne of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the Gracians, though not ouer-much trufted. Wherefore to force this Towne of Emporia, that was, befides the proper strength, like to be so well affisted by the Masslians, Romans, and some Spaniards; would have been a worke of little lesse difficultie, than was the Roman warre (in appearance) after the battaile at Canna: yea it had bin in effect none other, than to alter the feat of the warre; which Hannibal had already fixed, with better judgement, neere vnto the gates of Rome. The difficultie of this attempt being such as caused it altogether to be forborne; great follie it was, to bee much 30 troubled about expelling the Romans vtterly out of Spaine : whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by making strong warre vpon their Citie. For even so the Romans afterwardes removed Hannibal into Africk, by fending an Armic to Carthage; & by taking the like course, they now endeuoured to change the feat of the warre, transferring it out of Italie into Spaine. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is accessary to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they fet not to their helping hands. Hanno was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were wel enough contented to harken vnto his discourses, as long 40 as they were plaufible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane while they suffered Hannibal, and all the noble house of Amiltar, to wearie themselves in trauaile for the Common-wealth: which all Carthage in generall highly commended, but weakely affifted ; as if the industrie of these Barchines had been somewhat more than needfull. Surely the Carthaginians, in general, were farre leffe honourable than the people of Rome: not only in gouernement of their subject Provinces, but in administration of their owne Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike aboue their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimonie vsed toward their own Mercinaries, when the former Roman warre was finished: so the conclusion of this warre present, will make them complaine, with 50 feeling fighes, of their negligence in supplying Hannibal, after the victorie at Canna; when gladly they would give all their Treasures, to redeeme the opportunitie, that now they let paffe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfulls into

That both the Spanish businesse, and the state of Africk it selfe, depended whol-

\* Of fuch am-

ly, or for the most part, vpon successe of things in Italie; the course of actions fol-

lowing will make manifest. Particularly how matters were ordered in Spaine by

the Carthaginian Gouernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe.

For though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian Linie, the tender love

of his owne Country, which made him give credit vnto Fabius and others: yet must

we not, for his fake, belocue those lies, which the vnpartiall judgement of Polybius

hath condemned in the Writers that gaue them originall. It were needleffe to re-

hearfe all that may be found in Polybius, concerning the vntruth of that Roman Hi-

storian Fabius. One example may suffice. He saith of Amilear and his men at E-

broken with many miscries, they were glad to submit themselves vnto the Romans.

ryx, in the former warre, That having cleane spent their strength, and being even 10

≬ XI.

Strange reports of the Roman victories in Spaine, before ASDRVBAL the sonne of AMILCAR followed thence his brother HANNIBAL into Italie.

CHAP.3. S.II.

Thath beene shewed already, how P. Cornelius Scipio the Conful, returning from Gaule into Italie, to encounter with Hannibal at his difcent from the Alpes, sent before him his brother Cneus, with part of his Fleet and Armie, into Spaine. Two Roman Legions, with foureteene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse.

had been ealotted vnto this Conful, therewith to make warre in Spaine against Han-10 nibal: who fince he was marching into Italie with the strength of his Armie, P. Scipio beleeved, that a good part of these his owne forces might well be spared from the Spanish Expedition; and therefore made bold to carrie some of the number backe with him, fending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. Publiss himselfe remayned in Italie all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsulinto Spaine by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and

a fleet of thirtie Gallies. The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, som what maruailous. For they continually preuailed in Spaine, against the Carthaginians: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, & with-drew from 20 their Alliance so many of the Spaniards their Confederates; that we have cause to wonder, how the Enemie could so often finde meanes to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the Romans, by pretending to deliuer the Countrie from the tyrannie of Carthage, might casily winne vnto their Confederacie, as many as were galled with the African yoke, and durst aduenture to breake it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerours might serue to arme the Naturalls against these Inuaders; and to reclaime those, that had revolted vnto the Romans. were it onely by the memorie of such ill successe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the Carthaginian treasure: which easily raised souldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirstie Na-30 tions. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the Spaniards had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with Hannibal in his Italian warres; or seruing the Carthaginians in Africk. And peraduenture, if we durft be bold to fay it; the victories of the Scipio's were neither fo many, nor fo great, as they are set out by Liuie. This we may be bold to fay, That the great Captaine Fabius, or Linie in his person, maketh an obiection vnto Scipio, which neither Scipio, nor Liuie for him, doth anfwer, That if ASDRVBAL were vanquished, as SCIPIO would say, by him in Spaine: Liu lib as strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should inuade Italie. And it is indeede an incredible narration, That Afdrubal being closed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape 40 out of a battaile, saue only by the steepe descent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his backe, ranne away with all his monie, Elephants, and broken troups, ouer

Tagus, directly towards the Pyrenees, and so toward Italie, vpon which he fell with more than threefcore thousand armed Souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs wel together, That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retrait, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent al his monie and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemie: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the Romans (for so are they said to have done in the last battaile betweene him and Scipio) from breaking into his camp. Wherfore we can no more than be forry, that 50 all Ca thaginian records of this warre, and Spanish, (if there were any) being veterly loft, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wisdome to give too much credit. In this regard, I will sum-

marily runne ouer the doings of the Scipio's in Spaine; not greatly infifting on particulars, whereof there is no great certaintie.

Pollib.z.

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Contrarie hereunto we finde in the life of AMILCAR, set downe by Emilius Pro. bus. That Eryx was in such fort held by the Carthaginians, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any warre. These wordes. being referred to the braue resolution of the Carthaginian Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their General infuling such spirit into them; may be taken as not ouerliberall. For in the treatie of peace betweene Amilear and Catalias, when the Roman first of all required, that this Garrison of Eryx should lay downe their Armes. and for fake Sicil, threatning, that otherwise he would not talke of any composition: Amilear boldly bade him choose, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the 20 Armes, which his Countrie had put into his hands to vie against her Enemics, it was not his purpose to yeeld vp vnto them. Now since the Romans, contrarie to their custome vpon like aduantages, were content to let Amilear have his will, and not to stand with him vpon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man confumed with miseries; as Fabius would have him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of Polybius: who flatly, and by name, chargeth Fabius with vntruth; faying, that how locuer Amilear, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremitie, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof and were as farre from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference 30 betweene Fabius (as also perhaps betweene other old Writers of the Roman storie) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mightie Citie of Rome: we must take it in good part that how source Livie introduceth Hanno in one \* Agateis In- place, joyning very foolithly his owne shamefull ouerthrow at the Ilands, \* Agasulas, er scemq; teis, with the great services of Amelear at Eryx, as if both of them had had a like eponite, oc. Liu. vent; yet elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his owne vnhappie conduct) into the same Hanno his mouth, making him fay, That the affaires of Carthage went neuer better, than a little before the losse of their fleet in that battaile at Sea: wherein himselfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the Scipio's in Spaine, there is cause to wish, 40 that this Fabine, with Val. Antias, and others of the like stampe, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all 3 or that the tender affection of Livie to his Rome, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations: which are fuch as follow. 

§. X I. 50

R rrrr 2

Orat.pro Con Balbo.

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Liu.lib.21.

Polilib.3.

Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporia, an Hauen-towne, not farre within the Pyrences. retaining still the same name with little inflexion. That by the same of his clemencie he allured many Nations to become subject vnto Rome, as the storie beginnes of him, I could easily beleeue, if I vnderstood by what occasion they had need to vse his clemencie, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a meere stranger, and having no iurisdiction in the Countrie. Yet is it certaine, that he was a man verie courteous, and one that could well infinuate himselfe into the love of the Barbarians; among whom, his dexteritie in practice had the better successe, for that hee feemed to have none other errand, than fetting them at libertie. This pretext availed with some others were to be hired with monie: and some hee compelled to 10 yeeld by force or feare; especially, when he had wonne a battaile against Hanno, Into all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is that he remembred to insert this Article, which the Romans in their Alliances neuer forgate, vnlesse in long times past, and when they dealt with the Carthaginians, or their Superiours; Maiestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conseruent, which is, as Tullie interprets it, That they should gently (or kindely) uphold the Maiestie of the People of Rome. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: vet implied it indeed an obscure couenant of subiection. And in this respect it may be true, That the Spaniards became ditionis Romana; of the Roman iurifdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Countrie wherein Scipiolanded, was newly subdued by 20 Hannibal in his passage toward Italie; and therefore the more casily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the Bargutians; Hannibal had found, at his comming among them, such an apprehension of the Roman greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the Carthaginians. Wherefore he not only appointed Hanno Gouernor over them, as over the rest of the Province betweene Iberus and the Pyrenees, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principalitie of their Countrie vnto Hanno and his Heires, ) He made him not only Lieutenant generall over them, in matters of warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their owne, leaving them to be governed 30 by Hanno at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to reioyce at the comming of Scipio: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to ioyne; it being the custome of al conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselues indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times proue worse than the former. So were the Neapolitans, and Milanois, in the age of our Grand-fathers, wearie by turnes of the Spaniards and French; as more sensible still of the prefent euil which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, whereinto they ranne by seeking to avoide it. This bad affection of his Province, would not suffer Hanno to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, Hannibal had left vnto him: besides which it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his 40 Province. Therefore he adventured a battaile with Scipio; wherein he was overthrowne and taken. Following this victorie, Scipio besieged Stissum, a Towne hard by, and wanne it. But Afdrubal having passed Iberus, and comming too late to the reliefe of Hanno, with eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, fel vpon the Roman Sea-forces, that lay not farre about Tarracon, whom he found carelesse, as after a vi-Storie, rouing abroad in the Countrie; and with great flaughter draue them aboord their ships. This done, he ranne vp into the Countrie, where he with drew the 11lergetes from the Roman partie, though they had given hostages to Scipio. Scipio in the meane scason was gone to visit and aide his fleet: where having set things in order, he returned backe, and made toward Afarubal; who durst not abide his comming, but with drew himselfe againe ouer Iberus. So the Illergetes were compelled by force, having lost Athanagia their chiefe Citic, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their hostages. The Ausetani likewise, Confederates of the Carthaginians, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirtie

dayes; hoping invaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of snow that fell, would have made the Romans to dislodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their obstinacie; they were amerced twentie Talents of illure. During the slege, the Lacetanicame to helpe their distressed heighbours; and were beaten home by Seipio, leaving twelve thousand of their Companie dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these Lacetani, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of Seipio, should without any cause remembred, become Carthaginian on the sudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it strange, that all the Sea-coast Nothward of Iberus, having lately become voluntarially distinuic Romans: (labiest anta Rome, should in continuance of the Storie, after a

10 ly dittonis Romana; subject vnto Rome, should in continuance of the Storie, after a Lin, 100-210 few lines, hold warre against Scipio, without any assistance of the Carthaginians. Neither can I beleeue, that Astrobal, as it were by a charme, stirred up the litergetes, making them lay asside all care of their Hostages, and take Armes in his quarrell; while thimselfe had not the daring to stand against Scipio, but ranne away, and saued himselfe beyond Iberus. Philinus perhaps, or some Carthaginian Writer, would have told it thus: That Scipio adventuring too starre into the Countrey, was beaten by Astrobal back to his ships, whence he durst not stirre, until Winter came on: at what time this Carthaginian returned into the heart of his Province, leaving some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after Scipio wanne, by returning upon them, unlooked for, through a deep snow. As for the Lacetani, silergetes, and the

rest, we may reasonably thinke, that they sought their owne benefit: helping themselves one while by the Romans against the Carthaginians, and contrariwise, vpon sense of iniuries received, or apprehension of more grieuous tyrannie, under which they seared to be brought by these new Masters, hatking againe unto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their owne Countrey Lawes, and not under Governours sent from Rome or Carthage, their demeanour in all Ages following may restince: even from henceforth unto the dayes of Augustus Casar; till when they were never throughly conquered.

The yeere following this, Cn. Scipio had a victoric against the Carthaginians in fight at Sea; or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too far on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victoric, aboue one hundred and twentie Nations, or pettie Estates, in Spaine, are said to have submitted themselves vnto the Romans, and given Hostages: whereby Asarubal was compelled to flie into the vtmost corners of the land, and hide himselfe in Lusitania. Yet it followes; that the Illergetes did againe rebell; that Asdrubal hereupon came ouer Iberus; and that Scipio (though having eafily vanquilhed the Illergetes) went 40 not forth to meet him, but stirred vp against him the Celtiberians, that lately were become his subjects and had given him Hostages. These tooke from the Carthaginian three Townes, and vanquished him in two battailes, wherein they slue fifteen thousand of his men, and tooke soure thousand Prisoners. Then arrived P. Scipio, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren ioyntly administred the businesse in Spaine.

The Carthaginians being occupied in the Celtiberian Warre; the two Scipio's did, haud einetanter; without feare or doubt, passed over therms, & besiege Saguntum. Little cause of doubt had they, if Cn. had alreadie subdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many others, the same Celtiberians, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish Asarubal. Bostar, the Gouernour of Saguntum, a simple man, suffered himselie to be perswaded by one Acedux a Spaniard, that the only way to get the fauour and hearty good will of the Countrie; was by freely restoring vitto them their Hostages; as resting; without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crastic Spaniard, being trusted with this mellageand restitution of the Hostages, carried them Reference.

CHAP.3.S.II.

all to the Roman Generalls: perswading them, as hee had done Bostar, to make the Liberalitie their owne. Hereby the Romans purchased much love: if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward and cre this we finde, that all the Spam/b Hostages were left in new Carthage. I am wearie of rehearing so many particularities, whereof I can beleeue so few. But since wee finde no better certainties, we must content our selues with these.

The vecre following was like vnto this: Astrubal must be beaten againe. The two Scipio's divide their forces: Cn. makes warre by Land; P. by Sea. Aldrubal, with much labour and entreatie, hath gotten foure thousand foot, and fine hundred horse out of Africk: He repaires his fleet; and prouides every way to make resi- 10 stance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Masters of his ships, revolt vnto the Romans: because they had been chidden the last yeers for their negligence, which had betraied the Nauie. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the Carpetians, or Carpetani, an In-land people about Toledo, in the very Center of Spaine. These doe much mischiefe, so that As drubal is faine to make a journey to them. His sudden comming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, so valiantly affaile him, that they drive him, for very feare, to incampe himselfe strongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battaile. So they take a Towne by force, wherein he had laide vp all his prouisions; and shortly make themselues Masters of the Countrie round 20 about. This good successe breeds negligence; for which they dearely pay. Afdrubal comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from Carthage; that Asdrubal should leade his Armie forthwith into Italie: which we may wonder, why the Carthaginians would appoint him to doe, if they had been einformed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had fo weakely supplyed him, as is shewed before. But thus we findeit reported: and that you the very rumour of this his journie, almost all Spaine was readie to fall to the Romans. As drubal therefore sends word presently to Carthage, That this must not be fo: or, if they will needes have it fo, that then they must fend him a Success- 30 four, and well attended with a strong Armie, which to imploy they should finde worke more than enough; such notable men were the Roman Generalls. But the Senate of Carthage is not much moved with this excuse: Adrubal must needes be gone; and Himileo, with fuch forces as are thought expedient for that service both by Land & Sea, is sent to take the charge of Spaine. Wherfore Adambal hath now no more to doe, than to furnish himselfe with store of monie, that hee might have where with all to winne the friendship of the Gaules; through whose Countries hee must passe, as Hannibal had done before him. The Carthaginians were greatly too blame, for not remembring to ease him of this care. But since it can bee no better, he laies great Impositions upon al the Spaniards his subjects: & having gotten toge- 40 ther as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth, toward Iberus. The Scipio's hearing these newes, are carefull how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *lbera* (so called of the Rivers name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with Afdrubal: who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The Romans meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more easily. for that the Spaniards, his followers, had rather bee vanquished at home; than get the victorie, and afterwards be haled into Italie. Great numbers are flaine; and few should have escaped, but that the Spaniards ranne away, ere the battailes were throughly ioyned. Their campe the Romans take, and spoile: whereby (questionleffe) they are maruailoufly enriched; all the monie that could bee raked together 50 in Spaine, being carried along in this Italian Expedition. This dayes event ioynes all Spaine to the Romans, if any part of the Countrie stood in doubt before; and puts Aldrubal so farre from all thought of travailing into Italie, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in Spaine. Of these exployts advertisement is sent to

Rome: and Letters to the Senate, from P. and Cn. Scipio, whereof the Contents are; That they have neither monie, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to fullaine their Liu.l.23. Armie and Fleet; That all is wanting; fo as vnleffe they may bee supplied from Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarrie any longer in the Pronince. These Letters come to Rome in an cuill season; the State being scarcely able, after the loffe at Canna, to helpe it felte at home. Yet reliefe is fent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of Rome bare vnto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere, into the R elation of things whereof the truth is leffe questionable. At the comming of to this supply the two Scipio's pursue Asdrubal, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we thinke; that remember the latt newes of him, and how fearefully he mistrusted his owne safetie? They finde him, and Mago, and Amilear the sonne of Bomilear, with an Armie of three core thou fand men, belieging Illiturgi: (which the learned Ortelius, & others, probably conjecture to have stood, where Carinnena

is now, in the Kingdome of Aragon; for there was Illiturgis, afterward called Forum Iulig, quite another way) a Towne of the Illergetes their neerest Neighbours, for hauing repolted vnto the Romans. The Towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victuailes. The Romans therefore breake through betweene the Encmies camps, with terrible flaughter of all that refift them: and having victuailed the 20 place, encourage the townsmento defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the beliegers, in their behalfe. So they issue forth, about fixteen thousand against threescore thousand; and killing more of the Liudes enemies, than themselves were in number, drive all the three Carthaginian Commanders, enery one, out of his quarter; and tooke that day, belides prisoners and other bootie, siftie and eight Ensignes. The Carthaginian Armie, being thus beaten

berus. The Spaniards are blamed, as too greedy of earning monie by warre, for thus re-enforcing the broken Carthaginians. But it may be wondred, whence the Carthaginians had monie to pay them: fince Asarubal was lately driven to poll the Coun-30 trie, wanting monie of his owne; and being beaten in this journie, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his campe was taken after the battaile by Ibera. Howfoeuer it happens, the Carthaginians (according to their custome) are beaten againe at Incibili: where there were of them aboue thirteene thousand slaine, & aboue three Liu.1.23; thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of Spaine tell from them vnto the Romans. Thus could

from Illiturgi, fall ypon Incibili, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of I-

Fabius, Valerius Antias, or some other Historian, to whom Linie gaue credit, conquer all Spaine twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories; whereof these good

Captaines, P. and Cn. Scipio, perhaps were not aware.

The Romans, notwithstanding this large accesse of Dominion, winter on their 40 owne fide of Iberus. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the Spamiards rife against Afdrubal; and are overthrowne by him. P. Scipio, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At Castrum altum, a place in the mid-way betweene new Carthage and Saguntum; famous by the death of the great Amilear, P. Scipio incampeth: and stores the place with victuailes, being strong and defencible; as intending to make it his feat for a while. But the Countrie round about is too full of Enemies: the Carthaginian horse have charged the Romans in their march, and are gone off cleare; falling also vpon some stragglers; or such as lagged behinde their fellowes in march, they have cut off two thouland of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto some place more assured. So Pub-50 withdrawes himselfe vnto Mons Victoria: that riling somewhat Eastward from Inci-

bili, ouer-lookes the Southerne Out-let of Iberus. Thither the Carthaginians pursue him: His brother Cn. repaires vnto him; and Afdrubal the sonne of Geseo, with a full Armie, arrives to helpe his Companions. As they lie thus neere incamped together, P. Scipio, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places the rabouts,

is discourred by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himfelfe to an high peece of ground; where they beliege him, vntill his brother Cn. fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) Caffulo, a great citie of Spaine, whence Hannibal had taken him a wife, joyneth with the Romans; though being farre difrom them, and feated on the head of the River Betis. Nevertheleffe the Carthaginians passe ouer iberus, to besiege Illiturgiagaine, wherein lodgeth a Roman garrison; hoping to winneit by famine. Wee may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the rebellion of Callulo, yea and the Roman Armie lying to close by them, and to seeke adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had beene so grieuously beaten the yeere before. But thither they goe; and thither followes them Cn. Scipio with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out vpon them the next day, and in two battailes kills aboue twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with sixe and thirtie Enlignes. This victorie (doubtleffe) is remarkeable : confidering that the greatest Roman Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished Carthaginians beliege Bigarra: but that fiege is also raised by Cn. Scipio. Thence the Carthaginians remove to Munda; where the Romans are soone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the Romans get a notable victorie; and a more notable would have gotten, had not Cn. Scipio beene wounded. Thirtie nine Elephants are killed; and twelue thousand men; three thou- 20 fand prisoners taken, and seuen and fiftie Ensignes. The Carthaginians flie to Auringes; and the Romans pursue them. Cn. Scipso in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the Carthaginians againe: but kills not halfe so many of them, as before good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the Spaniards, a people framed even by nature to set warre on foot quickly fill vp the broken troupes of Asdrubal: who having also hired some of the Gaules, aduentures once more to trie his fortune with the Romans. But he is beaten againe, and loofeth eight thouland of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the Romans are even ashamed, to leave Saguntum enthralled vnto the Carthaginians; since, in behalfe of 30 that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may wee thinke it strange, that they had not recoursed it long before, since wee may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Countrie once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now belieged Saguntum; and were faine (as appears) to goe their way without it: so as they neede not to blush, for having so long forborne to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they winne Saguntum: and restore the possession thereof vnto such of the poore dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Countrie of the Turdetani, that had ministred vnto Hannibal matter of quarrell against the Saguntines. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; 40 and wherin we may be assured, that the Carthaginians would have disturbed them. if they had beene able.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the Romans have gotten in Spaine, other print or token of all their brave exploits, wee can perceive none, than this recoverie of Saguntum: excepting the stopping of Asdrubals journie; which was indeede of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they have landed at Emporia, an Hauen towne, built and peopled by a Colonic of the Phoceans, kinne to the Massilians, friends to the Romans; They have casily wonne to their party, lost, recovered, and lost againe, some pettie bordering Nations of the Spaniar ds, that are carried one while by perswasion, other 50 whiles by force, and fometimes by their owne vnfettled paffions; and now finally they have wonne a Towne, whereof the Carthaginians held entire possession, who had rooted out the old Inhabitants. Wherefore we may eafily beleeve, that when they tooke Sagantum (if they tooke it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since

in this Action we finde no particulars remembred, as when the same place was taken by Hannibal) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like fort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembred, after cuery one of which Astrabal sate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebell, were prosperous vnto the Carthaginians. For it is not the custome of Armies vanguished, to carry the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortific themselves within their owne places of ftrength, and therein to attend the leuie and arrivall of new supplies. And surely if the Romans had beene absolute Masters of the field, when they wanne Saguntum, 10 they would not have confumed a whole yeere following, in practifing only with the Celtiberians the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little leffe than two yeeres businesse. Of these Celtiberians we heare before, That they have yeelded vp themselues vnto the Romans; for securitie of their faith, given Hostages to Scipio; and, at his appointment, made warre against the Carthaginians, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serue in the Roman Campe. How this may hold together I cannot perceine; vnlesse perhaps in those dayes it were the Roman custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author whom Line followes, to call every Messenger, or straggler, that entred their campe, an Hostage

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP. 2. S.II.

20 of that people from whom he came. The Celtiberians at length, hired with great rewards, fend an Armie of thirtie thousand to helpe the Romans: out of which, three hundred the fittell men are chofen and carried into Italie, there to deale with their Countrimen that follow Hannibalin his warres. But if any of these three hundred returne back into Spaine, it is to be feared, that he brings with him fuch newes of the riches and welfare of Hannibals men, that all his fellowes at home are the leffe vnwilling to follow Afdrubal, when

he shall next have a desire to leade them into Italie. Hereof wee finde more than probability, when these Mercinarie Celtiberians meet the Carthaginian Army in the field. The two Scipio's, prefuming on this accesse of strength, divide their forces,

30 and fecke out the Enemies; who lie not farre off with three Armies, Aldrubal, the fonne of Amilear, is neerest at hand; even among the Celtiberians, at Anitorgis. With him Cn. Scipio doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the Carthaginian forces being destroicd; Mago, and Asdrubal the sonne of Gifco, hearing the newes, will make vie of their distance, which is fine daies march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the Countrie, saue themselves from being ouer-taken. Publics therefore must make the more hastic, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old Roman Armie, leauing the third part, and all the Celtiberians, to his brother. Hee that hath the longer journie to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. Mago, and Astrubal the sonne of

40 Gifeo, are not fludying how to runne away: they finde no fuch necessitie. They joyne their forces together; meet with P. Scipio; and lay at him to hardly, that he is driven to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches: wherin he thinkes himselfe not well affured. Especially he is vexed by Masanessa, Prince of the Massassi, Numidians bordering vpon Mauritania, in the Region called now Tremizen: to whom the chiefe honor of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the Romans. In this dangerous case P. Scipio gets intelligence, that Indibilis, a Spanish Prince, is comming with seven thousand and five hundred of the Suessciani; to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be streight shut vp, and belieged, He iffues forth by night, to meet with Indibilis vpon the way; leaving T. Fonteius his

10 Lieutenant, with a small companie, to defend the campe. He meets with Indibilis: but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues fo long, that the Numidian horse appeare (whom he thought to have bin ignorant of his departure and fall vpon the Romans on all fides: neither are the Carthiginians farre behinde; but come so sast vpon him in Reare, that P. Scipio, vncer-

Lin. 1.240

4.78

CHAP. 2. S.II.

taine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where neede most requireth, is struck through with a lance, and slaine: very few of his Armie escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath Cn. Scipto within nine and twentie dayes after. At his meeting with Afdrubal, the Celtiberian Mercinaries all for sake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Countrie. If Anitorgis, where Afdrubal then lay, were, as Ortelius following Beuterus takes it ; a Celtiberian Towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly belocue, that they were wonne by Asdrubal, and casily perswaded to take as much monie for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lines. Cn. Scipio therefore being vnable to flay them; and no leffe vnable, without 10 their helpe, either to relist the Enemie, or to joyne with his Brother, makes a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plaine flight, that hee keepes his men together. Afdrubal presseth hard vpon him: and Mago, with Afdrubal the sonne of Gefco, having made an end of Publius, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. Scipio steales from them all, by night; but is ouer taken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stonie ground, where growes not so much as a shrub, vnfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill hee findes, of easie ascent on every side; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallifado. Thefe weake defences the Carthaginians foone teare in funder: and breaking 20 in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that faving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoyning, escape vnto T. Fonteius, whom Publius had left in his camp, as is before faid. It is a terrible ouerthrow, they fay, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as affoorded not a shrub to couer them, could breake out, and shrowd themselves within woods adjoyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. T. Fonteius is in P. Scipio's campe, on the North fide of Iberus, fearefull (as may be supposed) of his owne life, since his Generall, with two parts of the Romane Armie, had little hope to remaine long fafe within it. Thither comes L. Martius, a yong Roman Gentleman of a notable spirit : who ha- 30 uing gathered together the scattered Souldiers, & drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretie Armie. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generall by most voices, preferre this L. Martius before Fonteinus the Licutenant; as well they may. For Asdrubal, the some of Gesco, comming vpon them; this L. Martius fo encourageth his men, (fondly weeping when hee led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately flaine) and admonisheth them of their present necessitie, that he beates the Carthaginians into their Trenches. A notable victorie perhaps he might haue gotten, but that he wisely sounds the retrait: referuing the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The Carthaginians are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately van- 40 quished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the Roman dares not follow his advantage, they returne to their former securitie; and vtterly despising him, set neither Corps dugard, nor Sentinell, but rest secure as if no enemie were neere. Martius therefore animates his fouldiers with lively wordes; and tells them, That there is no aduenture more safe, than that which is furthest from suspition of being vnder-taken. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate peece of service. So he leades them forth by night, and steales vpon the campe of Askrubal: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast a sleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without relistance, fires their Cabbins, and giues a terrible alarme; fo that all afrighted, the Carthaginians runne head-long one vpon another, they know 50 not which way. All passages out of their campe Martius hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, saue by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke voon it, and runne away toward the campe of Aldrubal the sonne of Amilear, that lay fixe miles off. But Martins hath way-laid them. In a Valley be-

tweene their two campes he hath bestowed a Roman cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in peeces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarme before his comming; Martius hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speede; He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficultie he enters; and partly by force, partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the Roman thields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, He drives head-long into flight, all that can fave themselves from the fury of the fword. Thirtie feuen thouland of the enemies periffi in this to nights worke; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, that are taken prisoners. Hercunto Valerius Antias addes, that the campe of Mago was also taken, and seven thousand flaine; and that in another battaile with Astrubal, there were flaine tenne thousand more; besides source thousand three hundred and thirtie, taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. Linie therefore hath elsewhere well obserued. That there is none so intemperate, as Valerius Antias, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battailes. That, whilest Martius was making an Oration to his fouldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, Linie reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit : and temperately concludeth, That this Captaine Martius got a great name, which he might well doe, if with fo small forces, and in 30 fuch distresse, He could clearely get off from the Enemies, and give themany parting blow, though it were farre leffe than that which is here fet downe.

Of these occurrents L. Martins sent word to Rome, not forgetting his owne good feruice, what soeuer it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in Spaine: which the better to intimate vnto them, He stiled himselfe Propretor. The Fathers were no lesse moued with the tidings, than the case required : and therefore tooke such carefull order, for Supplying their forces in Spaine, that although Hannibal came to the gates of Rome, ere the Companies, leuied to ferue in that Province, could be fent away; yet would they not flay a tide for defence of the Citie it felfe, but shipped them in all haste for 30 Spaine. As for that title of Propretor, which Martius had affumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in vsurping it: foreseeing

well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore C. Claudius Nero was dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into Spaine: carrying with him about fixe thousand of the Roman foot, and as many of the Latines, with three hundred Roman Horse, and of the Latines eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of Rome beganne to prosper in Italie, and affoorded meanes of fending abroad fuch a strong supply: otherwise. the victories of Martius would ill have ferued, either to keepe footing in Spaine, or to 40 stop the Carthaginian Armies from marching towards the Alpes. For when Claudius. landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Armie, which was vnder Martius & Fonteius; he found surer tokens of the overthrowes received. than of those miraculous victories, whereof Martius had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The Roman partie was for faken by most of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it could not easily bee deuised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly towards Aldrubal the brother of Hannibal: whom he found among the Aufetani, neete enough at hand, incamped in a place called Lapides atri; out of which there was no iffue, but only through a fireight, whereon the Roman feized at his first comming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to incampe in such a place, I

50 doe not finde : and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said. That Afdrabal, seeing himselfe thus lockt vp, made offer to depart forth-with out of all Spaine, and quit the Province to the Romans, vpon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence dismissed; That he spent many daies, in entertayning parlee with Claudius about this businesse, That night by night hee conucied his foot men

(a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally raking advantage of a missie day, Hee stole away with all his Horse and Elephants. leaning his campe emptie. If we confider, that there were at the fame time, befides this Aldrubal, two other Carthaginian Generalls in Spaine; wee shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicity of Claudius, who hoped to conclude a bargaine for fo great a Countrie, with one of these three Chiestaines, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the foot-men could hardly creepe out by night: the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a darke missie day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherin the Carthaginians were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to to have beene of farre leffe value. Howfoeuer it was; neither this, nor ought elfe that the Romans could doe, served to purchase any new friends in Spaine, or to recover the old which they had loft. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen Martius their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardlesse of their good deserts, had repealed their Election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not fo well. Some fuch occasion may have moved them to defire a Proconful, and (perhaps) yong Scipio by name: as if a title of greater dignitie, were needfull to worke regard in the Barbarians; and the beloued memorie of Cn. and Publiss, likely to doe good, were it reviued in one of the same Familie. Whether upon these. or you other reasons; C. Claudius was recalled out of the Province; and Publius the 20 fonne of P. Scipio fent Proconful into Spaine.

This is that P. Scipio, who afterward transferred the warre into Africk: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrie. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continencie, Bountie, and other Vertues that purchase loue; of which qualities what great vse he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, sauouring a little too much of the great Alexanders vanitie: How he yied to walke alone in the Capitollias one that had some fecret conference with Iupiter; How a Dragon (which must have beene one of the gods; and, in likelihood, Jupiter himselfe) was thought to have conversed with his 30 Mother, entring her chamber often, and vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answeres; I hold them no better than meere fables, deuised by Historians, who sought thereby to adde vnto the glory of Rome: that this noble Citie might seeme, not only to haue surpassed otheir Nations in vertue of the generalitie, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serue to adorne this Roman Champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of viquestionable truth. That when a Proconful was to be chosen for Spaine, there durst not any Captaine of the principal Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge . That the People of Rome were much assonished thereat . That 40 when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citic flood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart, to adventure himselfe in such a desperate service; and finally, that this P. Cornelius Scipio, being then about source and twentie yeeres of age, getting vp on an high place where hee might be seene of all the Multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vp. on him. If this were true, then were all the victories of L. Martins no better than dreames: and either very vnreasonable was the searc of all the Roman Captaines. who durst not follow Claudius Nero, that not long before was gone into Spaine Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which Afdrubal the Carthaginian, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But vpon these incoherences, which I finde in the too partiall Roman Historians, I doe not willingly

P. Scipio was fent Proconsul into Spaine; and with him was joyned M. Iunius Syllanus, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousaud foot,

and a thousand horse, in thirtie Quinquereme Gallies. With these they landed at Emperia; and marched from thence to Tarracon alongst the Sea-coast. At the same of Scipios arrivall, it is faid, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Pronjace: which he entertained with fuch a majestic, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the Enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and fo much the greater was their feare, by how much the leffe they could give any reason of it. If wee must beleeue this, then must wee needs beleeue, that their teare was euen as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the same of so yong a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winterfollowing (or as some to thinke, all the next yeere) heedid nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, intreating with the Spaniards. His first enterprise was against new Carthage: vpon which he came vnexpected, with fine and twentiethousand foot, and two thousand fine hundred horses, his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. Hee affailed the Towne by Land and Sca; and wanne it by affault the first day. The Carthaginians lost it, by their too much confidence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of Tarracon had not discouered vnto Scipio, a secret pasfage vnto the walls; whereof the Townsmen themselues were either ignorant, or 20 thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This Citie of new Carthaze, resembled the old and great Carthage in situation; standing vpona demi-Iland. betweenean Hauen and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher-men of Tarracon had founded; and finding in some part thereof a shelfe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deepe, or (at most) wading vp to the Nauill, Supio thrust thereinto fome Companies of his men; who recovered the top of the wals without relistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it selfe by the natural litrength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the Carthaginians within the Citie; casily forced a gate, and gaue free entrance to the Roman Armie. What bootie was found 30 within the Towne, Liuie himselfe cannot certainely affirme; but is faine to sav. That some Roman Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by Scipio into the Roman Treasurie, we may easily perceive, how great a vanitie it was to say, That all the wealth of Africke and Spaine, was heaped up in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the Spanish Hostages: (or at least of the adjoyning Provinces) whom Scipio entreated with fingular courtefie; restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thankes due to so great a benefit. Hereupona Prince of the Celtiberians, and two pettie Kings of the Ilergetes and Lacetani, neerest Neighbours to Tarracon, and dwelling on the North fide of Iberus, 40 for sooke the Carthaginian partie; and joyned with the Romans. The speech of Indibilis, King of the Ilergetes, is much commended, for that he did not vant himfelfe, as commonly fugitives vie, of the pleasure which he did vnto the Romans, in revolting from their Enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the Carthagenians, and inuited by the honorable dealing of Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeede no vnsuretoken, that it should be long-lasting. But if the Ilergetes had long ere this (as we have heard before) for saken the Carthaginian partie, and stoutly held themselves as friends to Cn. Scipio; then could nothing have beene deuised more vaine, than this Oration of Indibilis their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, 50 when he should have rather craued pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Most likely therefore it is, that how socuer thetwoelder Scipios had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by ftrength; yet were the Romans neuer Mafters of the Countrie, till this worthy Commander, by recouering their Hostages from the Carthaginians, and

by his great munificence in fending them home, wanne vnto himselfe the affured love and affinance of these Princes. The Carthagunian Generalls, when they heard of this folle, were very sorrie: yet neverthelesse they set a good saccon the matter; saying, That a young man, having stolne a Towne by surprise, was too sarre transported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a mote convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne conjecture: I should bee bold to save That the Carthiginians were at this time busie, in setting foorth towards Italie; and that Scipio, to divert them, vnder-tooke new Carthage, as his Father and Vncle, vp- 10 on the like occasion, sate downe before Ibera. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amisse, if the passage ouer the Lake had beene vndiscouered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to such good iffue vpon the first day: yet in the generalitie of the businesse, betweene Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished, that Asarabal should bee staied from going into Italy, than that halfe of Spaine should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; Mago, and Astrabal, the sonne of Gisco, were thought sufficient to hold Scipio worke, in that lingring warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilest the maine of the Carthaginian forces, under Asdrubal, the sonne of Amilear, 20 went to a greater enterprise: even to fight in triallof the Empire. But the Roman Hiflorians tell this after another fathion; and fay, That Afdrubal was beaten into Italy: whither heran for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but heare the name of Scipio. Scipio, fay they, comming vpon Afdrubal; his Vantcourrers charged so lustily the Caribaginian horse, that they draue them into their Trenches : and made it apparent, even by that small peece of sernice, how full of spirit the Roman Armie was, and how dejected the Enemie. Afdrubal therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with a River, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of accesse on the forefide; by which himselfe got vp, and was to be followed by the Romans. On 20 the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly incamped himselfe : and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine, into which he descended, more voon brauery, that he might not seeme to hide himselfe within his Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Armie to the hazard of a bittell, for which this was-no equall ground. But such advantage of place could not saue him from the Romans. They climed up the Hill to him; they recourred even footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hilltop: whither although the afcent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approch; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their 40 way, where the Carthaginians had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is faid, that there was no way to flie. Out of fuch a battell, wherein he loft eight thousand men, As drubal is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troups, to have marched towards the Pyrences, having fent away his Elephants ere the fight beganne. Neuertheles, Mago. and Asdrubal, the sonne of Gisco, are reported after this, to have consulted with him about this warre; and finally to have concluded, that goe he needs must, were it but to carrie all the Spaniards as farre as might be, from the name of Scipio. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appeare at his comming into Italy; whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affaires, have too long detained vs. 50

d. XII.

## d. XII.

The great troubles that HANNIBAL raifed in all quarters, to the Cittic of Rome.
POSTHVMIVS the Roman Generall, with his whole Armie, is flaine by the Gaules.
PHILIP King of Macedon, enters into a League with HANNIBAL, against the Romans. The Romans toyning with the Ætolians, make warre upon PHILIP in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their businesse against the Carthaginians.



Eleft Hannibal wintering at Capua: where hee and his new Confederates reioyced (as may bee thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from Carthage of fuch mightie aide, as was decreed to be fent thence vnto him. In former times hee had found worke enough, to carrie the Ram maccome into his own barnes and to drive away their

thence vnto him. In former times hee had found worke enough, to carrie the Romans corne into his own barnes, and to drive away their Cattell to Geryon: his victories affoording him little other profit, then fustenance for his Armie; by making him Maker of the open field. Hee might perhaps haue forc'd some walled Townes, in like fort as he did Gerjon, and the Castle of Canna: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the 20 hunger, that his Armie must have endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill come were ripe, would have grieuously punished him for such imploiment of the Summer. This may have beene the reason, why hee forbore to aduenture vpon Rome after his victorie at Canna. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certaintie) to carrie the Citie at his first comming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea, many of the people that opened so hastily their gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the euent of another battell: if being, either for w .nt of meanes to force the Citie, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repeiled (as might feeme) from the walls of Rome, hee had presented himselfe vnto 30 them with a leffened reputation, somewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnlesse they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauell was paft, when so many States of Italie were become his: the yeere following, the Samnites, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to receiue a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege vnto that proud Citie, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the Winter was paffed ouer joyfully, saving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to fecond the welcom report of those mightie forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on : and of the promifed supply there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not: onely we find, that af-40 ter this he had aboue thirtie of them; whereas all, saue one, that hee brought ouer the Alpes, had been lost in his journey through the marishes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make vnto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischieses the perswasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through Spaine and Gaule, as hee himselfe had done; and increase the Armie by hiring the Barbarians in the journey; than to commit the maine ftrength of the r Citie, to the hazard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Hauen, to receive the fleete that should carrie such a number of Men, Horses, and

Hauen, to receive the fleete that thould carrie inten a number of Men, rich; and 50 Elephants, with all needfull prouisions. With these allegations Hamibal must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere served. Hee tooke the field: and having sinished what rested to be done at Cassistam, sought to make himself Master of some good Hauen-towne thereabout; that might serve to entertain the Carthaginian sleet; or take from his Stiff 2. Enemies

Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the fame purpose, and to doe what else was needfull, He sent Himilto vnto the Locrians. and Hanno to the Lucans: not forgetting at once to affay al quarters of Italia, yea, the Iles of Sicil and Sardinia; fince the flege of Rome must needes bee deferred vnto another yeere. Hanno made an ill journey of it, being met, or ouer-taken, by T. Sempronius Longus: who flue aboue two thousand of his men; with the losse of sewer. than three hundred Romans. But Himileo sped farre better. By helpe of the Brutians. his good friends, hee wanne Petellia or Petellia by force; after it had held out some moneths. Hee wanne likewise Consentia; and Croton, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Alfothe Citie of Locri, which was of great importance, yeelded vnto 10 him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Towne of Rhegium, ouer-

againft Sicil.

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The great faith of the Petilians is worthic to be recorded, as a notable testimonic of the good government, under which the Roman fubjects lived. As for the Samnites, Campans, and others, whose carnelinesse in rebellion may seeme to proue the contrarie; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Soueraignetic, and were now transported with ambition: which Reason can hardly moderate, or Benefits allay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did fend to Rome for helpe: where their Messengers received answere from the Senate. That the publike misfortunes had not left meanes, to relieve their Affociates 20 that were fo farre distant. The Petilian Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as were all others, publikely fent from Cities of the Roman subjection, that had a priuate jurisdiction within themselues) fell downe to the ground, and humbly befought the Fathers, not to give them away: promiting to doe and fuffer what foeuer was possible, in defence of their Towne, against the Carthaginians. Hereupon the Senate fell to confultation againe: and having throughly confidered all their forces remaining, plainely confessed, that it was not in their power to gipe any reliefe. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens prouide hereafter for their owne safetie, as having alreadie discharged their faith to the vtmost. All this not with standing, the Petilians (as was faid) held out 30 fome moneths; and having striven in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparant possibilitie, gaue to the Carthaginians a bloudie victoric over them; be-

ing vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants. The Romans at this time were indeede in such ill case, that Hannibal, with a little helpe from Carthage, might have reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For whereas, in a great brauerie, before their losse at Canna; they had shewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warre that lay vpon them fo neere at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better then at home. L. Posthumius Albinus their Pretor they had fent, with an Armie of fine and twentiethousand, into Gaule; 40 to the Illyrian King Pineus they had fent for their Tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if hee desired forbearance, to deliuer hostages for his performance of what was due; and to Philip King of Macedon they had fent, to require, that he should deliuer vp vnto them Demetrius Pharius, their Subject and Rebell, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little futeable to their former glorious conceits. Posthumus with all his Armic was cut in peeces by the Gaules, in such fort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his ouerthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the Gaules, Litana; through which he was to passe. Against his comming the Enemies had sawed the Trees so farre, that a little force would serve to cast them downe. When there- 50 fore Posthumius, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous passage, the Gaules, that lay about the Wood, beganne to cast downe the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the Romans were over-whelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before.

How this tedious worke, of fawing so many Trees, could take defired effect, and neither bee perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might have blowne all downe before the Romans entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the denice was subject; I doe not well conceine. Yet some such thing may have beene done; and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies fword. It is not perhaps worthie to be omitted, as a monument of the fauage condition, wherewith Lombardie, a Countrie now so civill, was infected in elder times. That of Pollhumius his skull, being cleanfed, and trimmed vp with gold, a drinking cup was made, and confecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy 10 veffell, for the vie of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great ouerthrow, when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no leffe than the calamitie. But forrow could give no remedie to the mischiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to reuenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there came none: neither doe I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus Illyrian Kings, as also with Gentius, who raigned within a few yeeres following, the Romans dealt vpon eucn tearmes; entreating their affiftance against Philip and Perfeus; not commanding their dutie, as Vassalls. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. For having affured his affaires in Greece, and enjoying leisure to looke into the doings abroad, Heesent Embassadours to Hannibal: with 20 whom he made a league, vpon these conditions; That the King in person should come into Italie, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, affilt the Carthaginians in the Roman warre, vntill it were finished; That Rome, and all Italie, together with all the spoile therein to bee gotten, should bee left entire vnto the State of Carthage; And that afterwards Hannibal with his Armie should passe into Greece, and there asfist Philip, vntill hee had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the Ætolians, Thracians, King Antiochus, and others) leauing semblably vnto him the full possession of that Countrie and the Iles adjoyning. But fuch predisposition of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly comptrolled by the divine Providence, which therein shewes It felfe not (as Herodotus falfly termes it, and like an Atheift) envious or malicious, 30 but very just and majesticall; in vp-holding that vnspeakable greatnesse of Soue-

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CHAP. 3. S.12.

raignetie, by which Is rules the whole World, and all that therein is. The first Embassadours that Philip sent, fell into the Romans hands, in their iournie towards Hamnibal: and being examined what they were, aduentured vpon a bold lie, faying, That they were fent from the King of Macedon to Rome, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessitie. These newes were so welcome, that the ioy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquirie. So they were louingly feasted; and friendly dismissed, with guides that should leade them the way, and shew them how to avoide the Carthaeinians. But they being thus instructed concerning their iournic, fell wilfully into the 40 Campe of Hannibal: who entertained them after a better falhion; and concluded

the bufinesse, about which they came, vpon the points before remembred. In their returnehomeward, they happened againe vuluckily to bee descried by the Roman fleete; which, mistrusting them to bee of the Carthaginian partie, gaue them chace. They did their best to have escaped: but being over-taken, they suffered the Romans to come aboord; and trusting to the lie that once had served them, said it againe, That having been sent from King Philip, to make a League with the People of Rome, they were not able, by reason of the Carthaginians lying betweene, to get any farther than to M. Valerius the Pretor, vnto whom they had fignified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now lesse credible than before: 50 and (which marred all) Gifco, Boftar, and Mago, with their followers, Carthaginians

that were fent with them from Hannibal to ratific the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquisition served to finde all out: so that at length Hannibals owne letters to King Philip were deliuered vp, and the whole businesse confessed. The Embassadours and their followers were sent SIIII 3

close prisoners to Rome: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest fold for bond-flaues. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into Macedon of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speede; concluding, as was agreed before; onely with some loffe of time.

The Romans were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heavie weight this Macestonian warre, in an cuill houre, was likely to fall vpon them; when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the Carthaginian. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and suteable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would have beaten upon them from Spaine. They judged it more case, with small 10 forces to detaine Philip in Greece, than with all their strength to resist him in Italie. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of Maceclon, joining with Hannibal in fuch a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegeance not onely of the Latines, and other their most faithfull Subiects, but even of the Roman Colonies that held all priviledges of the Citie, it will appeare by the following fuccesse of things. M Valerius the Pretor, with twentie Quinquereme Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the Macedonian, and to fet on foot some commotion in Greece: or to nourish the troubles alreadic therein begunne. Philip was busic about the Sea-townes, that looked towards Italie, fetting vpon Apollonia; and thence falling upon Orienm; which he wanne, and so returned to Apollonia againe. The Epi- 20 rots craued helpe of M.Valerius: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that Philip had left in Oricum, was strong enough to hold the Townsfmen in good order; but not to keepe out the Romans: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, Philip as then had no suspition. Valerius therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand men, under Newius Crispus, an under-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into Apollonia. These made a notable sallie; and brake into Philips Trenches with so great saughter, that they forced him to forsake his camp, & raise the siege. The King purposed (asit is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but Valerius, comming with his fleete from Oricum, stopped vp the mouth of the River; 20 fo that hee was faine to burne his ships, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this, Valerius dealt with the Atolians, a National waies enemie to the Crowne of Macedon; and eafily perfwaded them (being so affected as hath elsewhere beene shewed) to make strong warre on Philip; wherein he promifed them great affiftance from the Romans. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the Atolians, was the hope of getting Acarnania: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the Roman was as liberal in making promise, as if already it had beene his owne. So a league was made betweene them : and afterward folemnely published at Olympia, by the Atolians; and by the Romans, in their Capitoll. The conditions were, That from Atolia to Corcyra, 40 in which space Acarnania was contained, all the Countrie should bee subdued, and lest upon the Atolians, the pillage only to be given to the Romans. And that if the Atolians made peace with Philip, it shuld be with Provision, to hold no longer, than whilest he abstained from doing injurie to the Romans, or their Associates. This was indeede the only point, whereat Valerius aimed, who promifed as much on the Romans behalfe, That they should not make peace with the Macedonian, vnlesse it were with like condition of including the Atolians. Into this League was place referred for the Lacedamonians and Eleans, as to those that had made or fauoured the side of Cleomenes against the Macedonian, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus: the first of which raigned at Pergamus, in 50 Asia the lesse, a Prince hereaster much to bee spoken of; the other two held some part of Illyria, about which the Romans were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they fought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to give it countenance, than for any readinesse

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.3. S.II. reachnesse which they disclose to enter thereinto. The Atolians alone, and chiefly Scopas their Pretor, with Dorymachus and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the Roman Generals must make much; as the late French King, Henrie the fourth, when he had only the title of Nauarre, was faid to court the Majors of Rechel. Philip was not idle, when he heard wherevnto the Etolians tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the Iliprians, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infest the Kingdome of Macedon; wasted the Countrie about Oricim and Apollonia; and ouer-running the Pelagonians, Dardanians, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into Thessale, whence hee made 10 shew as if he would inuade Etolia. By the same of this Expedition, Hethought to flirre vp all the Greekes adjoyning, against the Atolians; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrie. To which purpose, and to hinder the Etolians from breaking into Greece, He left Perfeus, his sonne & heire, with foure thousand men, vpontheir borders : with the rest of his Armie, before greater businesse should ouer-take and entangle him. He made a long journie into Thrace, against a people called the Medes; that were wont to fall vpon Maceden, when soeuer the King was absent. The Liolians, hearing of his departure, armed as

many as they could against the Aca manians, in hope to fubdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrie, ere hee should bee able to returne. Hereto it 20 much availed, that the Remans had alreadie taken Oeniade and Navos, Acarnanian Townes, conveniently fituated to let in an Armie; and configned them vnto the Ætolians, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the flout resolution of the Acarnanians, to die (as we say) enery Mothers sonne of them, in desence of their Countrie; together with the great haste of the Macedonian (who laied aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the Atolians to forfake their enterprise. When this Expedition was given ouer, the Romans and Atolians fell vpon Anticyre, which they tooke: the Romans affailing it by Sea, the Atolians by Land. The Atolians had the Towne, and the Romans the spoile.

For these good services M. Valerius was chosen Consulat Rome; and P. Sulpicius 30 fent in his stead, to keepe the warre on foot in Greece. But besides the Roman helpe, Attalus out of Asia came ouer to affish the Atolians. He was chiefly moued, by his owne jealousic of Philips greatnesse: though somewhat also tickled with the vanity, of being chosen by the Atolians their principall Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titularie, he tooke in very louing part. Against the forces which attalus and the Romans had fent, being joyned with the maine power of Atolia, Philip tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome Neighbours desired peace of him, and vsed their best meanes to get it. But when the day, appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embaffadours, in stead of making submission, proposed vnto him such intolerable 40 conditions, as ill beseemed vanquished men to offer: and might therefore well testific, that their mindes were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but seare of being belieged in their owne Townes, that had made them delirous of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of Attalus and the Romans, they were as fierce as euer: and thrusta Garrison of their owne, and some Roman friends, into Elis; which threatned Achaia, wherein Philip then lay. The Romans, making a cut ouer the streight from Naupattus, wasted the Countrie in a terrible brauerie: wherein Philip requited them; comming vpon them in haste from the Neman Games (which he was then celebrating) and fending them faster away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heat of this contention, Prusias King of Bithynia, fearing the growth of Attalus, no lesse than Attalus held suspected the power of Philip; sent a Nauie into Greece, to affift the Macedonian partie. The like did the Carthagimans: and vpon greater reason; as being more interessed in the successe of his affaires. Philip wastoo weake by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships; yet the Vessels

ned home.

were such as could not hold out against the Roman Quinqueremes. Wherefore it behoued him, to vie the helpe of his good friends the Carthaginians. But their aide came somewhat too late: which might better at first haue kept those Enemies from fastning upon any part of Greece: than afterwards it could serue to drive them out. when they had pierced into the bowels of that Countrie. Ere Philip could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that he should correct the Eleans, bad Neighbours to the Achaians his principall Confederates. But in affailing their Towne, Hee was encountred by the Etolian and Roman Garrison; which draue him back with some losse. In such cases, especially where God intends a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had received no great detriment, in 10 his retrait from Elis: rather he had given testimonie of his personall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slaine under him. He had also soone after taken a great multitude of the Eleans, to the number of foure thousand; with some twentie thousand head of Cattaile, which they had brought together into a place of fafetie, as they thought, when their Countrie was inuaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the Roman forragers about Sieven, his horse running hastily vnder a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the falhion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered up by an £tolian; who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of Philips death. The horne was well known, and the tale beleeved. All Macedon therefore was in an vprore: and not onely 20 the Borderers, readic to fall vpon the Countrie, but some Captaines of Philip, easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselues a fortune in that change of things, ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home; leaving not three thousand men, to affist his friends the Achaans. He also tooke order, to have Beacons erected; that might give him notice of the Enemies doings; vpon whom hee meant shortly to returne. The affaires of Macedon, his presence quickly established. But in Greece all went ill-fauouredly: especially in the Ile of Eubea, where one Plator betraied to Attalus, and the Romans, the Towne of Oreum, ere Philip could arrive to helpe it; where also the strong Citie of Chalcis was likely to have beene lost, if hee had not comethe sooner. 20 He made such hastie marches, that he had almost taken Attalus in the Citie of Opus. This Citie, lying ouer against Eubæa, Attalus had wonne more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had vied. Now because the Roman fouldiers had defrauded him in the fack of Oreum, and taken all to themselves: it was agreed, that Attalus should make his best profit of the Opuntians; without admitting the Romans to be his sharers. But whilest he was busie, in drawing as much monie as he could out of the Citizens: the suddentidings of Philips arrivall, made him leave all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-fide, where he got aboord his ships; finding the Romans gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignitie of this misaduenture; or tidings of Prusias the Bithymian his invasion vpon the Kingdome of 40 Pergamus; made Attalus returne home, without staying to take leave of his friends. So Philip recouered Opus; wonne Torone, Tritonos, Drymus, and many small townes in those parts; performing likewise some Actions, of more brauerie than importance, against the Etolians. In the meane season, Machanidas, the Tyrant of Lacedamon, had beene busic in Peloponnesus; but hearing of Philips arrivall, was retur-

The Lacedamonians, hearing certaine report of Cleomenes his death in Egypt, went about to choose two new Kings; and to conforme themselues to their old manner of Gouernement. But their estate was so farre out of tune, that their hope of redreffing things within the Citie, proued no leffe vnfortunate, than had beene 50 their attempts of recouring a large Dominion abroad. Lycurgus a Tyrant rose vp among them : vnto whom succeeded this Machanidas; and shortly after came Nabis, that was worse than both of them. They held on the Etolian and Roman side, for feare of the Acheans; that were the chiefe Confederates of Philip, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant, and of Lacedamonian. But of these wee shall

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fpeake more hereafter.

CHAP.2. S.11.

Philip entring into Achaia, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of affurance to that Countrie; spake braue words to the Assembly of their States, faying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to Chalcis, to Oreum, to Opiss, and now into schaia: but could no where finde them, fuch hafte they made, for feare of being ouer-taken. But flight, He said, was not alwaies prosperous: He should one day light vpon them; as ere this hee fundrie times had done, and still to their to losse. The Achaians were glad to heare these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For hee restored vnto their Nation fome Townes, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the Megalopolitans their Confederates, He rendred Aliphera. The Dymaans, that had beene taken by the Romans, and fold for flaues, He fought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing ouer the Corinthian Gulfe, Hee fell vpon the £tolians: whom he draue into the mountaines and woods, or other their strongest holds; and wasted their Countrie. This done, Hee tooke leave of the Acheans: and returning home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants: and animated them fo well, that they rested searclesse of any threatning 20 danger. Then had he leisure to make warre vpon the Dardanians, ill Neighbours to Macedon: with whom neuerthcleffe he was not fo farre occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himselse Master of the Sea; the Romans ( since the departure of Attalus) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of Greece, fast by them

This good successeadded much reputation to the Macedonian; and emboldened him to make strong warre vpon the Atolians, at their owne doores. As for the Romans; either some displeasure, conceiued against their Consederates; or some seare of danger at home, when Aldrubal was ready to fall vpon Italie; caused them to giue

- 30 ouer the care of things in Greece, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The Etolians therfore, being driven to great extremitie, were faine to sue for peace vnto Philip; and acceptit, vpon what euer conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than P. Sempronius with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirtie fine Gallies, came ouer in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in Etolia, hee turned a lide to Dyrrachium, and Apollonia; making a great noise, as if with these his owne forces he would work wonders. But it was not long, ere Philip came to visit him; and found him tame enough. The King presented him battaile: but herefused it : and suffering the Macedenians to waste the Country round about, before his eies, kept himself close with-40 in the walls of Apollonia; making some Ouercures of peace : which caused Philip to returne home quietly. The Romans had not so great cause to be displeased with the
- Ætolians, as had Philip, to take in euill part the demeanor of the Carthaginians. For notwithstanding the Royall offer that he made them, to serue their turne in Italie, and ashist them in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requitall: they had not fent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as considering his want of sufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation of his Armie, or to free his coast from the Roman and Ætolsan Pyracies. Only once they came to his helpe, which was, at his last journie into Achara. But they were gone againe before his arrivall: having done nothing, and pretending feare of 50 being taken by the Romans, euen at such time as Philip, with his owne Nauie, durft
- boldly passe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This rechlesse dealing of the Carthaginians, may therefore seeme to have beene one of Hanne histricks; whereof Hannibal so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious man exceedingly; to heare, that so great a King made offer to serue in person vnder

vpon

Hannibal, and required the affiltance of the same Hannibal, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the World at pleasure. Therefore he had reafon, fuch as Enuice could fuggest, to perswade the Carthaginians vnto a safe and thriftie course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their Italian warres fo mightie a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto Hannibal, more dangerous to their libertie. Rather they should doe well to saue charges: and feede the Macedonian with hopes; by making many promites of fending a fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing: yet would it ferue to terrifie the Romans, and compell them to fend part of their forces from home; that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So should to the Roman Armies be leffened in Italie; and Philip, when once he was engaged in the warre, be vrged vnto the profecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the Carthagimians to little or no charges; yea scarce to the labour of giving him thankes. Now if it might come to passe, as Hannibal enery day did promise, that Rome, and all Italie, should within a while bee at the denotion of Crithige: better it were that the Citie should bee free, so as the troublesome Greekes might addresse their complaints vnto the Carthaginians, as competent Indges between them and the Macedonian, than that Hannibal, with the power of Africk, should wait upon Philip, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a Carthaginian hatefull in Greece, and oblige Philip to be no leffe impudent, in ful- 20 filling all requests of Hannibal. Whether the countaile of Hanno and his fellowes, were fuch as this; or whether the Carthaginians, of their owne disposition without his aduice, were too foaring, and careleffe, the matter (as farre as concerned Philip) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; euen in that little courtesse which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee begunne the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainely given credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the Etolians had submitted themselves alreadie; and when the Romans defired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him; with reputation enough, and 3@ not as a forsaken Client of the Carthaginians, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessitie, He might give over the warre, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For hee had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were meerely his owne, and hee vnable to manage it. The vanitie of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they should see that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeere following it was agreed, by mediation of the Epirots, Acarnanians, and others, That the Romans should retain three or foure Townes of Illyria, which they had recoursed in this warre, being part of their old Illyrian Conquest: Places no way belonging to the Masedonian; and therefore per. 40 haps inferted into the couenants, that somewhat might seeme to have been gotten. On the other side, the Atintanes were appointed to returne vnder the obedience of Philip: who, if they were (as Ortelius probably conjectures) the people of the Countrie about Apollonia, then did the Romans abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not give peace, as they would seeme to have done, but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to their losse.

The Confederates and Dependants of the Macedonian, comprehended in this Peace, were Prusias King of Bishynia, the Achaans, Baotians, Thesalians, Acarmanians, and Epirots. On the Roman fide were named, first, the People of Ilium, as an honorable remembrance of the Romans descent from Troy; then, Attalus King of Per- 50 gamus; Pleuratus, an Illyrian Prince; and Nabis, the Tyrant of Lacedamon; together with the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians. The Atolians were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the Eleans and Messenians, followers of the Ætoleans, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with Philip)

were also inserted by the Romans; that were neuer flow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the Athenians: they stood much voon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great Actions. Yet the setting downe of their name in this Treatie, serued the Romans to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a busic people; and ministred occasion to renew the Warre, when meanes did better scrue to follow it.

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## à. XIII.

How the Romans beganne to recouer their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relecuing the publike necessities of their Common-weale.



CHAP.3. S.13.

ODENE OT was a great fault in the Carthaginians, that embracing so many Enterprifes at once, they followed all by the halues: and wasted more men and monieto no purpose, than would haue serued (if good order had been etaken) to finish the whole warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselues Lords of all that the Romans held. This errour

20 had beenethe leffe harmefull, if their care of Italie had beene fuch as it ought. But they suffered Hannibal, to wearie himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeere to yeere, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a conquerour could have desired. The death of Posthumus, and destruction of his whole Armie in Gaule; the begunne rebellion of the Sardinians; the death of Hierotheir friend in Syracule; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Isle of Sicil; as also that Warre, of which we last spake, threatned from Macedon; happening all at one time; and that so neerely after their terrible ouerthrow at Canna, among so many revolts of their Italian Confederates; would vtterly haue sunke the Roman State, had the Carthaginians, if not the first yeere, vet 30 at least the second, sent ouer to Hannibal the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred matter vnto Hanno, or such as Hanno was, whereuponto worke For though it were in the power of Carthage, to performe all that was decreed for Italie: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their seuerall Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been throughly prosequited: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of Hannibal in his Italian warre, should have beene strengthened; what soeuer had become of the rest. But the slen-40 der troupes, wherewith the Carthaginians fed the warre in Spaine; the lingring aide which they fent, to vp-hold the Sardinian rebellion, when it was alreadic wel-neere bearen downe; their trifling with Philip; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hastie catching at Sicil-little deserved to be thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered apart by it selfe, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of Italie, made the Carthaginians more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serue to content Hannibal; then must be patiently endure to know, that

his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so 50 much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home. Whatsoeuer he heard or thought, Hannibal was glad to apply himselfe to Necesfitie; to feede his Italian friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about Nola, Waples, Cuma, and other places: being loth to spend his Armie in an hard siege, that was to beereferued for a worke of more importance. Many offers hee made

vpon Nola; but alwaies with bad fuccesse. Once Marcellus fought a battaile with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; having the affiftance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the Roman fide, fince the Heads, that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men Hannibal in that fight loft; which was no great maruaile; his forces being then divided, and imploied in sundrie parts of Italie at once. Naples was, euen in those daies, a strong Citie; and required a yeeres worke to houe taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest desire of Hannibal to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the Towne of Cume they of Capua had their plot; and were in hope to take it by cunning. They fent to the chiefe Magistrates of the Cumans, desiring them (as being also Campans) to be present at a so- 10 lemne sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their generall good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly, from any danger that might come by the Romans. This motion the Cumans made shew to entertaine; but privily fent word of all to T. Sempronius Gracchus the Roman

Gracehus was a very good man of warre; and happily chosen Consulin so dangerous a time. His Colleague should have beene Posthumius Albinus, that was lately flaine by the Gaules: after whose death Marcellus was chosen; as being judged the fittest man to encounter with Hannibal. But the Roman Augures either found some religious impediment, that nullified the election of Marcellus; or at least they fai- 20 ned so to have done. because this was the first time, that ever two Plebeian Consuls were chosen together. Marcellus therefore gaue ouer the place: and Q. Fabius Maximusthe late famous Dictator, was substituted in his roome. But Fabius was detained in the Citie, about matters of Religion, or Superstition: wherewith Rome was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannibal among the Campans: not able to meet the Enemie in field; yet intentiue to alloccasions, that should be presented. The Volones, or Slaues, that lately had been earmed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, Hee continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Armie skilfull in the exercises of warre; than to keepe 20 it from quarrels, that might arise by vpbraiding one another with their base con-

Whilest the Consul was thus busied at Linternum; the Senators of Cuma sent him word, of all that had passed between them and the Capuans. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemie; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. Gracehus therefore put himselse into Cuma: whence heiffued at fuch time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the Campans. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called Hama, three miles from Cume. There lay Marius Alfus the chiefe Magistrate of Capua, with fourteene thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any dan-40 ger that might interrupt it; but rather deuising how to surprise others, than fearing himselfe to be assailed. The Consul therefore, suffering none to goe forth of Cuma, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, issued out of the Towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with meat and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights service. So he came upon the Capuans vnawares: and flew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; loosing not aboue an hundred of his ownemen. Their campe hee tooke: but tarried not long to rifle it, for feare of Hannibal; who lay not farre off. By this his prouidence, He escaped a greater losse, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when Hannibal was enformed how things went at Hama; forthwith he marched 50 thither: hoping to finde those yong souldiers, and slaues, busied in making spoile, and loading themselues with the bootie. But they were all gotten safe within Cume; which partly for anger, partly for defire of gaining it, & partly at the vigent entreatie of the Capuans, Hannibal affailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe,

the Carthaginians and their fellowes spent, about this Towne. They raised a woodden Tower against it: which they brought close vnto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the inside of the wall, raised against this an higher Tower: whence they made resistance; and found meanes at length, to consume with fire the worke or heir Enemies. While the Carthaginians were busie in quenching the fire; the Romans, fallying out of the Towneat two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their trenches, with the flaughter of about fourteene hundred. The Conful wifely founded the Retreat; ere his men were too farre engaged, and Hannibal in a readinesse to requite their service. Neither would He. in 10 the pride of this good successe, aduenture forth against the Enemie; who presented him battell the day following, necre vnto the walls. Hannibal therefore, leeing no likelihood to prevaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the fiege; and returned to his old Campe at Tifata. About these times, and shortly after, when Fa-

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bius the other Conful had taken the field; fome small Townes were recovered by

the Romans, and the people seuerely punished for their revolt.

CHAP. 2. S.12.

The Carthaginian Armic was too small, to fill with Garrisons all places that had yeelded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore Hannibal, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at Rome it felfe, was driven in the meane time to alter his course of warre: and, in stead of ma-20 king (as formerly he had done) a general inualion vpon the whole Country, to paffe from place to place; and wait vpon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemie, than to him. The Countrey of the Hirpines and Samnites was grieuoufly wasted by Marcellus, in the the absence of Hannibalias also was Campania, by Fabius the Conful; when Hannibal having followed Marcellus to Nola, and received there the losse before mentioned, was gone to Winter in Apulia. These people shewed not the like spirit in desending their lands, and fighting for the Carthaginian Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the Romans, in their owne behalfe, to get the Soueraigntie. They held it reason, that they should bee protested, by such as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they 30 ouerburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old the more easie meanes, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of Rome were very intentiue, as necessitie constrained them, to the workethat they had in hand. They continued Fabius in his Consulship: and ioyned with him M. Claudius Marcellus; whom they had appointed vnto that honour the yeere before. Of these two, Fabius was called the Shield: and Marcellus, the Roman Sword. In Fabius it was highly, and vpon iust reason, commended, That being himselse Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand upon nice points of formalitie, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to be chosen with Marcellus; knowing in what need the Citie stood of able Comman-40 ders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the Romans made; served to put the Campans in seare, that Capua it selfe should bee besieged. To preuent this, Hannibal at their earnest entreatie came from Arpi: (where he lay, harkening after newes from Tarentum) and, having with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden vpon Puteoli, a Sea-towne of Campania; about which he spent three daies in vaine, hoping to have wonne it. The Garrison in Puteoli was fixe thousand strong; and did their dutie so well, that the Carthaginian, finding no hope of good successe, could onely shew his anger vpon the fields there, and about Naples; which having done, and once more (with as ill successe as before) affaied Nola, he bent his course to Tarentum: wherein he had very great intelligence. 50 Whilest he was in his progresse thither; Hanno made a iournie against Beneuentum:

and T. Gracehus the last yeeres Conful, hasting from Nuceria, met him there; and fought with him a battell. Hanne had with him about seventeene thousand Foot, Brutians and Lucans for the most part : besides twelve hundred Horse; verie sew of

CHAP-2. S.13.

which were Italians, all the rest, Numidians and Moores. Hee held the Roman worke toure houres; cre it could bee perceived, to which fide the victorie would incline. But Gracebiss his fouldiers, which were all(in a manner) the late-armed flaues, had received from their Generall a peremptorie denunciation; That this day, or never, they must purchase their libertie, bringing euery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the flaine Enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the feruice, by imployment of fo many hands, in a worke fo little concerning the victorie. Gracehus therefore finding his owne errour, wifely corrected it: proclayming a- 10 loud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should have libertic immediativ after the battell, if they wanne the day. This encouragement made them run headlong vpon the Enemie; whom their desperate surie had soone ouerthrowne, if the Roman Horse could have made their part good against the Numidian. But though Hanno did what hee could, and preffed to hard upon the Roman battell that foure thousand of the flaues, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which Gracehus had threatned before the battell, vnto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired vnto a ground of strength: yet was he glad at length to sauc himselfe by flight, when the Grosse of his Armie was broken; being vnable to remedie the losse. Leaving the field, hee 20 was accompanied by no more than two thouland: most of which were Horse; all the rest were either slaine or taken. The Roman Generall gaue vnto all his souldiers that reward of libertie, which hee had promifed: but vnto those foure thousand, which had recoiled vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they ferued in the warres, they should neither cate nor drink otherwise than standing vnleffe fickneffe forced them to breake his Order. So the victorious Armie returned to Beneuentum: where the newly enfranchifed fouldiers were feafted in publike by the townsmen; some sitting, some standing, & all of them having their heads couered (as was the custome of slaves manumised) with Caps, or white wooll. The picture of this Feall (as a thing worthie of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in 30 a Table by Gracehus, in the Temple of Libertie; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeede the first Battell, worthie of great note, which the Carthaginians had lost fince the comming of Hannibal into Italie: the victories of Marcellus at Nola, and of this Gracehus before at Hama, being things of small im-

Thus the Romans through industrie, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which Hannibal had made at Cannae. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serve to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to seede their Townes and Armies; without any furplufage, that might be exchanged for other 40 needful commodities. Few they were in Italie, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse doe than before; as living vpon the same Trade, and fubiect to the same inconveniences, which enfeebled Rome it selfe. Sicil and Sardinia, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the Roman armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of Rome, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Commonwealth sustained and could now doe least for his Countrie, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised upon them by the poll, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently confidering the greatnes of the war within the bowels of Italie, that 50 could not be thence expelled without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein Siciland Sardinia stood, both of the Carthaginians, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subjection of Rome; the threats

of the Macedonian, readic to land in the Easterne parts of Italie, if they were not at the cost to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of Aldrubal, to follow his brother ouer the Alpes, as soone as he could rid himselfe of the Scipio's in Spaine; and the pouertie of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortall dangers; were driven almost even to extreme want of counsell. But being vrged by the violence of swift necessitie, signified in the letters of the two Scipio's from Spaine; they resolued vpon the onely course, without which the Citie could

not have sublisted. They called the people to Assembly: wherein Q. Fuluius the Pretor laide 10 open the publique wants; and plainely faid, That in this Exigent, there must be no taking of monie for victuall, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needefull to the Souldiers: but that such as had stuffe, or were artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours, vntill the Warre were ended. Hereunto hee so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived vpontheir dealing in the common Reuennues, that the charge was vnder-taken by private men; and the Armie in Spaine as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had beene full. Shortly after this, M. Atilius Regulus, and P. Furius Philus the Roman Cenfors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intentine to the cor-20 rection of those, that had mis behaued themselues in this present warre. They beganne with L. Cacilius Metellus: who, after the battell at Canna, had held difcourse with some of his companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if Rome, and all Italie, had beene no better than lost. After him they tooke in hand those, that having brought to Rome the message of their fellowes made prisoners at Canna, returned not backe to Hannibal, as they were bound by oath; but thought themfelues thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once backe into his campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiues names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Cenfors: as also were a great many more; euen who foeuer had not serued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes 3º appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had vsed to bee) hurtfull onely in reputation: but greater weight was added therevnto, by this Decree of the Senate following: That all such as were noted with infamie by these Censors, should bee transported into Sicill, there to serue untill the end of the warre, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at Canna. The Office of the Cenfors was; to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senatours; and to set notes of difgrace (without further punishment) vpon those, whosevnhonest or vnseemely behauiour fell not within compasse of the Law. They tooke also an accompt of the Roman Gentlemen: among whom they distributed the publike Horses of 40 feruice, vnto such as they thought meet; or tooke them away for their misbehauiour. Generally, they had the ouer-fight of mens lines and manners: and their censure was much reuerenced and seared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of ranke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Moralitie, they had the charge of all publike Workes; as mending of High-waies, Bridges, and Water-courfes; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man encroched vponthe streetes, Highwaies, or other places that ought to bee common; the Censors compelled him to 50 make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publike Revenues, to farme: fo that most of the Citizens of Rome were beholding vnto this Office, as maintaining themselues by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserue the dignitic of the Senate: the

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the Consuls: the Empire, founded vpon so great vertue, could not have beene throwne downe by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they never fo many. But vnto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Whoathough hee hath given vnto Mantheknowledge of those waies, by which Kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath

left him subject vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their 10 times appointed.

commonaire being obnoxious puto the Centers, which were alwaies of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weale being now impounded by warre, and having small store of Lands to let, or of Customes that were worth the farming; Regulus and Philas troubled not themsclues much with pervsing the Temples, or other decaied Places, that needed reparations: or if they tooke a view of what was requilite to be done in this kinde: ver forbore they to fet any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generolitie of the Romans. They that had been accultomed, in more happie times, to vindertake fuch peeces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had beene no such to want: promiting liberally their coft and trauell; without expectation of any paiment, before the end of the warre. In like fort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had beene enfranchifed by Gracehus, were very well contented to forbeare the price of them, vntill the Citic were in better-case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre foorth as cuery one was able, the common necessitie; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widdowes liuing under Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Quastor kept a booke, of all that was laied out for the sustenance of these Widdowes and Orphans: whilest the whole ttocke was vied by the Citie. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: fo that (the poorer fortexcep- 20 ted) they refuted to take pay; and called those Mercinaries, that did accept it, when

their countrie was in fogreat want.

The twelve hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the Carthaginians; nor any injuries following, done by the Romans in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe so much commoditie, as might bee laied in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Neuerthelesse, if wee consider things aright; the calamities of this Warre did rather enable Rome to deale with those Enemies, whom shee forth-with vnder-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto shee attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names wee have alreadie mentioned. For by this 20 hammering, the Roman mettall grew more hard and folide: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Roote and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Cittle of Athens; when Xernes had burnt the Towne to ashes, and taken from enery particular Citizen all hope of other felicitie, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the vniuersalitie. Certaine it is, (as Sir Francis Bacon hath indiciously observed) That a State, whose dimension or flemme is small, may aptly serue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to passe, where all regard of domesticall prosperitie is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his countrie. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath scene a great example, in the vnited Provinces in the Netherlands; 49 whose present riches and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Townes, or almost of their Families, perceived it selfe to hold, whilest the Generalitie was oppressed by the Duke of Alua; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme industrie, and straining themsclues to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthic, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their feruices by Land. Wherefore if wee valew at such a rate as wee ought, the patient Resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and, aboue all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in Rome in these dangerous times: we may truly fay. That the Cittie was neuer in greater likelihood to prosper. Nei- 50 ther can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, shorld in all renson have been more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of Asia had not

## d. XIIII.

The Romans win some Townes back from HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of HANNIBAL. The cournie of HANNIBAL to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans:

S the People of *Rome* ftrained themselues to the vtmost, for maintaining the warre: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industrie, in seeking to recouer what had beene lost. The Towne of Casiline Fabius belieged. It was well defended by the Carthaginian Garrison; and likely to have beene relieved by those of Capua, if Marcellus from

Nola had not come to the affiftance of his Colleague. Neuertheleffe the place held out so obstinately, that Fabius was purposed to give it oner: faying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But Marcellus was of a contraricopinion. He faid, That many fuch things, as were not at first to 30 haue been under-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to bee prosequuted vnto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the Towne was pressed so hard, that the Campans dwelling therein grew scarefull, and craued parlee; offering to give it vp, so as all might have leave to depart in safetie, whither they pleased. Whilest they were thus treating of conditions: or whilest they were issuing foorth, according to the composition alreadic made; (for it is diuerfly reported) Marcellus, seizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fiftie of those that were first gotten out, ranne to Fabius the Consul: who saued them, and sent them to Capua in safety; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If Fabius deserued commendations, by hol-40 ding his word good vnto these fiftie; I know not how the slaughter of the reft, or imprisonment atterward of such, as scaped the heat of execution, could bee excused by Marcellus. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the Roman fashion, with some requiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like fort was Mount Marfam in Gascoigne taken by the Marshall Monluc, when I was a young man in France. For whilest he entertained parlee about composition; the besieged ranne all from their seuerall guards, vpon hastic desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discouering a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by Scalado; and put all saue the Gouernour vnto the sword. Herein that Gouernour of Mount Marsam committed two groffe errours; the one, in that hee gaue no or-30 der for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themselues in their places; the other,

in that bee was content to parlee, without pledges for assurance given and received. Some such ouer-sight, the Gouernour of Casiline seemeth to haue committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by Marcellus, or by Monluc, was very honourable. When this Worke was ended, many small Townes of the Samnites, and some of the Lucans and Apulians, were recoursed: wherein were taken, or flaine, about five and twentie thousand of the Enemies; and the Countrie grieuoully wasted by Fabius, Marcellus lying ficke at Nola.

Hannibal in the meane while was about Tarentum; waiting to heare from those, that had promifed to give vp the Towne. But M. Valerius, the Roman Propretor, had thrust so many men into it, that the Traitors durst not stirre. Wherefore the Carthaginian was faine to depart; having wearied himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he wasted not the Countrie; but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward Salapia: which he chose for his wintring place; and beganne to victuall it, when Summer 10 was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in lone with a yong Wench in that towne: in which regard if he beganne his Winter more timely, than otherwise neede required, He did not like the Romans; whom necessitie enforced, to make their Summer last as long, as they were able to trauell vp and downe the Countrie.

About this time beganne great troubles in Sicil; whither Marcellus the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Prouince, as neede should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Conful ship, we will speake hereaster.

The new Consuls, chosen at Rome, were Q. Fabius the sonne of the present Conful, and T. Sempronius Gracehus the second time. The Romans found it needfull for the publike feruice, to imploy often-times their best able men; and therefore made 20 it lawfull, during the war, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old Fabius became Lieutenant vnto his sonne : which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meete him: cleuen of the twelue Lictors, which carried each an axe with a bundle of rods before the Confull, suffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to passe by them on horse-backe; which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiuing this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old Fabius alight, and come to the Consul on his feete. The father chearefully did so; saying, It was 30 my minde, sonne, to make triall, whether thou diddest understand thy selfe to bee Consul. Castus Altinius a wealthie Citizen of Arpi, who, after the battell at Canna, had holpenthe Carthaginian into that Towne, seeing now the fortune of the Romans to amend; came privily to this Conful Fabius, and offered to render it back vnto him, if he might bee therefore well rewarded. The Confull purposed to follow old examples: and to make this Altinius a patterne to all Traitors; vling him, as Camillus and Fabricius had done those, that offered their vnfaithful service against the Fatifei, and King Pyrrhus. But Q. Fabius the father, was of another opinion: and faid, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to reuolt from the Romans, than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee 40 should be sent to the Towne of Cales, and there kept as prisoner; untill they could better resolue, what to doe with him, or what vse to make of him. Hannibal, vnderstanding that Altinius was gone, and among the Romans, tooke it not forrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mansriches, which were great. Yet, that he might seeme rather scuere, than couctous, He sent for the wife and children of Altinius into his campe: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the Treason, to be burnt aliue; and tooke all their goods vnto himselfe. Fabius the Consul shortly after came to Arpi: which he wanne by Scalado, in a 50 flormie and rainie night. Five thousand of Hannibals Souldiers lay in the Towne; and of the Arpines themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust formost by the Carthaginian Garrison; when it was understood, that the Romans had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the fouldiers held the townsmen fulpected;

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.3. S.Id. Inspected; and therefore thought it no wisedome, to trust them at their backs. But after some little relistance, the Arpines gaue over fight, and entertained parlee with the Romans: protesting, that they had beene betraied by their Princes; and were become subject to the Carthaginians, against their wills. In processe of this discourse. the Arpine Pretor went vnto the Roman Conful: and receiving his faith for fecurity of the Towne, presently made head against the Garrison. This notwithstanding; like it is, that Hannibals men continued to make good relistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were Spaniards, offcred to leaue their companions, and serue on the Roman side; it was yet couenanted, That the Carthaginians should be suffered to to passe forth quietly, and returne to Hannibal. This was performed: and so Arpi became Roman againe; with little other losse, than of him that had betraied it. About the same time, Cliternum was taken by Sempronius Tuditanus, one of the Pretors: and vnto Cneiss Fuluius, another of the Pretors, an hundred and twelue Gentlemen of Capua offered their service; vpon no other condition, than to have their goods restored vnto them, when their Citie should bee recoursed by the Romans. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall hatred of the Campans toward Rome, it served to discover the inclination of the Italians in those times; and how their affections recoiled from Hannibal, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had beene promised from Carthage. The 20 Consentines also, and the Thurines, people of the Brutians, that had yeelded themselues to Hannibal; returned against o their old allegeance. Others would have followed their example, but that one L. Pomponius, who of a Publican had made himself a Captaine, and gotten reputation by some pettie exploits in forraging the country, was llaine by Hanno, with a great multitude of those that followed him. Hannibal in the meane while had all his care bent vpon Tarentum; which if he could take, it feemed that it would fland him in good flead, for drawing ouer that helpe out of Macedon, which his Carthaginians failed to fend. Long he waited, ere he could bring his defire to passe: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to preuaile by intelligence; He contented himselfe, with taking in some poore Townes of the 30 Salentines. At length, his Agents within Taventum found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One Phileas, that was of their conspiracie, who lay at Rome as Embassador, practifing with the Hostages of the Tarentines, & such as had the keeping of them, conveighed them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his companie were the next day so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to Rome; where they suffered death, as Traitors. By reason of this crueltie, or seueritie, the people of Tarentum grew to hate the Romans, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their businesse the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discouered. Wherefore they sent agains to Hannibal: and ac-49 quainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the Tarentines, which they of Capua had made before. Nico and Philomenes, two the chiefe among them, vied much to goe forth of the Towns on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for feare of the Carthaginians. Seldome or neuer they missed of their game: for the Carthaginians prepared it readie for their hands, that they might not seeme to have been abroad vpon other occasion. From the campe of Hannibal, it was about three daies journie to Tarentum, if hee should haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This caused his long abode in one place the leffe to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure, He caused it to be given out, that he was sick. But when the Romans within Tarentum, were so grownecarclesse of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their bufinesse in order; He tooke with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before breake of day, made all speede thitherward. Fourescore light horse of the Numidians ranne a great way beforehim, beating all the waies, and killing any that they met, for feare lest he, and his troupe following him, should be difcouered. It had beene often the manner of some few Numidian horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the Roman Gouernour, when hee heard tell in the euening, that some Numidians were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that Hannibal was not as yet diflodged; and gaue order, that some companies should be fent out the next morning, to strip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night; Hannibal, guided by Philomenes, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arrivall; Nice, that was within the Towne, answered him with another light, in figne that he was readic. Presently Nico beganneto set vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. Philemenes went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him makehafte, for that hee had killed a great Bore, so heavie, that scarcet wo men could hand under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwithentred two yong men, loaden with the Bore; which Hannibal had prepared large enough, to be worthie the looking on. While the Porter Rood wondring at the largenesse of the beast, Philomenes ran him through with his Bore-speare: and letting in some thirtie armed men, fell vpon all the watch; whom when he had flaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of Hannibal, entring Tarentem at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place; where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the Citie, with Tarentines to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the Ro- 29 mans; and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof Hannibal willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bidhim be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an vprore: but few could tell what the matter meant. A Roman trumpet was vnskilfully founded by a Greeke in the Theater: which helped the suspition, both of the Tarentines, that the Romans were about to spoile the Towne; and of the Romans, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Gouernour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that flood in the mouth of the Hauen, whence hee might earlily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. Hannibal, assembling the Tarentines, gaue them to vinderstand, what good affection hee bore them, inueighed bitterly against 30 the Romans, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the prefent. This done: and having gotten such spoile as was to bee had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, He addressed himselfe against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would fallie out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them vnable to defend the Peece. According to his expectation it partly fel out. For when hee beganne to make his approches, the Romans in a brauerie fallying forth, gaue charge vpon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst aduenture. Then gaue Hannibal a signe to his Carthaginians, who lay prepared readie for the purpose: and fiercely setting vpon the Enemie, draue him back with great 49 flaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadell stood vpon a Demi-lland, that was plaine ground; and fortified only with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it vvas joyned by a cawsey. This cawfey Hannibal intended to fortifie in like fort against the Citadell; to the end that the Tarentines might bee able, without his helpe, to keepe themselues from all danger thence. His worke in few daies went so well forward, without impediment from the belieged, that he conceived hope of winning the Peece it selfe, by taking a little more paines. Wherefore he made readie all forts of engines, to force the place. But whilest he was bussed in his works, there came by Sea a strong supply from Metapentum: which tooke away all hope of preuailing; and made him returne to his 50 former counsaile. Now for a smuch as the Tarentine fleet lay within the Hauen, and could not passe forth. vvhilest the Romans held the Citadell: it seemed likely, that the Towne would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea; whilest the Roman Garrison, by helpe of their shipping, might easily be relieued; and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience; it was rather wished by the Tarentines, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the Hauen; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy, Hannibel told them, that this might well be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine ground, and their streets being faire and broad, it would been o hard matter to draw the Gallies over Land, and kaugh them into the Sea without. This he undertooke and effected: whereby the Roman Garrison was reduced into great necessitie; though with much patience it held out, and sound Hannibal often-times otherwise busied; than his af-

CHAP.3. S.14.

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faires required. And Har Thus with mutual loffe on both fides, the time puffed and the Roman forces. growing daily fironger, Q. Fulvius Flaceus, with Appens Claudius, lately chosen Confuls, prepared to beliege the great Citic of Capua. Three and twenty Legions the Romans had now armed. This was a great and hallie growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the losse are the losse and of all necessaries. fill vp thefe Legions, they were faine to take vn yong Boyes, that were vnder feuenteene, yeares of age; and to fend Commissioners aboue liftic miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appeare feruiceable, & pressing them to the warres; making yet a Law, That their yeares of seruice, whereinto they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning 20 so yong, as if they had beene of lawfull age. Before the Roman Armie drew neere. the Campans felt great want of victuailes, as if they had alreadic beene belieged. This happened partly by floth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoile, which the Romans had in foregoing yeares made upon their grounds. They fent therefore Embassadours to Hannibal; desiring him to succour them ere they were closed up, as they seared to bee shortly. Hee gaue them comfortable words: and fent Hanno with an Armieto supply their wants. Hanno appointed them a day ; againft which they should be readie with all manner of carriages, to store themselues with victuailes, that he would prouide. Neither did he promise more, than he performed. For hee caused great quantitie of graine, that had beene laied vp in Cities 30 round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from Beneuentum. Thither at the time appointed came no more than fortie Carts or Wagons, with a few packhorses; as if this had beene enough to victuaile Capua. Such was the rechleshesse of the Campans. Hanno was exceeding angrie hereat: and told them they were worfe than very beafts; fince hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore hee gaue them a longer day; against which hee made provision to store them throughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the Roman Consuls, from the Citizens of Beneventum. Therefore Q. Fulvius the Conful, taking with him fuch Arength as hee thought needfull for the feruice, came into Beneventum by night; where with diligence hee made inquirie into the behaulour of the Enemie. He lear-40 ned, that Hanno with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make prouisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the Carthaginians in their campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set vpon a great Haruest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men preparethemselues, to affaile the Enemies campe: and leaving all his impediments within Beneventum, He marched thitherward fo early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By comming so vnexpected, Hee had well-neere forced the campe on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the leffe defire had Fuluius to loofe more of his men in the attempt; feeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing 30 good. Therefore he faid, that it were better to goe more leifurely and substantially to worke; to fend for his fellow-Conful with the rest of their Armie; and to lie be-

tweene Hanno and home; that neither the Campans should depart thence, nor the

Carthaginian beable to relieue them. Being thus discoursing, and about to sound

theretrait; hee faw, that some of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart.

There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the fouldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that campe. Wherefore lome Enligne-bearers threw their Ensignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vnlesse they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignominie, than which none could bee greater, made the Souldiers aduenture lo desperately; that Fuluius, perceiuing the heat of his men, changed purpose, and encouraged those that were iomewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had alreadie gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the campe was wonne: in which were flaine aboue fixe thousand; and taken, aboue seuen thousand, besides all the store of victuailes, and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that Hanno had lately gotten from the Ro- 10 man Confederates. This misaduenture, and the neerer approach of both the Confuls, made them of Capua send a pittifull Embassage to Hannibal: putting him in minde of all the love, that he was wont to protest vnto their Citie; and how he had made lhew, to affect it no lesse than carehage. But now, they said, it would be lost, as Arpi was lately, if he gaue not firong and speedie succour. Hannibal answered with comfortable words: and fent away two thousand horse, to keepe their grounds from spoile; whilest hee himselfe was detained about Tarentum, partly by hope of winning the citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many townes adjoyning, to yeeld vnto him. Among the Holtages of the Tarentines, that lately had fled out of Rome, and being ouer-taken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of 20 the Metapentines, and other Cities of the Greekes, inhabiting that Easterne part of Italie, which was called of old Magna Gracia. These people tooke to heart the death of their Hostages; and thought the punishment greater, than the offence. Whereforethe Metapontines, as soone as the Roman Garrison was taken from them, to defend the citadell of Tarentum, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to Hannibal. The Thurines would have done the like, vpon the like reason: had not some companies laine in their Towne; which they feared that they should not bee able to master. Neuerthelesse they helped themselves by cunning inuiting to their gates Hanno and Mago, that were neere at hand : against whom whilest they proffered their service to Atinius, the Roman captaine, they drew him forth to fight; and re- 30 coyling from him, closed up their gates. A little formalitie they vsed in pretending feare, left the Enemieshould breake in together with the Romans; in fauing Atinius himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practice) whether they should yeeld to the Carthaginian, or no. But this disputation lasted not long: for they that had removed the chiefe impediment, easily prevailed in the rest; and delinered up the Towne to Hanne and Mage. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained Hannibal in those quarters; whilest the Consuls, fortifying Beneventum to secure their backs, addressed themselves vnto the siege of Capua.

Many disasters besell the Romans, in the beginning of this great enterprise. T. Semponius Gracchus, a very good man of warre, that had of late beene twice Consul, was slaine either by trecherie of some Lucans, that drew him into ambush; or by some starthaginian stragglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His bodie, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by Hannibal himselfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the Romans; to whom Hannibal sent it. He was appointed to lie in Beneventum, there to secure the back of the Armie that should be liege Capua. But his death hapned in an ill time; to the great hindrance of that businesse. The Folones, or Slaues lately manumised, for sook their Ensignes, and went enery one whither hee thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seeke them out, and bring them back into their campe. Neuerthagonel acts of hostilitie which they could. Mago the Carthaginian, and the Citizens of Capua, gaue them an hard welcome; wherein aboue sisteen hundred Romans were lost. Neither was it long, ere Hannibal came thither: who fought with the Consuls,

and had the better infomuch that hee caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went seuerall waies: Fuluius toward Cume; Claudius, into Lucaria. Hanmbal followed after Claudius: who having led him a great walke, fetcht a compaffe about, and returned to Capua. It so fell out, that one M. Ceatemus Penula a front man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centunon, lay with an Armie not farre from thence, where Hannibal rested, when hee was wearie of hunting after Claudius. This Penula had made great vants to the Roman Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trufted with the leading of fine thousand men. The Pathers were vnwilling in such a time, to reject the vertue 10 of any good Souldier; how meane so euer his condition were. Wherfore they gaue him the charge of eight thousand: and he himselfe, being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with Hannibal, he gaue proofe of the difference, betweene a front Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. Hee and his fellowes were all (in a manner) flaine; scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this Hannibal had word, that Cn. Fuluius, a Roman Pretor, with eighteene thouland men, was in Apulia, very careleffe, and a man infufficient for the charge which he held. Thither he therefore hafted, to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of Rame, which pointed at Capua, when he should have cut off those forces, that lay in the Provinces 20 acout, under men of small abilitie. Comming upon Fuluius, He found him and his men so sollie, that needs they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So hee bestowed Mago with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battaile to Falaire, Hee soone had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape aline; leaning all, saue two thousand of his followers, dead be-

These two great blowes, received one presently after the other, much assonished the Romans. Neuerthelesse all care was taken, to gather up the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Confuls should goe substantially forwards with the 30 siege of Capua; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls sate downe before the towne and C. Claudius Nero, one of the Pretors, came with his Armie from Suessula to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That who soeuer would issue forth of Capua before a certaine day prefixed, should have his pardon, and bee suffered to enjoy all that vnto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the Capuans relying on their owne strength, and the succorsattended from Hannibal. Before the Citie was closed up, they sent Messengers to the Carthagmian; which found him at Brundusum. He had made a long journie, in hope of gaining the Tarentine citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to Brundusum; vpon advertisement that he should be let in. There the Capuans met him; told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with wordes as braue recomforted. He bade them confider, how a few daies fince he had chased the Confuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would prefently come thither againe and send the Romans going, as fast as before. With this good answere the Meffengers returned: and hardly could get back into the citie; which the Romans had almost entrenched round. As for Hannibal himselfe; He was of opinion, that Capua, being very well manned, and heartily denoted vnto his friendship, would hold out a long time: and thereby give him leisure, to doe what he thought requisite among the Tarentines, and in those Easterne parts of Italie; whilst the Roman armie spent it 50 selse in a tedious siege. Thus he lingred : and thereby gaue the Consulstime, both to fortifie themselues at Capus, and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in

Rome; whilest he himselse pursued hopes, that neuer found successe.

Cludius and Faluius, when their terms of Office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at Capus; retaining the same Armies, as Proconsula. The towned

men often sallied out: rather in a brauerie, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect; the Enemie lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the Campan horse (for their foot was casily beaten) the Romans vsed to thrust out some troups, that should hold them skirmilh. In these exercises the Campans vsually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemie; who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore deuised, that some active and couragious yong men, should learne to ride behinde the Roman men at armes; leaping vp, and againe dismounting lightly, as occasion served. These were furnished like the Velites, having each of them three or foure small darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick vpon 10 the Enemies horse; whom vanquilling in this kinde of service, they much disheartned in the maine. The time thus paffing, and famine daily increasing within the Citie; Hannibal came at length, not expected by the Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs, called Galatia, fell vpon their campe. At the same time the Capuans issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuise: setting all their multitude of vnferuiceable people on the walls; which, with a loud noise of Pannes and Bafons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. Appius Claudius opposing himselfe to the Campans, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he draue them at length back into their Citie. Neuerthelesse, in pursuing them to their gates. He received a wound, that accompanied him in short space 20 after to his graue. Q. Fuluius was held harder to his taske, by Hannibal and the Carthagintan Armie. The Roman campe was even at point to have beene lost: and Hannibal his Elephants, of which he brought with him three and thirtie, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slaine vponit, fell into the ditch; and filled it vp in fuch fort, that their bodies ferued as a bridge vnto the Assailants. It is said, that Hannibal in this tumult caused some sugitiues, that could speake Latine well, to proclaime aloud, as it were in the Consuls name, That every one of the Souldiers should shift for himselfe, and flie betimes vnto the next Hils, forasmuch as the campe was alreadie lost. But all would not ferue. The fraud was detected: and the Armie, having fitten there so long, had at 30 good leisure strongly entrenched it selfe; so as little hope there was to raise the siege

This did extremely perplexe the Carthaginian. The purchase of Capua had (as was thought) with-held him from taking Rome it selfe: and now his desire of winning the Tarentine Citadell, had well-neere lost Capua; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor Citie of Tarentum, were to have beene much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater vie: on the sudden he entertained an haughtie resolution, euen to set vpon Rome; and carrie to the walles of that proud Citie, the danger of warrethat threatned Capua. This hee thought would bee a meane, to 40 draw the Roman Generals, or one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Armie; then had he his desire: If they divided their forces; then was it likely, that either he or the Campans, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did hee despaire, that the terror of his comming might so assonish the multitude within Rome, as he might enter some part or other of the Citie. His onely feare was, lest the Campans, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themselues to the Enemie. To preuent this danger, He sent letters to Capna by a subtile Numidian: who running as a fugitiue into the Roman campe, conveighed himselfe thence ouer the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The journie to Rome, was 50 to be performed with great celeritie: no small hope of good successe, resting in the fuddennesse of his arrivall there. Wherefore hee caused his men, to haue in a readinesseten daies victuailes; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the River of Vulturnu. This could not be done so closely, but

That the Roman Generalls by some fugitives had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate which was therewith affected, accord ding to the diuersitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gaue counsaile to let alone Capua, yea and al places else, rather then to put the Towne of Rome into perill of being taken by the Enemie. Others were fo farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that Hannibal, being vnable to relieue Capua, should judge himselse strong enough to winne Rome; and therefore floutly faid, That, those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the Citic, would serue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and send him to thence; if he were fo vnwife, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that letters should be sent to Fulinius and Claudius, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in Rome: who, since they knew best, what the ftrength was which Hannibal could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generals at Capua, to doe as they thought behouefull: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the Citie of Rome into much aduenture. According to this Decree of the Senate, Q. Fuluius tooke fifteene thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choise of his whole Armie; with which he hasted toward Rome; leaving App. Claudius, who could not travel by reason of his wound,

20 to continue the siege at Capua. Hannibal, having passed ouer Vulturnus, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might serue to transport the Enemie, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hasted he away toward Rome; staying no longer in any one place, then he needes must. Yet found he the bridges over Liris broken downe, by the people of Fregella: which as it stopped him a little on his way; fo it made him the more grieuously to spoile their lands, whiles the bridges were in mending. The neerer that he drew to Rome, the greater waste he made : his Numidians running before him; driving the Countrie, and killing or taking multitudes of all forts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, 20 one after another into the Citie; some few bringing true aduertisements; but the

most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets, and Temples in Rome, were peftered with women, crying and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assembly; readie to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon which part Hannibal would fall. In the middest of this trepidation, there came newes that Q. Fuluius, with part of the Armie from Capua, was hasting to defence of the Citie. The Office of a Proconful did expire, at his returne home, and entric into the Gates of Rome. Where-40 fore, that Faluius might lose nothing by comming into the Citie in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should have equall power with the Consuls, during his abode there. Hee and Hannibal arrived at Rome, one soone after another:

Fuluius having beene long held occupied in passing over Vulturnus; and Hannibal receiuing impediment in his iourney, as much as the Countrie was able to give. The Confuls, and Fuluius, incamped without the Gates of Rome; attending the Carthaginian. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew neerer and greater; so tooke they more carefull and especiall order against all occurrences. Hannibal came to the River Anio or Anien, three miles from the Towne; whence he advanced with two thousand Horse, and rode along a great way vnder the wals; viewing 50 the fite thereof, and confidering how he might best approach it. But he cither went,

or (as the Roman Storie faith) was driven away; without doing, or receiving any hurt. Many tumults role in this while among the people; but were suprressed by and diligence of the Senators. About the rest one accident was both troubleto re, and not without perill. Of Numidians that had shifted side, and fallen (vpon

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forth none other, than the fame of his much during. Wherefore hee brake up his campe and doing what spoile be could in the Roman Eceritorie, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, He paffed like a Tempett ouer the Countrie; and ranne toward the Easterne Sea so fast; that hee had almost taken the Citie of Rhegium before his arrivall was feared or suspected. As for Capua, hee gaue it loft: and is likely to have curfed the whole faction of Hanno, which thus difabled him to relieue that faire Citie; fince he had no other way to vent his griefe.

CHAP. 2. S. 14.

of the Historie of the World.

O. Fuluius returning back to Capua, made Proclamation anew, that who fo would veeld, before a certaine day, might fafely doe it. This, and the very returne of 10 Fullius, without any more appearance of Hannibal, gaue the Capuans to understands that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the Roman pardon proclaimed, every mans confcience of his owne evill deferts, told him, that it was a vanitie: and some faint hope was given, by Hanno and Bostar, Captaines of the Carthaginian Garrison within the Towne, that Hannibal should come againe; if meanes could onely be found, how to convey fuch letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the letters was undertaken, by some Numidians: who running, as fugitiues, out of the Towne, into the Roman campe, waited fit opportunitie to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned, ere they could conucigh themfeluesaway, that one of them was detected by an Harlot following him out of the 20 Towne; and the letters of Bostar and Hanno were taken and opened; containing a vehement entreatie vnto Hannibal, that he would not thus for take the Capuans and them. For (faid they) we came not hither to make warre against Rhegium and Tarentum, but against the Romans: whose Legions wheresoeuer they lie, there also should the Carthaginian Armie bee readie to attend them; and by taking of such course, have wee gotten those victories at Trebia, Thrasymene, and Canna. In fine, they befought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their enemics, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view: promiting, to make a desperate fally, if he would once more aduenture to fet vpon the Roman campe. Such were the hopes of Boltar and his 30 fellow. But Hannibal had alreadic done his best: and now began to faint under the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by Hanno and his Partifans in the Carthaginian Senate, rather than by any force of Rome. Liu.l.30. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besseged in Capua, had beene fent over by the Hannonians, to observe the doings of Hannibal, and to check his proceedings. If this were fo; justly might they curle their owne malice, which had cast them into this remedilesse necessitie. Howsoever it were, the letters directed vnto Hannibal, fell (as is shewed) into the Roman Proconfuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all fuch counterfait fugitiues, as carried fuch messages, whipt them backe into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake 40 the hearts of the Campans: so that the Multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding vp of Capua vinto the Romans. The brauest of the Senators, and such as a few yeeres since had beene most forward in joyning with Hannibal, understood well enough wherevnto the matterrended. Wherefore one of them inuited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drink to them fuch an health, as should set them free from that cruel reuenge, which the Enemie sought vpon their bodies. About feuen and twentie of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poylon. All the reft, hoping for more mercie than they had deferued, yeelded fimply to discretion. So one 50 of the Towne-gates was fet open: whereat a Roman Legion with some other companies, entring, difarmed the Citizens; apprehended the Carthiginian Garrifon; and commanded all the Senators of Capua to goe forth into the Roman campe. At their comming thither, the Proconfuls laid yrons vpon them all: and comman-

ding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe

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after which he struck off their heads.

they were reserved vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vsed by Fuluius

in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversitie.

Ap. Claudius was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had

lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the Campans; as having loved them well in former times, and having given his daughter in marriage to that Pacuvius,

of whom we spake before. But this facilitie of his Colleague, made Fuluius the more

hastie in taking vengeance: for feare, lest vpon the like respects, the Roman Senare might proue more gentle, than he thought behouefull to the common fafetie, and honour of their state. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto Thea- 10

nam, and from thence to Cales: where he caused all the Campan prisoners to suffer

death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods;

This terrible example of vengeance, which the Carthaginians could not hinder,

made al Townes of Italie the leffe apt to follow the vaine hope of the Campans: and

bred a generall inclination, to returne vpon good conditions to the Roman fide. The Atellans, Calatines, and Sabatines, people of the Campans, that in the former change

had followed the fortune of Capua, made also now the like submissio, for very feare,

and want of abilitie to relift. They were therefore vsed with the like rigour, by Ful-

Wherefore some of their yong Gentlemen, burning with fire of revenge, got into

Rome: where they found meanes by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that

a great part of the Citie was like to have been consumed. The beginning of the fire

in divers places at once, argued that it was no casualitie. Wherfore libertie was pro-

claimed vnto any slaue, and other sufficient reward vnto any free man, that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out and the Campans, being

detected by a slaue of their owne (to whom, aboue his libertie promised, was given

about the summe of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their

deserts. Fuluius hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their walls: and this extreme severi-30

tie caused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the Roman Senate; that some

period might be set unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resoluted in

the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Onely two poore

women in Capus (of which one had beene an Harlot) were found not guiltie of the

late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wines and children sold for

slaues, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and reserved to surther de-

liberation: but the generalitie of them, commanded to depart out of Campania by a

certaine day; and confined vnto seuerall places as best liked the angric Victors. As

for the Towne of Capua, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beautie and com-

only a Roman Prouost was every yeere sent to governe over those that should inha-

bit it, and to doe inflice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto

done by the people of Rome, after many great losses in the present warre. After this,

the glorie of Hannibal beganne to shine with a more dimme light, than before: his

oile being farrespent; and that, which should have reuiued his slame, being vnfor-

tunately shed; as shall be told in place conuenient.

modious fite; but no corporation or forme of politic, was allowed to bee therein; 40

uius: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. 20

How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicil, held warre against the Romans in those Hands; and were ouer-come.

Chap.3. S.15.

Hilest things passed thus in Italie; the commotions raised in Sardinia and Sicil by the Carthaginians & their friends, were brought to a quiet and happie end, by the industrious valour of the Romans. The Sardi-nian rebellion was great and sudden: about thirtie thousand being va in armes, ere the Roman forces could arrive there to suppresse ic. One

Harlicoras with his sonne Hiostus, mightie men in that Iland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by Hanno a Carthaginian, that promifed the affiftance of his Countrie. Neither were the Carthaginians in this enterprise so carelesse, as in the rest of their maine undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had beene better, if their care had beene directed unto the prosecution of that maine businessein Italie; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have sufficed, if they could have hindred the Romans from sending an Armie into Sardinia. Har sicoras with his followers might well enough have served to drive out Q. Mutius the Prætor; who lay sicke 20 in the Prouince; and not more weake in his owne bodie, than in his traine. But whilest they sought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the sense was most gricuous: they neglected the opportunitie of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all iniuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such; as may seeme to have discouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent ouer Aldrubal, furnamed the bald, with a competent fleet and armic; affifted in this Expedition by Hanno the Author of the rebellion, & by Margo a Gentleman of the Barchine house, and neere kinsman to Hannibal: it so fell out, that the whole fleet by extremitic of foule weather, was cast vpon the Baleares; so beaten and in such euill 30 plight, that the Sardinians had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite

vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them. Titus Manlius was sent from Rome with two and twentie thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Iland, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the Roman Dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custome of the Romans, to preserve and vp-hold in their several Provinces, the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Prouince had beene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the Prouincialls; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatfoeuer accident required the affistance of a Patron: the first Conquerour, and his race afte. 40 him, were the most readie and best approved meanes, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the Romans held very sure intelligence, in euery Prouince, and had alwaies in readinesse fit men to reclaime their Subjects, if they fel into any fuch disorder, as would otherwise haue required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of Manlius, retayned in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was Harsicoras so strong in field, that Manlius was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twentie thousand, whereof we have spoken before: He landed at Calaris or Carallis, where mooring his ships, he passed up into the Countrie, and sought out the Encmie. Hyostus, the sonne of Harsicoras, had then the command of the Sardinian Ar-50 mie left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrie, to draw in more friends to their side. This yong Gentleman would needes aduenture to get honor, by giving battaile to the Romans at his owne discretion. So hee rashly aduentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and lost in one day aboue thirtie thousand of his followers. Hyostus himselfe, with

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the rest of his broken troupes, got into Cornus, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither Manlins pursued them. Very soone after this descature came Ald ubal with his Carthaginians: too late to winne all Sardinia in such haste as he might have done, if the tempest had not hindred his voiage, yet soone enough, and strong enough to faue the Towne of Cornus, and to put a new spirit into the Rebells. Manlius hereypon with-drew himselfe back to Calaris: where he had not stayed long, ere the Sardinians (fuch of them as adhered to the Roman partie) craued his affiltance; their Countrie being wasted by the Carthaginians, and the Rebells, with whom they had refused to joyne. This drew Manlius forth of Calaris: where if he had staied a little longer, A drubal would have fought him out with fome blemish to his reputation. 10 But the fame of Afdrubal and his companie, appeares to haue been greater than was their strength. For after some trial made of them in a few skirmilhes; Manlius aduentured all to the hazard of a battaile; wherein he slew twelue thousand of the enemies; and took of the Sardinians and Carthaginians three thousand. Foure houres the battaile lasted: and victoricat length fell to the Romans, by the flight of the Islanders; whose courages had beene broken in their vnprosperous fight, not many daies before. The death of yong Hyostus, and of his father Harsteoras, that slew himselfe for griefe, together with the captiuity of Asdrubal himselfe, with Mago and Hanno the Carthaginians; made the victorie the more famous. The vanquilhed Armie fled into Cornus: whither Manlius followed them; and in short space wanne 20 the Towne. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, followed the example of Cornus, and yeelded vnto the Roman: who imposing upon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best forted with the nature of their seueral offences, or their ability to pay, returned backe to Calaris with a great bootie, and from thence to Rome; leaving Sardinia in quiet.

The warrein Sicil was of greater length, and euery way more burdensome to Rome: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit; for that the Romans became thereby not only fauers of their owne, as in Sardinia; but Lords of the whole Countrie; by annexing the Citie and Dominion of Syracufe, to that which they enioyed before. Soone after the battaile of Canna, the old King of Syracuse died: who 20 had continued long a stedfast friend vnto the Romans; and greatly relieved them in this present warre. He lest his Kingdometo Hieronymus his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeeres of age; Gelo his sonne, that should have beene his heire, being dead before. To this yong King his fuccessor, Hiero appointed fisteene tutors: of which the principal were Andronodorus, Zoilus, and Themistius; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of Gelo. The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preserve the Kingdome, by the same arte, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while; Indronodorus, waxing wearie of so many Coadiutors, beganne to commend the sufficiencie of the yong Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeeres; and faid, that he was able to rule the Kingdome without helpe of 40 any Protector. Thus by giving ouer his owne charge, hee caused others to doe the like:hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to passe in a fortas hee desired. For Hieronymus, laying aside all care of gouernement, gauc himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitic, it was onely in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diademe with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people; that had neuer seene the like in Hiero, or in Gelo his sonne. But much more he offended them, when by his infolent behaviour, futable to his outward pompe, he gaue proofe, that, in course of life, hee would revive the memorie of T yrants dead long fince, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. Hee grew proud, 50 lultful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late Tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to live in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to avoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe.

Only Andronodorus, Zoilus, and one Thraso continued in grace with him, and were his Counsailers, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsocuer they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about that maine point, of adhering, either to the Romans, or to the Carthaginians. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was let on change: but Tiraso, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very carnell to continue the amitie with Rome. Whilest as vet it remained somewhat doubtfull, which way the King would incline: a conspiracie against his Person, was detected by a groome of his; to whom, one Theodorus had broken the matter. Theodorus hereupon was apprehended, and tormented : 10 thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the vndertakers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing: but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end. vnto the extremitic of the torture; he confessed, that he had beene set on by Thrase. whom heappeached of the treason, together with many more, that were neere in loue or place vnto Hieronymus. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeede the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and neuer shrunke for the matter: affuring themselues, that theresolution of Theodorus would yeelde to no extremitie. Thus they all cscaped, and soone after found meanes to execute their purpose. The King himselfe, when Thraso was taken out of the way, quickly resolued vpon siding 29 with the Carthaginians; whereto he was very inclinable before. Yong men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, loue to seeme wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberalitie of Hiero to the Romans, in their great neceffitic, had of late beene fuch, as might have beene termed excessive; were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein hee tooke order for his owne estate, that depended vpon theirs. But the yong Nephew, taking little heede of dangers farre off: regarded only the things present; the weakenesse of Rome; the prevalent fortunes of Carthage; and the much monie that his grand-father had laied out in vaine. to shoulder up a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with Hannibal: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by Hippocrates & Epicides, 30 Carthaginians borne, but grand-children of a banished Syracusan. These grew into fuch fauour with Hieronymus, that they drew him whither they lifted. So that when Appius Claudius the Roman Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacic, betweene the People of Rome and the King of Syracufe; his Messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For Hieronymus would needes haue them tell him the order of the fight at Canne; that hee might thereby learne how to accommodate himselfe: saying, That he could hardly believe the Carthaginians; so wonderfull was the victorie as they reported it. Having thus dismissed the Romans, he sent Embassadors to Carthage, where hee concluded a league: with condition, at first, that agreat part of the Island should be annexed to his Domini-40 on; but afterward, that he should raigne ouer all Sicil; and the Carthaginians rest satisfied, with what they could get in Italie. At these doings Ap. Claudius did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered, partly for that it behoued not the Romans, to entertaine more quarrells, then were enforced vponthem by neceffitie; and partly (as may seeme) for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had received such blemish, by that which hapned vnto him in his journie, as much discountenanced him when he came into Sicil, & forbad him to looke big. The money that Hiero had bestowed upon the Romans, wherewith to relieve them in their necessitie, this Appius was to carrie backe vnto him: it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater brauerie than their present fortune would allow. But 50 in stead of returning the monie with thankes, as he had beene directed, and as it had beene noised abroad that hee should doe: the warre against Philip King of Macedon (whereof we have spoken before) compelled the Romans to lay aside their vaine glory, and fend word after him, that he should configne that monie ouer to Marcus

Valerius; of whose voyage into Greece, the Citie had not otherwise wherewith to

beare the charge. This was done accordingly: and hereby Claudius (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oftentation of the Roman magnanimitie; into such a pittifull tune of thanklgiuing, as must needes have bred forrow and commiseration, in so true a friend as Hiero; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of passime and storne; in Hieronymus the new King.

But whilest Hieronymus was more desirous of warre, than well resolved how to beginne it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innountion in the flate of Syracuse; which thereby might have prospered more than euer, had it beene wifely gouerned. Hippocrates and Epicides, of whom we spake before, 10 were fent about the Country with two thousand men; to sollicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the Romans. The King himselfe with an Armie offifteene thousand horse and foot, went to Leontium, a Citie of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators tooke him on the sudden, as hee was passing through a narrow street; and rushing betweene him and his guard, frooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the found of that word fo joyfully answered by the Leontines, that the guard of Hieronymus, had little courage to reuenge their Masters death. Yet for seare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their 20 Captaines; which wrought so effectually; that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp; the Armie, as in detellation of his bad life, suffered his carkasse to lie vnburied. These newes ranne quickly to Syracuse: whither some of the Conspirators, taking the Kings horses, posted away; to significall that had passed; to stirre vp the people to libertie; and to prevent Andronodorus, if he, or his fellowes would make offer to vsurpe a Tyrannie. The Syracufians hereupon presently tooke Armes; and made themselues masters of their owne Citie. Andronodorus on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island : being yet uncertaine what to doe; betweene desire of making himselfe a soueraigne Lord, and seare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His wife Demarata, that was 30 the daughter of Hiero, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that well knowne Prouerbe, which Dionysius had vsed; That a Tyrant should keepe his place . till he were haled out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horse-backe. But fearc. and better counsaile prevailed so farre; that Andronodorus, having slept vpon the matter; dissembled his affections, and deferred his hope, vnto better opportunitie. The next day he came forth, and made a speech vnto the People: telling them; That hee was glad to see, how prudently they behaved themselves in so great a change; that he had flood in feare, lest they would not have contained themselves within bounds of discretion; but rather have sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that since he beheld their order- 40 ly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their liberty perforce, but to wed it vnto them for euer; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, & surrendred up the charge, committed vnto him, by one that had been can cuill Master, both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made; and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie; of which Andronodorus was one, and the chiefe. But fuch was his desire of Soueraignetie: and so vehement were the instigations of his wife; that shortly he beganne to practise with Hippocrates, Epicides, and other Captaines of the Mercinaries: hoping to make himselfe strong, by their helpe, that were least pleased with the change. Hippocrates and Epicides had beene with the Syracusian Pretors, and told them, that, being fent from Hannibal to Hieronymus, they according 50 to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilest he lived, what service they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested thereforethat they might be friendly dismissed and with a conuoy; that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the Romans, and fet them safe at Locre. This was

easily granted: both for that the Syracusian Magistrates were well côtended to carne thankes of Hannibal, with such a little curtesie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple; which were good fouldiers, and gracious with the Armie, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire ofthese two Sicilians, to be gone so hastily as they made shew: they were more mindfull of the businesse, for which Hannibal had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselues into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the army with tumult: especially of the Roman fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselues, when the Romans & Syracustans were come to agree-10 ment. Such instruments as these, Andronodorus had great neede of : as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found Themislius, that had married Harmonia the fifter of Hieronymus, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents; he reucaled the matter to one, that reucaled all to the reft of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and Themislius, entring into the Senate, were flaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the euill which they had done, whilest Hieronymus liued, as by his authoritie; and now fince attempted, in seeking to vsurpethe tyrannie themselues. It was also declared, that the daughters of Hiero and Gelo were accessarie to this dangerous treason; and that 20 the vnquiet spirits of these women would neuer cease to worke, vntill they had recourred those R oyall ornaments, and Soueraigne power, whereof their familie was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of Hiero and Gelo were also condemned to die: & executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their liucs. Demarata, and Harmonia had perhaps deserued this heavie sentence : but Heracles, the daughter of Hiero, and wife of Sosippus, being altogether innocent; was murdered together with her two yong daughters, in the halty execution of this rash judgement. Her husband Sossppus was a louer of the Common-wealth; and in that respect so hated by Hieronymus, that being sent Embassador to King Ptolemie, &c. he durst not returne home; but staied in Egypt as a banished man. This considera-30 tion, when it was too late, together with some other pittifull accidents accompanying the Southern Companying the Southern ing the flaughter, fo affected the multitude; that (pardoning them felues) all cryed out vpon the authors of so foule a butcherie. Being thus incenfed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger; they called for an election of new Pretors, in the roome of Andronodorus and Themissius, that were lately slaine: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should have little cause to like. At the election were present agreat rowt, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of fouldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named Epicides Pretor; another named Hippocrates; and the leffe that the old Pretors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall 40 crie forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the Syracusans and the Romans. But having striven in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in searc of Ap. Claudius, and of Marcellus, that was lately come into Sicil; they gaue way vnto the time, and fuffered the old league of Hiero to be reconfirmed; which afterward they purposed to dissolue by practice. The Leontines had some neede of a Garrison : and to them was sent Hippocrates the Pretor; attended, by such sugitives, and mercinary souldiers, as were most burdensome to Syracuse. Thither when he came, hee beganne to doe many acts of hostilitie against the Romans: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. Marcellus, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent 50 word vnto the Syracustans, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would neuer be kept sincerely, vntill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Island. Epicides, fearing to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselse vnto the Leontines, whom he perswaded to rebell against the Syracu-

sians. For he faid, that since they had all of late served one Master; there was little reason why the Leontines should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the Srracusians; yea or much rather, all things considered; linee in their fireets the Tvrant was flaine, and libertie first proclaimed. Wherefore, fince they of Syracule were not contented, to enjoy the freedome purchased among the Leontines; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion over those that had broken the chaine, wher with both the one, and the other were bound : his advice was, that fuch their arrogancie should be checked betimes, creit could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the league. made of lace by the Romans and Syracusians. For it was agreed, That all which had been 10 Subject to HIERO and HIERONY MVS, Sould henceforth be Hall with the fate of Syracufe. Against this article, if the Leontines would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; Epicides told them, that in this noneltie of change, they had fit opportunity to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had loft not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, which this crasty Carthaginian propounded; if the Leontines had beene subdued by the same hand, which tooke libertie from the Syracusans. But seeing they had long since yeelded unto Syracuse, and been Subject unto that Citie, by whatforme soener it was governed; this claime of libertie was rather seasonable than just. Neuerthelesse the motion of Epicides was highly approued in so much that when messengers came soone after from Syracuse, 20 to rebuke the Leontines, for that which they had done against the Romans; and to denounce vnto Hippocrates & Epicides, that they should get them gone, either to Locri. or whither elfe they lifted, so that they staied not in Sicil: word was returned, That they of Leontium had not requested the Syracusians, to make any bargaines for them with the Romans, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others without wagrant had made in their names. This peremptorie answere was forth-with reported vinto Marcellus by the Syracusians: who offered him their affistance in doing justing upon the Leontines their Rebells; with condition that when the Towns was taken, it might be theirs againe. Marcellus required no better fatisfaction: but forth-with topke the bufineffe in hand; which he dispatched in one 30 day. At the first assault, Leontium was taken : all saue the Castle, whereinto Hippocrates and Epicedes fled; and stealing thence away by night, connected themselves into the Towne of Herbesus. The first thing that Marcellus did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other Roman Captaines vsed after victorie; to feeke out the fugitive Roman flaves and renegados, whom hee caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, hee tooke to mercy; for bearing also to strip or spoile them. But the same of his doings was bruted after a contrary fort. It was said, that he had staine, Man, Woman, and Child, and put the Towne to sacke. These newes met the Syracusian Army vpon the way, as it was going to joyne with Marcellus, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercinaries 40 there were, that had beene sent forth of Syracuse, vnder Sosis and Dinomenes two of the Pretors, to serue against the Leontines and other Rebells. These Captaines were honest men, and well affected to their Countrie: but the souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercinaries are commonly infected. They tooke the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-fouldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had beene so cruelly butchered; and hercupon they fell to mutinie; though what to demand, or with whom to bee angrie, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and fet them aworke in some place else : for as much as at Leontium there was no neede of their sernice. So toward Herbesus they marched: where lay 50 Hippocrates and Epicides, the architects of all this mischiefe, denising what further harmethey might doe; but now fo weakely accompanied, that they feemed vnable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two bretheren were no leffe well aware: and therfore aduentured vpon a remedy little leffe desperate

desperate than their present case. They issued forth of Herbesus vnarmed, with Oliue branches in their hands, in manner of fuppliants; and so presented themselves to the Armie. Sixe hundred men of Greete were in the vantguard ; that had bin well vsed by Hieronymus; and some of them greatly bound vnto Hannibal; who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and louingly dismissed them. These Cretans therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheare; faving, that no man should doe them harme, as long as they could vie their weapons. Herewithall the Armie was at a stand; and the rumor of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the to matter by seueritie; which would not serue. For when they commanded these two Traitors to be laid in yrons: the exclamation was fo violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, vicertaine what course to take, vito Megara; where they were lodged the night before. Thirther when they came, Hippocrates deuised a tricke; whereby to helpe himselfe, and better the vncertaine case wherein he flood. He caused letters of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie Cretans; directed (as they made shew) from the Syracusian Pretors, to Marcellus. The contents hercof were, That Marcellus had well done, in committing all to the fword among the Leontines: but that it farther behoued him. to make the like dispatch of all the Mercinaries belonging to Syracuse; which were 20 offensiue, all of them in generall, to the libertie of the Citie, and the peace with Rome. When this counterfeit Epissle was openly rehearfed the vprore was such. that Sofis and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forfake the campe, and flic for their liues. All the Syracustans remaining behinde, had been cut in pecces by the enraged fouldiers, if the two artificers of the fedition had not faued their lines; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perswaded also a mischienous knaue that had served among the Leontines, to julitifie the bruit of Marcellus his crueltie; and to carrie home the newes to Syracule, as an eye-witnesse. This incensed not only the multitude, but fome of the Senate; and filled the whole Towne with causelesse indignation. In 30 good time (faid fome) was the auarice and crueltie of the Romans detected who, had they in like fort gotten into Syracuse, would have dealt much worse; where their greedy appetites might have beenetempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilest they were thus discoursing, and denising how to keepe out the wicked Romans, Hippocrates with his Armic came to the gates; exhorting the Citizens to let him in, vnleffe for want of helpe, they would be betraied to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wifest of the Senate, would faine haue kept him out: but the violence of the fouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong furie of those within the Towne; that laboured to breake it open. So he entred, and immediately fell vpon the Prectors; whom (being forfaken by all men) hee put to the 40 fword, and made flaughter of them and their followers untill night. The next day he went openly to worke: and after the common example of T yrants, gaue liberty to all flaues and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basfest fort, made himselse and his bother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of When Marcellus was advertised of this great alteration, hee thought it no time

When Marcellus was advertised of this great alteration, here thought it no time for him to fit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadours to Syracuse; that were not admitted into the Hauen, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he necre with his Armie: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the Towne, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the Romans were come thither; not with purpose to doe hurt, but in sauour of the Syracustans, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and

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enjoy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be delivered vp. Hereto Epicides briefly answered. That if their errand had beene to him, he could have told what to fay to them; but fince it was directed vnto others, they should doc well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the government in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned; hee told them, they should finde by experience, that to beliege Syracule, was an other manner of worke, than to take Leontium. Thus hee fent them gone; and returned back into the Citic. Immediately beganne the fiege, which endured longer than the Romans had expected. The quicke and easie winning of Leontium did put Marcellus in hope, that fo long a circuit of walls, as compassed Syracule, being manned with 10 no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in fome part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrough the very beginning; but did his best, both by Land and Sea. Neuertheleffe all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of hastie victorie. But there lived at that time in Syracuse, Archimedes the noble Mathematician: who at the request of Hiero the late King, that was his kinfman, had framed such engines of warre, as being in this extremitie put in vse, did more mischiefe to the Romans than could have beene wrought by the Canon, or any in- 20 struments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age beene knowne. This Archimedes discoursing once with Hiero, maintained, That it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of fure footing, whereon a man might fland. For proofe of this bold affertion, he performed some strange workes; which made the King entreat him to convert his studie vnto things of vse; that might preserue the Citie from danger of enemies. To fuch Mechanicall workes, Archimedes, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injurie done vnto the liberall sciences, to submit learned Propositions, vnto the workemanship, and gaine, of base handicrasts men. And of this opinion Plato was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians; that 30 feemed vnto him to profane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must wee rashly taske a man so wise as Plato, with the imputation of supercilious austeritie, or affected fingularitie in his reprehension. For it hath beenethe vnhappy fate of great inuentions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published: and being once made knowne, to be under-valued; as falling within compasse of the meanest wit; and things, that every one, could well have performed. Hercof(to omit that memorable example of Columbus his discoverie, with the much different forts of neglect, which hee vnder-went before and afterit) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent proofe. He that lookes vpon our Enless Brewers, and their Servants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke 40 it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of Malt, was an invention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in natural Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the leffe, for that the labor of workmanship growes to be the Trade of ignorant men. The like may be faid of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuised, and bettered, by great Scholers and wife men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by fuch, as could flubber things eafily ouer, and feede their workemen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that haue, or would feeme to haue any fecret skill, whereof the publication might doe good vnto mankinde; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a 50 kinde of injustice, that the long trauels of an understanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expense, should be cast away upon men of no worth; or yeeld lesse benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meere strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And furely, if the paffion of Enuic, haue in it any thing allowable

and naturall, as having Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and serueth against those, which would vsurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to endue them. Neuerthelesse, if we have regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection, that every one ought to beare vnto the generalitie of mankinde, after the example of him that suffereth his Sunne to shine wpon the iust and voiust: it will appeare more commendable in wife men, to enlarge themfelues, and to publish vnto the world, those good things that lie buried in their own bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning; that may bee peruerted by cuill men to a 10 mischienous vie. For if the secret of any rare Antidot, contained in it the skill of giuing some deadly and irrecoverable poyson: better it were, that such a iewell remaine close in the hands of a wife and honest man; than being made common, binde all men to vse the remedie, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischiefe. But the workes which Archimedes published, were such as tended to very commendable ends. They were engins, seruing vnto the defence of Syracuse; not fit for the Syracusans to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to vie them, but referred so much to his owne direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the Romans. It sufficed vnto this worthy man, that 20 he had approoued, euen vnto the vulgar, the dignitic of his Science; and done especiall benefit vnto his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the art

of murdering men it was besides his purpose. Marcellus had saufed certaine of his Quinquereme Gallies to be fastened together, and Towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these, Archimedes had fundrie deuices; of which any one fort might have repelled the affaylants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He shot heavie stones and long peeces of timber, like vnto the yards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come neerer the walls, lay open to a continuall voly of thot, which 30 they could not endure. Some with an yron graple were taken by the prow and hoifted vp, shaking out all the men, and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by frange engins were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls, or cast vpon the rockes: and all of them were so beaten, that they durst neuer come to any second assault. In like fort was the Land-armie handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like Haile; did not onely ouerwhelme the men, but brake downe the Roman engins of battery; and forced Marcellus to giue ouer the affault. For remedie hereof it was conceiued, that if the Romans could earely before day getneere vnto the walls: they should be (as it were) vnder the point blanck, and receive no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which 40 were woond up hard to shoote a great compasse. But this vaine hope cost many of the assaylants lives. For the shorcame downe right vpon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great flaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to stay by it) euen till they were gotten very farre off. This did so terrific the Romans; that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that Archimedes his engins were readie to discharge. Neither knew Marcellus how to ouercome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare; against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engins had flood vpon the walls, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by some device, to make them vnscrto uiceable. But all, or the most of them were out of fight; being erected in the streetes behinde the walls; where Archimedes gaue directions how to vie them. Where-

behinde the walls; where Archimedes gaue directions how to vie them. Wherefore the Roman had none other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all provision of victualls, both by Land and by Sea. This was a desperate peece of worke.

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For the enemies having fo goodly an Hauen; the Scain amanner free; and the Carthaginians that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them : were not likely, so foone to bee consumed with famine, as the beliegers to bee wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a Citic, having no probabilitie to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable

In the meane while, Himileo, Admirall of a Carthaginian Fleete, that had waited long about Sizil, being by Hippocrates aduertised of these passages, went home to Carthage, and there to dealt with the Senate, that five and twentiethousand Foote, three thousand Horse, and twelve Elephants, were committed vnto his charge, to wherewith to make warre vpon the Romans in Sicil by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many, that had anciently belonged vnto the Carthaginians, did yeeld vnto him. To remedie this mischiefe, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne vnto the Carthaginians; Marcellus with a great part of his Armie, rose from Syracuse, and went from place to place about the Island. Hee tooke Pelorus and Herbesus, which yeelded vnto him. He tooke also Megara by force and sackt it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the Syracustans, or else because Rome was at this time poore, and his Armie must have somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to have faued Agrigentum: whither hee came too late; for Himileo had gotten it before. 20 Therefore he returned back toward Syracuse; carefully, and in as good order as hee could, for feare of the Carthaginian that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he vsed, in regard of Humileo; stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not missrusted. For Hippocrates, leaving the charge of Syracuse vnto his brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foot, and fine hundred horse, intending to toyne his forces with Himileo. Marcellus fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the Romans, being in good order, got an easie victorie, against the dispersed and halfe vnarmed Syracusians. The reputation heereof helped a little to keepe the Sieilians from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere Himileo, iovning with Hippocrates, ranne ouer al the Island at his pleasure, and presented bat- 30 taile to Marcellus, euen at his Trenches; but the Roman wifely refused it. Bomilear also a Carthaginian, entred with a great fleet into the Hauen of Syracuse, and victualled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe, that although another Legion was come from Rome, which escaped from Himileo, and fafely arrived at Marcellus his campe: yet many places revolted vnto the Carthaginians, and flue or betraied the Roman Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath awhile: and Marcellus leaving some of his Armie before Syracuse, that he might not seeme to have given over the siege, went vnto Leontium, where he lay intentiue to all occalions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to 40 continue the laborious worke of belieging Syracuse, or to turne all his forces to Agrigentum, against Himiles and Hippocrates. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from Syracuse, as vnable to prevaile: and he himselfe was of an eager disposition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not faisible, an enterprise, that he had once taken in hand. Hee came therefore to Syracuse: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially heeasfaied to prevaile by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the Syracufian Gentlemen that were in his campe; exhorting them to 50 practife with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not easie for them to doe, because the towne would harken to no parice. At length a slaue vnto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into Syracuse;

CHAP-3. S.15. where he talked in private with some few, as he had beene instructed. Thus began Marcellus to have intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conspirators vsed to fend him advertisement of their proceedings; by a fither-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance: all was discovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one Damasippus a Lacedamonian, that had beene fent out of the Towne as an Emballador to Philip King of Macedon, was fallen into the hands of Marcellus. Epicides was very delirous to ranfome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not farre from the walls. There, one of the Romans, looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious arte of Geometrie, fell to numbring the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, judged it leffe than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith hee acquainted Marcellus: who cauling better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinarie length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Towne, and therfore the most strongly garded: neither was there hope to prenaile by force against Archimedes, if they failed to take it by surprise. But a fugitive out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to bee held vnto Diana, which was to last three dayes: and that, because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in for-20 mer times, Epicides, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of Wine. A better opportunitie could not be wished. Wherefore Marcellus, in the dead of the Festivall night, came vnto the walls, which hee tooke by Scalado. Syracuse was divided into foure parts (or five, if Epipola were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore Marcellus had gotten some peeces. he had the commoditie of a better and fafe lodging, with good fore of bootie; and better opportunitie than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in Acradinia and the Island, inner parts of the Towne, as of those that were alreadie in the hands of Marcellus, that beganne to harken vnto composition, as being much terrified by the losse of those parts, which the Romans 30 had taken and fackt. As for the weapons of Archimedes, little harme, or none they did, vnto those, that were sheltred under strong houses: although it may seeme, that the inner walls were not altogether vnfurnished of his helpe; since they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The Roman fugitives, and Renegados, were more carefull than ever to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with a cruell death, if Marcellus could prevaile. Hippocrates and Himileo, were daily expected; and Bomilear was fent away to Carthage, to bring helpe from thence: It was not long ere Hippocrates and Himileo came: who fell vpon the old camp of the Romans, whilest Epicides sallied out of Acradinia vpon Marcellus. But the Romans made such desence in each part, that the Affailants were repelled. Neuerthelesse, 40 they continued to befet Marcellus: whom they held in a manner as fireightly befieged, as he himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed; together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dislodge. The Romans were (though somewhat lesse) afflicted with the same pestilence, in so much that Bemilear did put the Citie of Carthage in hope, that he might betaken where he lay, if any great forces were fent thither. This Bomilear wanted no desire to doe his Countrie service : but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at Pachynus with a strong fleet: where he staied; being loth to double the Cape; for that the windes did better serue the enemie than him: Thisher failed Epicides out of Syracufe: to acquaint him with the necessities of the 50 Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length hee came forward: but meeting with the Roman fleet, that was readic for him, he flood off into the deepe; and failed away to Tarentum, bidding Sicil farewell. Then durst not Epicides returne into Syracuse, but went to Agrigentum: where he expected the issue; with a

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very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The Sicilian Souldiers, that remained aliue of Hippocrates his Armie, lay as neere as they could fafely, vnto Marcellus; and some of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. These had done what good they could to Stracuse, by doing what hurt they could vnto the Romans. But when they were informed, that the state of Sicil was given as desperate by the Carthaginians: they sent Embassadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Towne. Hercunto Marcellus willingly gaue care: for he had flaied there long enough; and had cause to seare, that after a little while, the Carthaginians might come thither strong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers, that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enjoying their liber- 10 tic and proper lawes, yet suffering the Romans to possesse, whatsoever had belonged vnto the Kings. Hereuponthey, to whom Epicides had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors chosen; and the gates even readie to be opened vnto Marcellus: when suddenly the Roman fugitiues disturbed all. These perceiuing their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercinarie souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themselves, and betraied the Armie to the Romans. Wherefore they prefently tooke armes, and fell vpon the new-chosen Pretors: whom they flue; and made election of fixe Captaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the souldiers; excepting only the Fugitiues. The treatie therfore was againe fet on foot, and wan- 20 ted little of conclusion: which yet was delaied; either by some feare of the Citizens, that had seene (as they thought) proofe of the Roman avarice in the fack of Epipola, Trobe, and Neapolis, the parts alreadic taken; or by some desire of Marcellus to get the Towne by force, that he might viethe libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subject vnto Rome. Mericus a Spaniard was one of the fixe Captaines, that had beene chosen in the late commotion: a man of such faith, as vsually is found in Mercinaries; holding his own particular benefit aboue all other respects. With this Captaine, Marcellus dealt secretly: having a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one Belligenes; that went in company with the Roman Embassadors, daily passing to and fro. This craftic Agent perswaded Mericus, That the Romans had alreadic got- 20 ten all Spaine; and that if ever he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in Spaine, or any where else; it was now the onely time to doe it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the Roman Generall. By such hopes the Spanish Captaine was eafily wonne, and fent forth his owne brother among the Syracufian Embaffadours to ratifie the conenant with Marcellus.

This under-hand dealing of Marcellus against the Syracusians, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his comming to Rome. For the benefits of Hiero to the Romans had beene fuch, as descrued not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrie: much leffe, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Armie of Mercina- 40 ries, should minister vnto the people of Rome, advantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld vnto the time, and obey those Ministers of Hannibal, that ruled the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of Hieronymus, and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of Epicides: it had beene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of Rome. They had lately flaine many the principall of Epicides his followers; and many of themselues had also bin flaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascalitie, and some ill aduised Personsionned with the fouldiers in hatred of the Romans, by occasion of the slaughter which they 50 heard to be done at Leontium, and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken? Ought therefore the Roman Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the Syracusians, to make a bargaine under-hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercinaries? These things were obiected against Marcellus, at his re-

turne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the Syracultans with gentle words, and promites of good viage in time to come, than to reflore the bootic, and giue ouer the Dominion of a Citie, so great, wealthie, trong, and many waies important. Neuertheleffe if we consider the many inconveniences and great mischiefes, whereunto Syracuse was obnoxious; both by cuill neighbors, and by that very forme of politic, after which it was gouerned: wee may truly affirme, That it received no small benefit, by becomming subject vnto Rome. For thereby it was not only affured against all forraine enemies, domestical conspiracies, and fuch Tyrants as of old had raigned therein: but freed from the necessitie of ba-10 nishing, or murdering, the most worthic Citizens; as also from all sactions, intestine seditions, and a thousand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the icalousie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enjoyed that Citie, from her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of Rome; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; whereof by Marcellus his victoricit was throughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make iniustice the more excusable:vnlesse we should approve the answere of that Theele, who being found to have stollen a silver cup from a sicke man, said, He never leaves drinking. By the treason of Mericus, the Roman Army was let into possession of all Sira-

20 cufe: wherin, the booty that it found, was faid to have been no leffe, than could have beene hoped for, if they had taken Carthage it selfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith Stracuse was maruelloufly adorned, were carried away to Rome; and nothing left vntouched; faue only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from Hippocrates and Epicides, into the Roman campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of Archimedes was greatly lamented, euen by Marcellus himselfe. He was so busic about his Geometrie, indrawing figures, that he harkened not to the noise, and vprore in the Citie; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. Marcellus took heavily the death of him; and caused his body to bee honourably 3º buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life time) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an infeription of the proportion betweene them, which hee first found out. An Invention of so little vie, as this may feeme, pleased that great Artist better, than the deuising of all those engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is betweene the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar fort. For many an one would thinke the monie loft, that had been spent vpon a sonne, whose studies, in the Vniuerlitie had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion betweene a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of Syracuse, all the Townes in Sicil yeelded unto the Romans; except Agrigentum and a few places thereabout. At Agrigentum lay Epicides with 40 one Hanno a Carthaginian, and Mutines an African, that was lately fent from Hannibal. This Mutines, by many good peeces of seruice, had added some credit to the beaten Carthaginian side; and withall made his owne name great. By his perswassons, Hanne and Epicides adventured to meet Marcellus without the Towne, and not behaue themselues as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counsell, than in execution. Once and againe he set vponthe Romans, where they lay encamped; and droue them fearefully into their Trenches. This bred envie in Epicides and Hanno: especially in Hanno, that having beene lately sent from Carthage, with commission and authoritic from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly by Hannibal; in that he had fent vnto him this Mutines, to be his Companion, and 50 to take vpon him, like as good a man as himselfe. The indignitie seemed the greater, when Mutines, being to step aside vnto Heraclea, for the pacifying of sometroubles there among the Namidians; aduised (as directing Hanno and Epicides) not to meddle with the enemie, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would Hanno fight: and offered battell vnto Marcellus, before he fought it. It is like, that a great

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part of the Roman Armie was left behinde in Syracufe, as neede required : which made the Carthaginians the better able to deale with those that came against them. But what soeuer disproportion was between the two Armies; farre greater were the oddes betweene the Captaines. For how soeuer the people of Carthage would gine authoritie by fauour; yet could they not gine worth, and abilitie, in matter of warre. The Numidians, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captaines: and being therefore some of them gone away to Heraclea; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious enuic of Hanno carried him vnto the fight, vpon a fool sh desire to get victorie, without the helpe of Mutines their Countriman. Wherefore they fent vnto the Roman Generall, and bade him be con- 10 fident: for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day; but onely looke on, and see the proud Carthaginians well beaten, by whom they had beene milused. They made good their promise; and had their desire. For Marcellus, finding likelihood of truth in their meffage, did so lustily set upon the enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands. droue them backe into Agrigentum.

If Hanno could have beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of warre than himfelfe, and not have hazarded a battell without neede; the Romans would shortly have been reduced into termes of great difficulty in their Sicilian warre. For Marcellus was shortly after to leave the Province; and soone 20 voon his departure, there landed in the Ilanda supply of eight thousand foote, and three thouland Numidian horse, that were sent from Carthage. The same of this new Armie drew many of the Sicilians into rebellion. The Roman Armie, confifting (for the most part) of the Legions of Canna, tooke it very hainously, that no good feruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were fent farre from home, and not suffered to returne back to Rome with their Generall. Mutines had pacified his Countrimen the Numidians; and, like an honest man, did the best that he could for those whom he served, without contending against the foolish pride of Hanno; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have beene, if the Armie lately overthrowne had beene entire. 30 M. Cornelius, the Roman Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacific his owne men, and to hinder the Carthaginians. He recovered those inland Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder Mutines from ouer-running all the Countrie; yet hee hindred the Countrie from revolting vnto Mutines. Aboue threescore Townes, great and small, the Carthaginians held in Sicil: of which, Agrigentum was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued Matines as often as he pleased, in despight of the Romans: not only to the succor of his owne adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But Hanno, in stead of being pleased with all these good services, was filled more and more with enuie, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instru- 40 ction from old Hanno at Carthage, not to fuffer Hannibal, or any Hannibalian, to have share in the honor of these Sicilian warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilest Italie was neglected, that should have been regarded more then all the rest. Wherefore, to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of Hannibal, to appoint vnto him an Affistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from Mutines his charge, and gaue it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little effeemed, as one out of Office, among his Namidians. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spightfull dealing, occasioned the losse of what socuer the Carthaginians held in Sicil. For the Numidians were so incensed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countriman, being such a braue Com- 50 mander, that they offered him their service to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. M. Valerius Lauinus, the Roman Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did Mutines enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these indignities: but being,

neither a Carthaginian, nor favoured by those that bore all the sway in Carthage; He thought it the wifest way, to play the best of his owne game, and for sake that Citie, which was likely to perish by the euill counsell that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Countrimen had lately done, content himselfe to see his Aduersaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening; and to fuffer that harme, in doing whereof hee would not beare a part; but conspired against them to deliuer up Agrigentum, and to helpe to expell them utterly out of sicil. The Conful was glad of his friendship: and carefully followed his advertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which Mutines 10 had vnder taken. For hee with his Numidians did forcibly feize vpon a gate; whereat they let in some Roman Companies, that lay neere in a readinesse for the purpose. Hanno, when first hee heard the noise, thought it had beene no worse matter, than fome such tumult of the Numidians, as hee had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the Romans intermixed, among those discontented followers of Mutines, forthwith he betooke himfelfe to flight: and fauing himfelfe, with Epicides, in a small Barke, set faile for Africk; leauing all his Armie and Adherents in Sicil, to the mercie of the Romans, that henceforward continued masters of the whole Iland.

of the Historie of the World.

Lauinus the Consul hauing taken Agrigentum, did sharpe execution of justice 20 vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them hee fcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the Romans: all the rest of them he sold for flaues, and confiscated their goods; fending home to Rome the monie that was raifed of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein Rome flood in no leffe necessistie of gold, than of steele: which may have beene the reason, why Laninus dealt so cruelly with the Agrigentines. Neuerthelesse the same of such seueritie bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the Carthaginians; so that in great haste they fought to make their peace. About fortie Townes yeelded themselves quickly vnto the Romans; twentie were deliucted up by Treason; and fixe onely staied to bee wonne by force. These things done, Leuinus returned home to Rome: carrying 30 with him about fourethousand men from Agatirna; that were a companie of outlawes, bankrouts, and banished men, accustomed to live by spoile of others, in these troublesometimes. He bestowed them about Rhegium in Italie, where they might exercise their occupation against the Brutians; a theeuish kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of Rhegium, and to the Romans. As for Mutines, he was well rewarded, and made Cirizen of Rome: where he lived in good accompt; accompanying the two Scipio's in their journie against Antiochus, and therein doing (as it is said) very especiall service. So by this enterprise of Sicil, the Carthaginians wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been emploied in Italie: leauing yet vnto the Romans, in the end of this warre, the entire possession of this Hand: 49 which they wanted when it beganne.

#### d. XVI.

How the warre passed betweene the Romans and HANNIBAL in Italie, from the taking of Capua to the great victorie at Metaurus.



CHAP.3. S.16.

Hortly after the winning of Capua, Marcellus came to Rome: where for his good seruices done in the Iland of sicil, he had granted vnto him the honour of the leffer Triumph, which was called Ovation. The greater Triumph was denied him: because hee had not finished the warre, but vvas faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Pro-

uince. Hee staied not long in Rome, before hee was againe chosen Consul together

with M. Falerius Lauinus, who succeeded him in the gouernement of Sicil, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King Philip in Greece. Great complaint was made against the Conful Marcellus, by the Syraculians, for that which he had done vnto them: they alledging their great friendship to the people of Rome, in the time of their late King Hiero; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly break the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to Rome, than to all good men that lived in Syracuse. The Conful, on the other side, reckoned vp the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoane themselves to the Carthaginians that had holpen them in their necessitie; and not vnto the Romans whom they had kept out. Thus 10 each part having some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controuersie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of Marcellus; yet not restoring the bootie that hee had taken, nor making the Syracustans free from their subjection, but comforting them, with gentle words, and hopefull promises, as hath been shewed before. The two new Consuls, Marcellus and Lauinus, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in Italie; the other in Sicil. The Isle of Sicil fell vnto Marcellu: which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the Syracusians (whose cause had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindred by feare, from vttering their grienances freely. Afterwards, when his bu- 20 finesse with them was dispatcht, hee gently undertooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie; to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So Valerius, the other Conful, was sent into Sicil, whose doings there have beene alreadie rehearled : but Marcellus was emploied against Hannibal.

Before the Consuls departed out of Rome, they were much troubled with presfing of Souldiers to the warre; and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer fort, that vsed to be emploied in Sea-seruices; especially in rowing. These could not line without present wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of private men; who, in this necessitie of the 30 state, were driven to sustaine all publike charges. Hereat the People murmured: and were readie to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter vnto further confideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of flich extremitie. For manifest it was, that the multitude had alreadie endured so much, as well it could under-goe; and somewhat more, than could with honestie haue been imposed vponit. Neuerthelesse it was impossible to maintaine the warre against the Carthaginians, or to keepe the Macedonian out of Italie, without a strong flect. Wherefore, somewere of opinion; Thar, since the common Treasure was fo emptie, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Consuls beganne to say, That no perswasions would be so effectu- 40 all with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was, that the People also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the monie that hee had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoeuer; excepting one salt-seller, and a boule wherewith to make their offerings vnto the gods, as also a Ring for himselse, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wise and children, as every one did vse, and those of as small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and hashily followed by the Gentlemen of 50 Rome. Neither did the Commonaltie refuseto doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For fince the publike necessity could no otherwise be holpen; every one was contented, that his private estate should runne the same fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it suffered wrack, in vaine could any particular

man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimitie deserued well that greatnesse of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: M. reellus went forth of the Citie against Hannibal; and Lewings toward Sicil. The armie of Hannibal was greatly diminished, by long and hard service: neither did his Carthaginians seeme to remember him, and thinke vpon fending the promifed supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his Italian friends, was much weakned, by the losse of Capua: which gave them cause to looke vnto themselves; as if in his helpe there were little trult to be reposed, when they should stand in need. This he 10 well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons into all Townes that he suspected, and therby so diminish his armie, that he should not beeable to keepe the field : or else hee mult leave them to their owne fidelities which now beganne to wauer. At length his jealousie grew so outragious, that he facked, and wasted, those places that he was vnable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe; and make unprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The towne of Salapia veelded vnto Marcellus; and betraied vnto him agailant Regiment of Numidian horse, the best of all that served vnder Hannibal; which was a greater losse, 20 then the Towne it selfe. Blasius the author of this rebellion, could not bring his de-

fire to effect; without getting the confent of one Dafius, that was his bitter enemie. Wherefore he brake the matter to this Dafius in private; and was by him accused vnto Hannibal. But when he was convented, and charged of Treason, he so stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that Hannibal thought it a matter devised out of meere malies; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This not withstanding, Blassius did not cease to presse his adversaries anew, and vrge him from time to time, with such lively reasons; that he who could not be believed by Hannibal, was contented at length to winne the save who could not be served as the save three thouses of the save the save to the save three thouses of the save the s

Townes of the Samnites: wherein hee flew about three thousand of Hannibal his men.

Hannibal could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch advantages, where he might get them; the Romans now being growne stronger in the field than hee. The best was, that his Carthaginians, having wearied themselves with ill speede in many pettie enterprises, and laide aside all this while the care of Italie, to follow bufines of farre leffe importance; had now at length refolued, to fend prefently the great supply, that had beene so long promised and expected. This if they had done in better season; Rome it selfe might haue beene strucken downe, the next yeere af-40 ter that great blow received at Canne. But since that which is past cannot be amended: Hannibal must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty fuccour would come time enough. For Masanissa was at Carthage with five thousand Numidians, ready to set saile for Spaine: whither when hee came, it was appointed, that Afdrubal should forthwith take his journie into Italie; of which there had beene so long talke. These newes did not more comfort Hannibal and his followers, than terrifie the Romans. Wherefore each did their best: the Romans to preuent the threatning mischiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon Hannibal, before the comming of his brother; Hannibal, on the contrarie, to hold his owne, and weaken the Romans as much as he was able. He had intelligence, 50 that Cn. Fuluius, a Roman Pretor, lay necrevnto Herdonea to get the Towne by pra-Etice. It was not long, fince, neere vnto the same place, another Cn. Fuluins had lost his armie. Therefore Hannibal made great marches thitherward; and came to Herdonea ere Fuluius heard newes of his approch. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the Roman Pretor: who accepted it with more hafte than good speede. The

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Roman Legions made good relistance a while, till they were compassed round with the Carthaginian horse. Then fell they to rowt; and great slaughter was made of them. Fulury himselfe, with twelve Tribunes or Coronels, were lost: of the common fouldiers that were flaine, the number is vncertaine; fome reporting feuen, others thirteene thousand. The Towne of Herdonea, because it was at point to have yeelded vnto Fuluius, Hannibal did fet on fire: and putting those to death that had practifed with the Enemie, carried away the multitude; whom hee bestowed among the Thursans and Metapontines. The Conful Marcellus hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheare; for that he would shortly abate the enemies pride. Hee followed the Carthaginian apace; and ouer-taking him at 10 Numiltro in the countrie of the Lucans, fought with him a battaile: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darknesse, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward Hannibal departed thence into Apulia, whither Marcellus followed him. At Venusia they met, and had many skirmilhes; but none of importance. Hannibal remoued often; and fought to bring the enemie within danger of some ambush. But Marcellus, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet aduenture nothing, but by open day-light and vpon faire

ground.

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Thus passed the time away, vntill Q. Fabius Maximus, and Q. Fuluius, he that lately had taken Capua, were chosen Consuls. Fabius, considering how much the Roman 20 affaires were bettered by the taking of Capua, purposed that yeere to besiege Tarentum: which if he could winne; like it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to Hannibal. Wherfore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and Marcellus, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that served vnder him the yeere before) to presse the Carthaginian so hard, as he might have no leisure to helpe Tarentum. Marcellus was very glad of this charge: for hee thought no Roman fitter than himselfe, to deale with Hannibal in open field. Hee followed him therefore to Cannusium, and thence from place to place: desiring ever to come to battaile, but vpon equal termes. The Carthaginian had not minde to hazard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemie with skirmilh; as 20 being desirous to keep his Army strong vntill the comming of Asarabal. Yet could he not avoide the importunitie of Marcellus; nor brooke the indignitie of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be luftie and to beat foundly this hot-spirited Roman Captaine, that would never suffer them to bee at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile: wherein Hannibal had the victorie; tooke fixe Enfignes; and flue of the Romans almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. Marcellus was so impatient of this dishonour, that hee rated his men, as Pesants, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the Roman Legions, which had beene beaten by Hannibal, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stra- 40 tageme. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to heare, hee did so vexe them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemie, than such displeasure of their Generall; they belought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did so: and placing thole Companies formost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victorie; whereof the newes might bee at Rome, before the report of their shamefull ouerthrow. Hannibal was angrie, to see that nothing could make this Enemie quiet: and therefore was readie to fight againe; fince all other motives continued the same, and his men had beene heartned by the late victorie. But the Romans were stirred up with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor 50 loft, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the Carthaginians were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselues disappointed of their hope; and the enemie, not withstanding their late victorie, as readie to molest them as before. In this second battaile Marcellus got the victorie: which hee purchased at so

deare a rate; that neither hee, nor Hannibal, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the Carthaginians were slaine, and three thousand of the Roman side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: especially since the number of the Romans that were wounded, was so great, as disabled Marcellus from pursuing Hannibal; who dislodged by night. Neuerthelesse it sufficed, that Febius the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his businesse at Tarentum without any disturbance. Q. Faluius the other Conful, about the same time, tooke in many of the Hirpines, Lucans, and Vollgentes, that willingly yeelded themselves, and betraied the Garrisons of Hanni-10 bal that lay in their Townes: whom Fuluius entertained in louing fort; gently rebuking them for their errours past, without punishing those that had been authors, or busie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of Sicilian theeues, which Lauinus had

lately brought from Agaterna, was then also set on work to besiege Caulonia, a towne of the Brutians: and nothing was omitted, that might ferue to divert Hannibal, from the fuccour of Tarentum. Q. Fabius the Consul, having taken Manduria a Towns of the Salentines, sate downe before Tarentum: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carrie it, either by affault or long fiege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne a good part were Brutians, placed there by Hannibal, under a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Cap-20 taine fell in loue with a Tarentine wench; whose brother served under Fabius. Hereof, shee gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the Roman fide; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her louer was. But her brother made the Conful acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the Brutian were farre in loue, hee might perhaps be wonne, by intreatie of his Mistris, to doe what shee would have him. The Consul hearing this: and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his fouldier to convey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitiue; and trie what good might be done. It fell out, according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this Brutian Captaine: and partly by his owne perfwasions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his sister; wanne him to betray the 30 Towne to the Romans. When they had agreed vpon the businesse, and resolued how to order it; the same souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Conful with his proceedings: telling him, in which part that Brutian kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, Fabius gave an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make refistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But Fabius himselfe, with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the Brutians: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the Romans to get vp, and breake open the next gate; whereat the Armie was let in. The 49 Tarentines, and Carthaginian foldiers, made head against Fabius in the Market-place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obflinately. Nico, Democrates, and Philomenes, with those that before had let in Hannibal, vsed now the last of their courage in dying against the Romans. Carthalo, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner: hoping to be well vsed, because of hospitality that had passed betweene his Father and the Conful. But he was flaine by the way, ere he could come at Fabius. The Romans did put all indifferently to the fword: in fuch fort, that they spared few of the Brutians. This flaughter of the Bratians, was thought to have been emade by appointment of the Conful, to the end that hee might seeme to have wonne the Towne by To force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glorie which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and

keeping his word. The bootie found in Tarentum was very great: whereof the Roman Treasurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiofities, that were in the Citie, Fabius was contented to let them alone: and

being told of tome Idols, that feemed worthie to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in fuch habit and posture as if they were fighting : he said, Let vs leaue vn-

to the Tarentines their angriegods.

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Hannibal being gotten cleare from Marcellus, fell vponthole that belieged Caulonia. They fled at his comming: but hee was so neere, that they were faine to betake them to a Hill, which served to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yeelded. When this businesse was done, hee hasted away to relieue Tarentum. But when hee came within fine miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was loft. This grieued him: yet hee said no more than this, The Romans have also their HANNIBAL; we have lost 10 Tarentum in such fort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne back amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Conful; he incamped a few daies together, so neere as hee was vnto Tarentum: and thence departing to Metapontum, bethought himfelfe how to take Fabius in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the Metapontines to write vnto Fabius, and offer to betray into his hands, the Carthaginian Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were fent by two yong men of the same Citie: who did their errand so well; that the Consul wrote back by them vnto the Metapontins, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof Hannibal was exceeding glad: and at good leisure, made readie his ambushes for the warie Fabius. But whether some secret no- 20 tice of the plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious Roman, the journie to Metapontum was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were emploied againe: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discouered all.

This yeere was happie to the Romans, in all their warres: for they got every where; faue onely at Caulonia; where they lost a companie of such lewed fellowes, that it may feeme good fortune, to have so been rid of them. But their common pouertie, and disabilitie to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirtie Roman Colonies were then in Italie: of which, twelue refufed to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was confidered; that the Le- 30 gions of Canna, and those vnhappie Companies, that had beene beaten vnder the one and the other Cn. Fuluius; were transported into Sicil; where they lived, in a fort, as banished men. This grieued their friends at home, and made them reckon vp the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhausted with leuies of men, and impositions of monie: in euery of which yeeres they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best which they could hope; was, to fall into the hands of the enemie to bee made prisoners. For Hannibal did gently send home their people that vvas taken by him: whereas the Romans did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe with- 40 in a while, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer did returne. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into Sicil, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of Ardea, Sutrium, Alba, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they should boldly denie vnto the Romans, their fathers helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as Hannibal lived. When the Confuls heard the Embassadors of these townes make such declaration, and protest their disabilitie of giuing any farther help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadours to returne home, and bring a 50 better answere, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not Campans, or Tarentines, but the off-spring of the Romans; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not ferue: the Embassadours continuing to protest, that

they had already done what they could; and that they had remayning, neither men, nor money. It was well for the Romans, that the other eighteene Colonies did not imitate these twelue; but showed themselves willing to vidergoe whatsoever should be layed upon them, without thrinking under the burden. This their offor was so highly pleasing to the Confuls; that the Embassadors of those faithfuil Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good feruices, this their present loue vnto the State was magnified, & thankes accordingly beslowed upon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of 10 those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citic, nor yet to dismisse them nor take any notice of them

at all; but leave them to their owne consideration of their ill deseruing.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve people would have wrought, in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if Asdrubal had been then comming into Italie. For then must the Romans have betaken themselves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of Italie, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Neuerthelesse, they were faine to open their most privie treasurie; and thence take out the golde, that had beene layed up to serue them in cases of greatest extremitie.

20 Of the mony thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to Fabius the Consul, to set him well out against the Tarentines; all the rest was sent into Spaine to Scipio, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that Asdrubal might not passe from thence into Italie. It is likely that Fabius did not spendall his money; finding such casse successe at Tarentum, as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of Asdrubal; neither the money fent into Spaine, nor any victories wonne by Scipio could fuffice. Neuertheleffe it fell out happily for the People of Rome, that this yeare, and the next, were spent, before his comming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could have beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amiffe to note, That fince the Romans, being in so great necessity of money, were driven to furnish

30 the Armie in Spaine, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left : it must needes bee, that either the bootie taken in new Canthage, was farre leffe then fame had reported it; or else that Scipio had not as yet wonne it: howsoever Livie rather

inclines to those, who say that he got it soone after his arrivall. M. Claudius Marcellus, and T. Quintus Crispinus, were chosen Consuls after Fabius and Fuluiss. In their yeere it was, that Afarubal tooke his journey out of Spaine, though he came not into Italie vntill the yeere following. After the great battaile at Canna, Hannibal had lost much time about Cuma and Naples, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good haven, for the landing of those succours that were promised from Carthage. The hope that he reposed in Philip, caused him to turne his prin-40 cipall care to the Easterne parts of Italie, where he made readie a faire entrance for the Macedonian, if hee had beene readie to come. But fince his hope was vanished, and the long promifed succour of Afdrubal was (though farre later then had beene expedient) readie to arriue: he began to deale with the people of Hetruria, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein hee might make a partie against the Romans. The losse of Capua, Tarentum, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the Italian Townes, from harkening to any follicitation of the Carthaginians. Yet the poucrty of the Roman, and the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Armie comming, then that which Hannibal brought into Italie; did embolde many of the Hetrurians, especially the Aretines, 50 totake such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselues, without regard of their fidelitie to Rome. The Roman Senat, hearing the rumour of their conspiracie, sent Marcellus the new chosen Consul into Hetruria: whose comming did fo terrific them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yere following they were

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deuiling how to breake out:as contrariwise the Roman Propretors; partly by terror of scucre judgements and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they vilited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills; and tooke many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong warre vpon Hannibal without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in battaile they should be too strong for him. Crispinus had further his particular defire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Towne : as Fuluius and Fabius had gotten honour by Capua and . Tarentum, Therefore he went about the siege of Locri; one of the best Cities which the Carthaginian then held in Italie: and brought thither all forts of engines; fen- 10 ding for a fleet out of Sicil to helpe him. But Hannibal was not flow to relieve the Citie: the fame of whose approch, made Crispinus desist from his enterprise and retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at Venusia. Thither followed Hannibal; to whom the Consuls daily offered battaile. This great man of warrehad no neede to stand vpon his reputation: which was alreadic so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed vnto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wisdome. He entertained the Confuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some advantage; reserving his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater employment. In this lingring manner of Warre, Marcellus tooke no pleafure: but fought to compell the Enemie to battaile, whether he would or no. The 20 Admiral of the Roman fleet about Sicil, L. Cineius, was commanded againe to affaile the Towns of Locri; which might well enough be forced, if Hannibal continued as he beganne to trifle away the time at Venusia. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in Tarentum, was appointed to goe by Land to the affiliance of Cincius. But Hannibal had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, betweene Tarentum and Locri, whereinto the Romans fell: and having lost about three thousand of their companie, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and saue their owne fines within Tarentum. As for the Consuls, it was the defire of Hannibal, to waste their Armie by little and little: which to doe, hee neglected no aduantage. There lay between e him and them an Hillock, ouer-growne 30 with wood that seemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there vndiscerned, might fall vpon fuch, as should straggle from the Roman campe; and cut them off. Therefore he fent thither by night some companies of Numidians: whom hee willed to keepe themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground, the Confuls thought it fit to remove their Campe: Marcellus thinking that he neuer lay neere enough vnto Hannibal. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the sonne of Marcellus, a few Colonells, and other principal men; and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them Hetrurians. The Numidian Centinell gave warning of their approach to his fellowes: who discourred not themselves will they had surrounded the Consuls 40 and their traine. The Confuls, as necessitie compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieued from their campe that was neere at hand. But the Hetrurians ranne away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weake affistance of no more than fortie horse-men, that were of the Colonie of Fregella. These Fregellans abode by the Consulls; and did what they could to have brought them fafe off. But when Marcellus was stricken thorow with a Lance, and felldowne dead; then beganne euerie one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. Crispinus the other Consull, had his deaths wound, being ftricken with two Darts; and yong Marcellus was likewise wounded; yet these two recouered their campe: The rest of the Colonells and Officers; together 50 with the Lictors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Confuls, were all flaine or taken. To the dead bodie of the Confull Marcellus, Hannibal gaue honourable Funerall, according to the cultome of those times: and bestowing

bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a crowne of gold; and so sent them to yong Marcellus, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, Crispinus bethought himselfe, how that the lignet Ring of Marcellus was fallen into the custodie of Hannibal; who might vieit, to his owne purposes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore hee fent word vnto all the Townes about; that his Colleague was flaine, and that Hannibal had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to give no credit vnto any letters therewithall figned. This providence of Crifpinus was not more than requifite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to Salapia, when another 10 Meffenger arrived there fent from Hannibal, bringing letters in the name of Marcellus, and sealed with the captine Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night vnto Salapia; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such employment as he should thinke needfull. The device was plaine: and no lesse plaine was the revengefull minde; which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue Numidian companies, that had therein beene betraied. The Salapians hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their Enemie in his owne snare. They sent back the Messenger which was a Roman fugitive; without letting him perceive any figne of diffrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainement of such 20 a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of Roman fugitiues armed Roman-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called vnto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conful was there. The gate was opened, faire and leifurely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needes it must bee, to let them enter. But when fixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themfelues; being laied at on all hands by the Salapians, that quickly made an ende with

Hannibal being thus ouer-reached with this stratageme, hasted away to Locri; whereunto Cincius the Admirall of the Roman fleet about Sicil, did lay hard siege.

The first appearance of the Numidians, Hannibal his Vanteurrors, made the Romans in all consused haste, runne to their ships: leaving all their engines, and whatsoever

was in their campe, to the enemies disposition.

The Roman Senate hearing of these accidents, sent vnto Crispinus the surviving Consuland requested him to name a Dictator, that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other businesses whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurts. Hee did so: and some after died. Then was it thought needfull, that newe Confuls should be chosen out of hand: for almuch as two Roman Armies lay fo neere vnto the Enemie, without any Generall. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men, as were 40 not onely valiant, but well aduised: fince the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, M. Marcellus, by looling himfelfe fo strangely, had given them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Confulfhip, C. Claudius Nero, was the most eminent. Hee was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more stayed wit. The fathers therefore endenoured to iovne vnto him in the Consulship M. Linius: one that had borne the same Office. long before. This M. Liuius had been Conful with L. Amylius Paulus, in the yeere foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Confulfhip, wherein they did 30 good feruice, they had both of them bin called into judgement by the People: and this Livius codemned; Amylius hardly escaping. Though it hath bin once already noted; yet I cannot forbeare to remember it againe how it pleafed God, to vpbraid the varhankefull Romans, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude vpon honorable men. For in the battaile of Canne, it was apparant, what lamentable

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Снар.з. §.16.

effects, the memorie of their iniustice wrought: when L. Emilius rather chose to veeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest ouerthrow, that euer fell vpon the State of Rome, than by relisting the pernicious courses of Terentius Varro, to cast himselfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for M. Liuiu, he is euen now readic, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in a divers manner. Eight yeeres together after his condemnation had hee beene absent out of the Citic, and lived in his Countrie Grange; vexing himselfe with the indignitic of his condemnation. Marcellus and Lauinus. being Confuls two or three yeeres agoe, had brought him into Rome: where he liued private in discontented fort as might appeare, both by his carelesnesse in ap- 10 parell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard, which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Verielately he was compelled by the Cenfors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where hee vsed to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dillike to what was proposed; either in short formall words, or in passing from fide to fide, when the house was divided. At length it hapned, that in some busines weightily concerning one that was his kinfman, he flood vp, and made a fet speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had beene. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many braue men were lost; new ones wereichosen; such as rather serued to fill vp the number, than to answere to the dignitic of the place: 20 and they that were left of ancient standing, had even spent their Vertues to no great effect, Wherefore, all began to say; that it was great pittie, so worthy and able a man, as this Liuius, had beene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth stood in great neede, yet had not vsed in this dangerous warre. Now feeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a Patrician, the other, of necessitie a Plebeian: and since, neither Fabius, nor Valerius Lauinus, being both of them Patricians, could be joyned with Claudius Nero: euery one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than C. Claudius. and this Marcus Linius. But Livie would not endure to heare of this. He faid it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen 20 Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases he resisted their desires: till by perswasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the People, and repaied good for euill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which Themistocles checked the ingratitude of the Athenians: resembling himselfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather; but runne vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankefulnesse, to well-deserving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much vn- 40 like, of Philip the second King of Spaine his dealing with the Duke of Alua. For although he had committed the Duketo prison, vpon some small offence conceiued, wirhout all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended conquest of Portugal, required the service of a man, more then ordinarily sufficient; hee stood no longer vpon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly difgraced. Thus is wisdome often taught by necessitie.

It was a dangerous yeere to ward, when C. Claudius Nero, and M. Liuius were chofen Consuls. As drubal was alreadie come into France, and waited only, to have the waies of the Alpes thawed by warme weather, for his passage into Italy. The Romans viced at this time the fernice of three and twentie Legions: and wanted not employ- 50 ment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leuie and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure served in Spaine, two in Sicil and two in Sardinia: the rest were so disposed, in seuerall parts of Italie, where need seemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Confuls. But the Confuls were men of execution,

execution: and would not be tied to the punctuall observance of what the S. nate thought fir. M. Liurus would not firre out of Rome, against so mightie a power as followed Aldrubal; untill he had first obtained, that hee might carry with him as many as could well be spared from other imploiments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serue vnder Lucius Porcius a Pretor of that yere, among the Stfalpine Gaules, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of Livius; to whom the warre against Aldrubal was alotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the Salentines, neere vnto Tarentu, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of Claudius his Ar-10 mie; that was fent against Hannibal. Neuerthelesse the Consuls, by the especiall in-

stance of Liuie, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that Afdrubal was alreadic passing the Alpes; the Ligurians, who dwelt in the Countrie about Genua, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to joyne with him; and L. Porcius fent word, that he would aduenture no further, then hee fafely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each, his seuerall way. The People of Rome were now quite otherwise affected, than they had beene, when L. Amylius Paulus and C. Terentius Varro, were sent against Hannibal. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generals; or bid them dispatch, and winne the victoric betimes: but ra-

20 ther they stood in seare; lest all diligence, wisdome and valour should proue too little. For fince few yeeres had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not beenessaine; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were descated, or put to the worst; the two Carthaginians would forthwith ioyne, and make short worke with the other : it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should returne home Victor; and come off with honour. from such mightie opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficultie had Rome held up her head, cuer fince the battaile of Canna: though it were fo, that Hannibal alone, with little helpe from Carthage, had continued the warre in Italie. But there was now arrived another sonne of Amilear; and one, that in his present Expe-30 dition, had seemed, a man of more sufficiencie than Hannibal himselfe. For, where-

as in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Riuers, and Mountaines, that were thought vnpassable, Hannibal had lost a great part of his Armic: this Afarubal, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and; gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow-bal, farre greater than he came ouer the Pyrenees at his first setting out of Spaine. These considerations and the like, of which scare presented many vnto them; caused the People of Rome, to wait vpon their Consuls out of the Towne; like a penfine traine of Mourners: thinking vpon Marcellus & Crispinus, vpon whom in the like fort they had given attendance the last yere; but faw neither of them re-

40 turne aliue, from a lesse dangerous warre. Particularly, old Q. Falius gaue his accustomed aduice to M. Liuius, that he should abstaine from giving, or taking battaile, untill he well understood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answere, and said, That he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recouer his honour by victorie; or by seeing the overthrow of his owne vniust Citizens, satisfic himselfe with the joy of a great, though not an honest, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that Asarabal received in Spaine, by Scipio, a little before hee tooke his journie into Italie; such mention hath alreadie been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian Linie. Yet I thinke it not amisse to adde in this

50 place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of Polybius his historie except. E. concerning that accident. Adrubal had wreftled with many difficulties in Spaine; Polybbiff. Line by reason of those Captaines that were sent from the citie of Carthage, to ioine with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seeme, of the Hannonian faction; which is to say, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the ad-

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pantage of their own fide, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthie sonne of Amilear, and how they hindred his courses undertaken, it cannot bee knowne: since of those bookes, wherein Polybius hath exactly handled these matters, there are to vs remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the foightfull dealing of Hannoin Sieil with Offitines, a better man of warre than himfelfe, whom Hannibal had fent into the Iland: we may conceine, that against the brother of Hannibal it was thought needfull, by these mischieuous Partifans of Hanne, to viethe violent opposition of more carnell malice. Neuertheleffe Afarubal was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently fuch indignities. as Mulines could not long digest. His iournic into Italie being resoluted vpon; he lay 10 with part of the Armie at Betula, not farre from the mines of filter; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thither came Scipio: and draue him out of his Campe. though he were strongly lodged, before the other Carthaginian Captaines could.or would, come to his affiliance. The ouerthrow feemes not to have beene fo great, as it must have been supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appeares, that Afdrubal dealt like a provident man, and seeing that his Campe was likely to be forced, fent away all his monie, with his Elephants before him: but staied behinde himselfe to sustaine the Romans awhile, vntill his carriages might bee out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together and retired in such fort, that Scipio thought it not good to pursue him, and 20 fo passed over Tagus. Then taking vnto him the forces assigned for his Expedition. he marched away toward the Pyrenees; leauing the care of Spaine vnto his brother Mago, and to Afdrubal the sonne of Gesco; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would Scipio have stopped him on his journie, by fending to defend against him the ordinarie way of the Mountaines. But whether As a rubal tooke another way, or whether he forced the guards that Scipio had set to keepe the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly forts to no good effeet) he was not letted in his voiage by any such impediment. Comming into Gaule, and following the steps of his brother Hannibal: he found the Nations that lay in his way, fo well affected, either to him or to his monie, that no paffages were defen- 30 ded against him, nor any fort of resistance made, but he, and his Armie, well entertained, and their numbers much increased, by accesse of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that he was driven to Winter in their Countrie; whilest that the passages of the Alpes were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountaines likewise, that had so greatly molested Hannibal in his journic over the Alpes; were callly won to take part with Asarubal, when he travailed through their Countrie. For these poore men, at the first comming of Hamibal. were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to robbe them of their cattaile; and to make spoile of that little wealth, which they had painefully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in processe of time, they were better informed. 40 Therefore understanding, that there were two mightie Cities, farre distoyned asunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land, and Sea; and that the Alpes did only lie in their way: they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the Cisabine Gaules. The Liqurians also iouned with Asarbal: and so would the Hetrurians have done; if he had arrived in their Countrie. There was no other Roman Armie necre, then L. Porcius with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did Afdrubal set vpon Placentia a Roman Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Towne. But there hee loft a great deale of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise: by vndertaking which, he gaue the Roman Confuls leifure to make readie for him; and caufed his brother Hannibal (who vpon the first bruit of Afdrubal his so timely, and easily paffing the Ales, was about to leave his wintring camps, and go forth to meet with him) to fit still awhile, as well aware, that Placentia would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius

C. Claudius Nero the Roman Conful, made what speede hee could, to meet with Hannibal, and stop him from loyning with his brother. He had about fortic thoufand foot, and fine hundred horfe: with which he daily offered battaile to the Carthaginian; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. Hannib; was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the Salentines and Apulians, into the Countrie of the Brutians, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weake for the journie intended. Afterward comming to Gramentum, a Towne of the Lucans; he there fought unprosperously with Nero the Consul. Neuerthelesse he got off, and marched away to Venusia. But Nero followed him; and had there to againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to returne to Melapontum: where ioyning with Hanno, that had made ready a good Armie; hee affaied againe to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came agains to Venulia, having Nero still at his heeles. Thence went he over the River Austalus to Canusuum, where he sate downe, not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victorie. There also did Nero sit downe by him and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps vnto Hannibal, who knew the Countrie very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, ouer-come the way to Canufum: where if he could once againe deale with both the Confuls, and all the Roman forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victorie, 20 as once he had gotten in the same open Countrie. If this had so fallen out; Rome would have beene vndone for ever. But the Carthaginians should not have needed to wish any second victorie, in the naked Champans about Canna; if such an armic, as this which Aldrubal now brings, had come to fecond Hannibal, when hee was in his full strength; and the Romans not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say, that Hanne was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of Italie; which else no power of the Romans

could have done. Whilest Nerowaited upon the Carthaginians, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their fuccour: he was ad-30 uertised of Ashrubal his approch; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to Hannibal. These gaue notice, that Asdrubal had left the siege of Placentia, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could bee made by Liuie the Conful. Of these newes Claudius Nero was nothing joyfull. For if Hannibal could once be joyned as head, vnto that great body of an Armie, which Afdrubal brought with him: it was most apparant, that how focuer the fortune of Rome should avoid, for the present, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of so strong a warre at home, would enforce the Latines, and other faithfull Associates, to faint under the burden; as twelue of the thirtie Roman Colonies had already done. Wherefore hee 40 resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the coniunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the fuddaine, yet within few yeres, was like to worke most lamentable effect. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to flay the progresse of Afdrubal; neither were there any good Legions in a readines, that could doe feruice in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed under the two Consuls. Herevpon hee concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against Hannibal: but rather that it behoued him, to helpe where more necessitic required; and to carry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet fince the meeting of the two GO Carthaginian bretheren, was farre more dangerous to the Roman Common-wealth; it feemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choice of his Armie: and making shew, as if he would only step asside, to doe fome small piece of service necre at hand; away he posted as fast as hee could, to

affitt his fellow Conful. His Messengers ranne before him, to give warning to all Townes by which he was to passe, that they should be ready to meet him, with vi-Etualls, and all other necessaries for his Armic. Linius the other Consul, at that time, lay incamped, neere vnto Sena Gallica; and Afdrubal within halfe a mile of him. In fixe daies Nero had finished his journie thither; and when he drew neere, sent Messengers before him, to give notice of his comming. Livie thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe: lest the Enemie, perceiving this accesse of strength, should accordingly frame his counsailes. This was done : and a token given, that the Colonells, Captaines, and all Souldiers, aswell horse as foot, that Nero had brought with him; 10 should bee lodged and entertained by men of their owne fort. Their Companie was som what increased by Voluntaries that joyned with them on the way. Neuerthelesse, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which received them, should bee enlarged; fince they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counfaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few daies after their wearie iournic, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, Nero was very earnest: and befought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere Hannibal should have notice of his absence. The souldiers also of Nero, were full of spirit; perceiuing that the honour 20 of the victorie was like to be theirs: for a smuch as the battaile would not have beene undertaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsaile brake vp, that the signe of battaile should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate ouer the Generalls paullion.

As drubal was no leffe willing than the Romans to come to battaile, having long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and some of their armes and horses looked as though they had wanted dreffing, after along iournie. Hercupon he beganne to with draw his Armie backe into the Campe: and 30 gaue order, that if no prisoners could bee taken, by whom he might bee certified of the truth; yet should there good observation be made, whether the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might she with their forces to be increased. The campe, as hath beene said, was not extended : but the trumpet, that founded only once in the quarter of L. Porcius the Pretor, did now, contrary to former custome, found twice in the quarter of Livius the Conful, Hereat Asdrubal greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the Roman orders; held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arrived. How this might be, if Hannibal were aliue, and in good case, he was not able to coniecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke; till he might be better informed. Vpon 40 confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neere hee lay to the Romans; nor troubled himselfe perhaps with ouer-strongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when hee now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, hee changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So he distodged secretly by night, intending to get ouer the River Metaurus; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessitie of battaile. But whether it were so, that his guides did steale away from him in the dark, so that

he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too hea-

uie, and hindred his speede: farre hee had not gone, ere the Consul Nero was at his

ter came L. Porcius with the light armature: whom the other Conful followed anon

with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battaile. Asdrubal, seeing him-

selfe ouer-taken with necessitie to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His

Gaules, in whom he reposed least confidence, hee placed in his left wing upon a Hill,

heeles with all the Roman horse, and staied him from passing any further. Soone af- 50

which the Enemie should not, without much difficultie, becable to climbe: in the right wing he stood himselfe, with his Africans and Spaniards; his Ligurians he placed in the midst; and his Elephants, hee bestowed in the front of his battailes. On the Roman side, Wero had the leading of the right wing; Liuius of the left; and Porcius of the battaile. Both Romans and Carthaginians well understood, how much depended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of fafetie there was vnto the vanquished. Only the Romans herein seemed to have had the beter in conceipt; and opinion; That they were to fight with men delirous to have fled from them. And, according to this prefumption, came Livius the Conful with a proud bravery, 10 to giue charge on the Africans: by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the victorie seemed very doubtfull. The Africans and Spaniards were stout soldiers; and well acquainted with the maner of the Roman fight. The Ligurians also were a hardy Nation, and not accustomed to give ground; which they needed the lesse, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midft. Linius therefore, and Porcius, found ftrong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Belides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants,

were driven to fall backe. All this while Claudius Nero, labouring much in vaine against a steepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the Gaules; that stood opposite vnto him, but out of danger. This made Astrabal the more consident; who seeing his owne left wing safe, did the more boldly and siercely make impression on the other side, vpon the left wing of the Romans. But Nero, perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of Porcius and Liuins: which having compassed, he fell vpon Astrubal, and charged him in the flanke. Here beganne the victorie to be manises on the Roman side. For Nero, sinding none to result him in front, ranne all along the depth of Astrubal his battaile: and salling vponthe skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rowt. Of the Spaniar's therefore and Astricans, that were laid at on every side, the greatest part

that brake their first rankes; and put them in such disorder, as the Roman Ensignes

30 was flaine. The Ligarians and Gaules escaped as they could; and saud themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken aline: the rest were slaine; some by the Enemies weapons; others by their owne guides that rode them. For when any of them, being sore wounded, beganne to waxe varuly, and rush backe vpon their owne battailes following them: the guide had in readinesse a Mailet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a stroke between the cares, in the joynt of the necke, next vnto the head; wherewith hee killed the beast vpon the suddaine. This speedy way of prenenting such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the squadrons following them; is said to have beene the device of Afdrubal himselfe; who died in this battaile.

himselfe; who died in this battaile.

40 Great commendations are given to Asdrabal, both by Polybius, and by Liuie.

He is said at all times to have shewed himselfe worthy of Amilear his father, and Hamibal his brother; to have striven with great patience, against many difficulties, whereinto he fell by the meanes of those Captaines, that were sent from Carthage into Spaine; to have performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthy Generall; and sinally when hee saw the losse irreparable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where sighting brauely, hee was slaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of Liuie, and of Polybius, doe very much disagree. For Liuie saith, that the Carthaginians had no lesse an overthrow, than was that, which they gave to the Romans at Canna; that sistic fixe thousand of them were slaine, sive thousand & soure hundred taken prisoners; and aboue soure thousand Roman Citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered, and set as

them were flaine, fine thousand & foure hundred taken prisoners; and about foure thousand Roman Citizens, whom they had captines with them, deliuered, and set at libertie. He saith also, that of the Romans and their Associates there were slaine eight thousand of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kindes; but in gold and silver. Concerning the bootie; Polybius hath no mention of it.

Likely it is to have beene as rich as Linie reporteth it; for Afdrubalcame well stored with monie. But Polybius (who had no desire to make this battaile of Metaurus, a paralel vnto that of Canne) reports no more than about ten thousand of the Carthaginian fide, and two thousand of the Roman, to have beene flaine. The number of the prisoners he doeth not mention: but only faith, That some of the Carthagimen Princes were taken aliue; and that all the rest died in the battaile. Whereby it may seeme, that they were all Barchines: for a smuch as they preferred the honour of themselues, and of their Countrie, aboue their lives.

The joy of this victoric was no leffe in Rome, than had beene the feare of the euent. For euer since it was knowne in what fort Nero had left his Armie; the whole 10 Citie was troubled, as much as lately at Hannibal his coming thirher. Men thought it strange, that the Consul should make such a great aduenture, as thus to put the one halfe of all the Roman forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if Hannibal should chance to have notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set vpon the Armic that staied behinde, much weakned, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke: yet referuing their censure vnto the successe; with libertie to approue or condemne, according to the issue. In the meane while the People filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsaile, waiting still ready at hand upon the Magistrates: as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would require every 20 ones helpe. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholy, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleeue it. Afterwards when Messengers arrived from the Consuls, with Letters contaying all that had passed: there was not only great and joyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the Citie was altered; and men from thenceforth beganne to follow their prinate businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborne to doe) and attending their owne affaires in such wise, as if Hannibal were already driven out of Italie.

Nero returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of Afdrubal before the Carthaginians: and producing his African prisoners bound; sent two of them 30 loose to giue Hannibal notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might haue serued well enough to certifie Hannibal of this misaduenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of Afdrubal: especially fince Hannibal, in honourable, and farre different manner, had given buriall to Gracchus and Marcellus; yea to all the Roman Generalls, whose carkasses fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoeuer the People of Carthage wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the Romans, in their love vnto the Commonweale; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were farre more civill, and leffe prone to the infolencie of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by Nero, is, that hee hoped much more by the suddenterrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that 40 which had passed, to make a deepe impression of seare into the Carthaginians. It may also be said, That he forgot himselse, being ouer-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperitie. For it was the battaile of Metaurus that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the Roman fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. Hannibal having lost in this vnhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in Italie; with-drew himselseinto the Countrie of the Brutians: and thither hee caused all the Lucans that were of his partie to remoue; as likewise all that dwelt in Metapontum. For he wanted mento defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. 50 Wherefore he drew them all into a leffer compaffe in the vtmoft corner of Italie; it being a Countrie of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly devoted to his feruice. In this businesse Mero gave him no memorable impediment : either because Hannibal was too strong for him, having all his forces vnited ; or because it is

likely that this remove of the Lucans and Metapontines, was not before the end of Summer, when their haruest was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to Rome. M. Linius the other Conful tarried among the Cifalpine Gaules vntill the end of Summer; there to fet things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, hee wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more neede of him and his Armie in that Province; but that L. Porcius, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, hee desired leave to returne home; and that he might bring his Armie with him. The Senate well vnderstood his meaning: which was, to have the honour of triumph, as he well de-10 ferued. But forasmuch as it was well knowne, what interest Nero had in the late vi-Storie: order was giuen, that not only Liuie with his Armie should come home; but likewise Nero; though leaving his Armie behinde him, to confront Hannibal. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof Line made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command, the victorie was gotten; his Armicalfo being present at the triumph. But Nero that rode on horse-backe, and without such attendance, was the more extolled both by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victorie was in a manner wholly ascribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted L. Veturius Philo, and Q. Cacilius Metellus, Lieutenants to the Generalls, 20 the due acknowledgement of their good service. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthy to bee chosen Consuls : and Consuls they were chosen for the yeere following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memorie, in their Consulship. Neither indeede from this yeere, which was the thirteenth of the present warre, vntill the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in Italie; faue only the taking of Locri from the Carthaginians by surprise. For Hannibal wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the Romans had little minde to prouoke him; but thought it well that hee was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him that though all about him went to ruine; yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold him-30 selfevpright. And furely very notable are the commendations given vnto him by Polybius; whom Liuie therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, hee obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Armic, compounded of fo many fundry Nations, Africans, Spamiards, Gaules, Carthaginians, Italians, and Greekes; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, orany other thing, one like to another; hee held them all in

That he sustained his Armic, without helpe from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungry soile of the Brutians: which, when it was best manured in 40 time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparant, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of Asdrubal, he made no inuation vpon the wealthier parts of Italie; but held himselfe still among the poore Brutians. Where we must leave him, vntill he be drawne into Africk by Scipio, whose doings will benceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

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fuch good order, that they neuer fell to fedition among themselves, or against their

Generall. But that which Liuie addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration:

d. XVII.

How P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO the Roman, made entire conquest of Spaine.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

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AGO, & ASDR VBAL the sonne of Gesco, tooke vpon them the charge of Spaine, when Afdrubal the sonne of Amilear departed thence into of Spaine, when Afdrubal the sonne of Amilear departed thence into Italie. These agreed together, that Mago should make a voiage to the Baleares; there to leuic a supply of men and Afdrubal with draw himfelfe into Lusitania (which is now Portugal) whither the Romans had

ill meanes to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. Mago had soone ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine: where hee met with one Hanno (the fame perhaps that had lately beene emploied in Sicil) who brought new forces out of Africk, and came to succeede in place of Adrubal the Barchine. It is not vnlikely 20 that Spaine was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needfull from Carthage; when that sonne of Amilear, whose authoritie had beene greatest, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old Hanno approve it selfe, against that noble race of Warriors; when it should appeare, that things did profeer much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men. Whether it were vpon defire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home or whether your confidence in the forces that he brought over: Hanne tooke the field, and led Mago with him; as purpoling afresh to set vpon the Romans. So he entred into the Countrie of the Celtiberians, not very farre from new Carthage: where, by monie, and other perswasions, he leuied about nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of Spaine: attentive, as it may seeme, to the proceedings of Asdrabal the sonne of Amiliar; against whom, he is reported by some Writers to have sent part of his forces into Italie, to the affiftance of C. Claudius Nero, and M. Linius the Confuls. But hearing of the leuie made by Hanno and Mago, among the Celtiberians: he fent M. Syllanus the Propretor, with ten thousand foot and fine hundred horse. Syllanus got intelligence by some fugitive Celtiberians, who became his guides, that their Countrimen encamped apart from the Carthaginians in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neere to these Celtiberians: and falling vpon them on the suddaine, gaue them such an ouer- 40 throw, that Hanno and Mago comming to their succour, in stead of heartning & reinforcing them, became partakers of the losse. Mago faued himselfe, with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand; and in ten daies journey brought them safe to Afdrubal. The rest of the Africans were either flaine or taken: among whom, Hanno had the ill lucke to be taken prisoner; though he kept himselfe out of the fight vntil all was lost. As for the Celtiberians, they knew better how to make shift; & saued most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could no otherwise bee, but that Scipio was much troubled with the danger wherein Italie flood, by the comming thither of Afarubal. Ten thousand foot and eighteene hundred horse he did therefore send out of Spaine (as it is reported by 50 fome Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie: or was perhaps about to fend them; and thereupon remained at new Carthage, intentiue to the necessitie & fuccesse of his Countrimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at Metaurus, which fell out long before the end of this Summer, then might hee well ad-

uenture, to take in hand the entire conquest of Spaine; which must needs be much alienated from the Carthaginians, by the report of such an overthrow. The Spanish Souldiers that serued under Hannibal, and those that had beene sent ouer into Africk; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Countrie was held obnoxious to the Carthaginians. But when it was noised abroad, That all which had followed As drubal into Italie, were fallen into the hands of the Romans; and that Hannibal with his Armie, was closed up in a streight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behoue the Spaniards to conforme themselves vnto the will of the Victors. That it was the successe of things in Italie, which gaue such considence vn-10 to Scipio; it is the more probable, because hee tooke not this great enterprise in hand, vntill the Summer was almost spent. Afdrubal therefore yied the benefit of the scason; and by disposing his Armie into many Garrisons; hindred the Enemie, from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeere, caused Scipio to returne backe : without any other matter performed, than that his Brother L. Scipio tooke by affault the Towne of

Oringis. Against the next yeeres danger, Asdrubal prepared a great Armie: and spared not coft, nor trauaile, in strengthning himselfe, for the triall of his last fortune in Spaine. With seventie thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirtie 20 Elephants, he tooke the field: which number I beleeue, that he could hardly haue raifed, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from Italie. Scipio thought his Roman Legions too weake to encounter with such a multitude. Wherefore hee judged it needfull to vie the helpe of his Spanish friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false Auxiliares; made him on the other side very doubtfull, of relying vpon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest neede. Yet since one Colchas, that was Lord of eight & twentie Townes, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and fine hundred horse for his seruice: hee resolued to make vse of those, and some few others; that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not bee 30 able to docgreat harme, if they would renolt. So with fine and fortie thousand foot, and three thou fand hor fe, he fought out the Enemie; necre to whom hee incamped. At his first comming, Mago and Masanissa fell vpon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whileft hee was making his lodgings. But hee layed certaine

troups of horse in couert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retrait: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betooke themselues to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added fome courage to the Romans, and abated the prefumption of the Carthaginians: there were daily skirmilhes betweene the horse and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. As drubal drew forth his Armie, and arranged 40 it before his Trenches: the like did Scipio; each of them to shew that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many daies: Afdrubal being ftill the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the evening, withdrew himselse into his Trenches. The Spanish Auxiliaries were placed on both fides in the wings; the Carthaginians were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to the son the other side were the Roman Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre distance, many daies together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies, long before deligned. But Scipio, when hee purposed indeed to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and

30 withall, came forth earlier then he had been wont. He caused his men and horses, to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then fent forth his horse and light armature, to traine out the Carthaginians with their bellies emptie: vling herein the same trick, whereby he might remember, that Hannibal had beaten his father in the battaile of Trebia. His Roman Legions he bestowed in the wings; his Spaniards,

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in the battaile. Aldrubal fent forth his horse in all haste, to entertaine the Romans s whilest he himselfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which he encamped. In the skirmilhes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better : fince being over-pressed on either side, they had a safe retrait vnto their foot; and one troupe seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by Scipio to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselues, were like to hold out better then the Enemie. But about noone, he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battaile of Spaniards farre behinde them, that came on leifurely, according to direction. The Spanish Mercinaries that stood in Asarabal his wings, were no way comparable, saue only in num- 10 ber to the Latine and Roman Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, leuied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same time, by the Roman Velites, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the same purpose: they were forely pressed; and with much difficultie made resistance. The Carthaginians would faine have succoured them; but that they durst not stirre out of their places, because of the Spanish battaile which wascoming against them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of Afdrubal his Armie stood idle, vntill the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the Spaniards, hee must have cast himselfe into the open space that lay before him betweene the Ro- 20 man wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived he should have found himfelfe inclosed in such sort, as was the Consul Paulus at the battaile of Canna. Wherefore he did onely employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harme to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ranne, as chance led them, and troubled both parts 3 or those perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In processe of the fight: the Romans, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured luftie; when the others beganne to faint with travelland heate of the day. Wherefore perceining their advantage, they followed it the more horly: and gave not over, till they had forft the enemie to change his 30 pace and runne from him. Afdrubal did his best to have made an orderly retrait; and afterward againe, to have caused his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the Romans would not suffer the victorie to be so extorted from them: neither was it calle to put fresh courage into the vanquished; led by the obstinate passion of feare which harkens to no perswasion. The Campe of Astrubathad that day beene taken; if a ftorme of raine, which fell violently on the fuddaine, and bred some superstition in the Romans, had not caused them to give

The same night, Asarubal gaue no rest to his men: but caused them, hungrie, and overlaboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein 40 hee feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his Trenches; when he had lost the hearts of his Spanish Souldiers. One Attanes, that was Lord of the Turdetani, fled from him to the Romans, with a great Band of his fubiects: many followed this example; and soone after, two strong Townes were yeelded vp to Scipio, and the Garrisons betraied. It seemes that the peruerse fortune of this late battaile, whereupon Afarnbal had fet his rest, bred in the Spaniards a disposition, to believe the more easily those reports which they heard from Italy. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the Carthaginians. Afarabal, perceiuing this, withdrew himselfe, and marched away, faster than an ordinarie pace, toward the Ocean Sca. Scipio followed the next morning: & ouertaking the Cartha- 50 ginians with his horse, caused them so often to make stand; that they were at length attached by the Roman Legions. Here beganne a cruell slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, saue onely seven thousand, that with Astrobal himselfe recouered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste.

This place he made shift awhile to defend but wanting there necessaries to sustaine himselfe long, he was for laken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherfore he refolued to make shift for one and stealing from his Companie by night away to the Sea-fide, that was not farre thence; he tooke shipping, and set faile for Gades. When Scipio understood that Astrubal was thus gone: he left Syllanus with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse to besiege their Campe (which was not taken in haste, for Mago and Masanisa staied in it) whilest he with the rest of the Armie did what was needful in the Countrie abroad. It was not long, ere Mago and Masanista followed Asarabal to Gades: and their Armie dispersed 10 it selfe; some flying ouer to the Romans; other taking what way they liked. So vpon all the continent of Spaine, there were only three Townes left, Illeturgi, Caffulo, and Affapa, that made countenance of warre against the Romans: of which only: Car fulo had in it a Carthaginian Garrison; consisting of such as had saued themselves by flight in the late ouerthrowes. Hereby it seemes, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who faid, that Castulo yeelded long since vnto the Romans though Hannibal tooke a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the last three Townes that held out on the Carthaginian side. Illiturgi had sometimes beene inclinable to the Romans; if not aitogether at their denotion. Yet after the death of the two elder Scipio's, following too earnestly the Carthaginian fortune; it not onely rebelled; but 20 with great crueltie betraied, and flue, the poore men that escaped thither from the ouerthrowes. Astapa was a Towne, that had still adhered to the Carthaginians; and, which was worse, had thriuen by spoile of the Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeere) Scipio went against these, and tooke himsefe Illiturgi and Castulo: Illiturgi by affault, and with a generall slaughter of the Inhabitants; Castulo, by treason of one Cerdubelius. Astapa was taken by Lucius Mareius; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: whereinto was throwne all the gold, and filuer, with what soener else was precious; the women and children standing by it under a sure guard; that should kil and burne them if the Romans got into the Towne. This prouison being 30 made: all the Inhabitants that could be are armes, rushed forth desperately, and fell vpon the Roman campe; where striuing beyond their power, they were every one flaine. Then was the Towne forth with fet on fire, by those that had taken charge to doe it : and many of the Romans confumed with the flame; whileft they rushed ouer-hastily to catch the gold, and silver, which they saw lying on the pile readie

to melt.

As lrubal, being beaten into the Iland of Gades, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to Carthage, with seuen Gallies; leaving Asgo behinde him, to but returned home to Carthage, with seuen Gallies; leaving Asgo behinde him, to wait vpon occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, Sypham Kingof the Missilia, apeople of the Numidians; hoping to winne him to the friend-to ship of the Carthaginians. But he met with Scipio, as it were with his evill Angel, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the same time, carried Syphax quite another way. For Scipio, having driven the Carthaginians out of Spaine, did foorth-with bethinke him selfe howers simils the water; by putting them to the like distresse in Africke.

For Scipio, nating unter the Carina Management of the like diffress in Africke. himselfe, how to finish the water; by putting them to the like distress king that Hereunto it seemed, that the helpe of Syphax would be much available: a king that had many times sallen out with the Carthaginiams, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moved to seeke revenge. He had also beene beholding to P. and Cm. Scipio, that fenr him over a Captaine into Africke; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as hereby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the Numidian King sent Embassadors to Some, and made league with the Citie, in a time of great extremitie. So that here-

by P. Szipio conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the warre, which he intended in Africk; vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the Carthaginians. For which cause he sent ouer C. Lalius his Embassadour, to deale with Syphax: who declaring that the Carthaginians did very ill in Italie, and had nothing now at all to

doe in Spaine; casily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better. and were without question his better friends. Only Syphax requested, that the Roman Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which hee Was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Hereto Scipio condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to Carthage, and not farre diffant from Spaine, well worthy of the aduenture. So with two Quinquereme Gallies he tooke Sea : and arrived in the Kings Port, at the fame time, with Afarubal. This would have beene very dangerous to him, had he beene discried by his Enemies further at Sea: but in the Hauen, they forbare to make offer one vpon the other. Syphax might well be proud; feeing at 10 one time, two such Captaines of two most powerfull Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the Roman excused himselse, by want of such commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed Scipio, with whom he readily entred into conenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

#### t. II.

## . Funerall games held by SCIPIO. A Duell between two Spanish Princes. A digression, concerning Duells.

CLIP I o returning into Spaine, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next Dycere, vpon thole of Illiturgi, Castulo, and Astapa, as hath beene said before. The Conquest of the Countrie being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new Carthage, with great folemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memorie of his Father, and Vncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their liues as was vied in the Citie of Rome: for there were enow, that either offe- 30 red themselues as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes; to give proofe in fingle combat, of the valour that was in their severall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to referre the decision of their Controuersies, to triall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were, Corbis, and Orsua, Cosen-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called Ibes. Corbis was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne: wherfore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house; after the manner of our Irish Tanistrie. But the father of Orsua stood lately seized of the Principality: which though himselfe received by the death of his elder brothers yet this his fonne would not let it goeback; but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his 40 father, and old enough to rule. Faine would Scipio have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had alreadic laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell; and that neither God, nor Man, but only Mars, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire betweene them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, eafily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the yonger.

Such combats have beene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of Troy, by Theseus, Hercules, Pollux, and others: as also of two at the Warre of Troy; the one betweene Paris and Menelaus; the other, betweene Hector and Miax. Neither want there examples of them among the Hebrewes: whereof that betweene Dauid and Goliah; and others performed by some of Davids Worthics, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betweenetwelue of the Tribe of Inda, and as many of the Bensamites. The Romans

had many of them: whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the Horatij, against the three brethren Curiaty that were Albans. The combat of Manlius Torquatus; and shortly after, of Valerius Corninus with two Champions of the Gaules, which challenged any Roman; were of leffe importance, as having onely reference to braueric. In England there was a great combat fought, betweene Edmond Ironfide and Canutus the Dane, for no leffe than the Kingdome. The vse of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almost vpon enery occasion, great or small. In the raigne of Edward the third, who fultained the party of Mountfort against the Earle of Bloys, contending for the Duchie

10 of Brittaine; there was a fight, for honour of the Nations, betweene thirtie of the Britons, and thirtie English: two of which English, were Caluerlie a braue Captaine; and that Sir Robert Knolles, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the French warres, and did highly honour his bloud, whereof the Lord Knolles is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in English, French, and Italian Histories. Most of them have been combats of brauerie, and of gayete de cure, as the French terme it; for honour of seuerall Nations; for loue of Mistresses; or what soeuer else gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out themselues. But befides those of this fort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either vpon accusation for life; or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in writ of right.

20 And of this latter kinde, was that, of which wee spake even now, betweene Corbis and Orlug. Vnto these (me thinkes) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat vpon Wager; such as were that betweene David and Goliah; or that betweene the Horaty and Curiaty: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one ouer the other, is aduentured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed betweene the Lord Hen- Ao. 21. Ric. 2di. rie of Boulinbrooke Duke of Hereford, and Moubray Duke of Norfolke. There was a combat performed by Sir Iohn Ansley and one Cattrington: whom Ansley charged Ao.3. Ric. adi. with treason; and proued it vpon him, by being victorious. The like was fought

betweene Robert of Mountfort and Henrie of Effex. The like also, betweene a Nauar- Ao.9. Henr. 2dis 30 rois, and one Welch of Grimsby, who the Nauarrois accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that hee had belied him; and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battell doe determine, that the false accuser, if hee be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had beene due to the offender, if the acculation had beene proued; I cannot affirme. But we enery where find, That, if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customes of Normandie, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences punished by death) bee ouer-come, He shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for trial of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but hee may trie it by his Champion, as did Paramor and Lowe, or offered to doe, in the 40 raigne of Queene Elizabeth. And in this case, he that is beaten, or yeeldeth, looseth only his cause, not his lfe. Neither are the combats, vpon accusation, or triall of

right, fought in open field, as are those of brauerie; but in Campe close, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was so ordinarie in France, before the time of St. Lewes, and Philip the faire his grand-child, as every Lord of Fce, Ecclefiasticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the French Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the \* Me- \* Si hamines de morialls of the Chamber of Accompts, is found an Article to this effect: That if a combat Loraice Vadia were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the par - Duelli temere ties should pay two shillings fixe pence; but if it were performed, then should the

50 partie vanquished for seit an hundred and twelve shillings. And vponthis custome grew the French Prouerbe, which they vie when any man hath had an hard or vniust iudgement; saying, That bee was tried by the Law of Loray, or Berne; on le battu paye l'amende, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent trials by battaile, that great learned man Tuo, Bishop of Chartres, did often complaine, and ZZZZZ 3

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specially against the French Church-men: as appeares by \* his letters to the Bishop "uper ad nosr .- of Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to Rembert Arch-bishop of Sens, and to oreritatis, quit thers, wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such Theobaldi Au- challenges of combat. But this libertie, and kinde of triall, was retrencht by Saint Lewes, and Philip the (aire; fo that no man should decree, or grantit, saue the King rant nobig guest himselfe. It hath since beene granted, though more sparingly, by the French Kings; quidim miles
Domini RodulDomini Rodulphi quendam gainst Moro, his Countriman: wherein Sir Henrie Kneuet, Father of the Lord Kneuet militiem comitis now living, was Patron to Romero that had the victorie, and lastly to the Lord of ad Monomachia Chast. Now in those Challenges, vponaccusation of Treason, Murder, or other of- 10 bare proposation fence descriping death, (and in those only) the rule held, That le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces dessenses per une dementir; The Desendant was bound to pleade not guiltie, by giving the accuser the Lie; otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did taisiblement confesser le crime ; silently confesse the crime. But after such time as Francis the French King, vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the Lie vnto the Emperour Charles the fift, thereby to draw him to a personall combatieuery pettie Companion in France, in imitation of their Master, made the giuing of the Lie mortalitie it selfe; holding it a matter of no small glorie, to have it said, That the meanest Gentleman in France, would not put vp, what the great Emperour Charles the fift had paciently endured.

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded vpon none of those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Obication and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe fo many Duells, as are founded vpon meere private Anger, yea or vpon matter feeming worthie of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein every man takes vnto himselfe a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint perfonall combats; the giving of the Lie, which ought to be the Negation only in accufations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word to terrible, and a wrong to vnpardonable, as will admit no other recopence, 30 than the bloud of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken vp in haste by the FrenchGentlemen, after the patterne of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we have derived a kinde of Arte and Philosophie of quarrel; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yeathere are (among many other no lesse ridiculous) some so mysticall curiolitiesherein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a flight touch with a Cane, than a found blow with a Sword: the one having relation to a slaue; the other to a souldier. I confesse that the difference is pretie: though, for my owne part, if I had had any fuch Italionated enemie in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and have given him the 40 point of honour to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the Lie; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I fay, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; vie nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speake and sweare fallly. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World. and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having assumed & sworne to pay the monies and other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promise, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not Lyers by Record, by being sucd in some Court or other of Instice, vpon breach of word, or bond? For he which hath promised, that he will pay monie by a day; or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him, to whom the promise hath beene made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make nowa-daies? What is the vowing of their feruice, and of all they have, yied in their or-

CHAP.3.S.17.1.2. of the Historie of the World. dinarie complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid but good-morrow, or falute, other than a courteous and courtlike kinde of lying? It is (faith a wise French-men, deriding therein the Apilli custome of his Countrie) une marche er complot fait ensemble the le mocquer, mentir, or piper les uns les autres : A kinde of merchandize, and complet made among them, to mock, belie, and deride each other : and to farre now-a daies in fashion, and in vie; as he that vseth it not, is accounted either dull, or Cynicall. True it is not withstanding (omitting the old distinctions) that there is great difference betweene these mannerly & complementall lies, with those which are somrime perswaded by necessity vpon breach of promise, and those which men to vse out of cowardize and feare: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other stiled the most villainous. But now for the Lie it felfe, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrells in effect: to it I say, That who o gives another man the Lie, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainously taken, than to tell him, that he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promised, that hee will performe it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himselfe a Lier. On the other lide, He that giues any man the Lie, when himselfe knowes that he, to whom it is giuen, bath not lied; doth therein give the Lie directly to himselfe. And what cause have I, if I 20 fay that the Sunne lhines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's mid-night; to profecute such an one to death; for making himselfe a foolish Ruffian, and a Lier in his owne knowledge? For he that gives the Lie in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffianlike. I will not denie but it is an extreme rudenesse to taxe any man in publike with anyntruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the vntruth is vetered) but all that is rude, ought not to bee civilized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a French custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsaile of God. But you will say, That these discourses sauour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize, to feare God or Hell: whereas he that 30 is truly wife, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing else to be scared. For against an Enemics sword wee shall finde ten thousand seuen-penie-men (waged at that price in the warres) that feare it as little, and perchance lesse, than any profest Sword-man in the World. Diligentissima in tutela sui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preserver of it selfe. It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocritic between doubting and daring. Sicut non Martyrem pana: sic nec fortem pugna; sed causa; As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr : fo it is not fighting that declares avaliant man; but fighting in a good cause. In which whosoeuer shall resolutedly end his life, resolutedly in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrie : as hee may justly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious 40 hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devill. Neither doe we in-

deede take our owne reuenge, or punish the injuries offered vs, by the death of the

injurious. For the true conquest of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would bee

reuenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death

on our owne consciences; Animafg, in vulnere ponere; And to drowne our soules in the

wounds and blood of our enemies. Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne in

generous and noble spirits the defence of their honours, being prest with injuries? I

fay that I doe not; if the injuries bee violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a

branch of the eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and States; doe

fauour him that is affailed, in the flaughter of the Affailant, You will secondly aske

like qualitie, bee not bound in point of honour to fatisfic the challenger in private

combat? I answere that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point

of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrarie and opposite to that, which

they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion oner it, which can

50 me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentle-man, being challenged by Cartel by one of

Sir Thomas Smith in his Com.wealth of Engl.

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judge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Actes honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, seeing the Lawes of this Land have appointed the Hang man to second the Conqueror; and the Lawes of God appointed the Denill to second the conquered dying in malice: I say that he is both base, and a foole, that accepts of any Cartel lo accompanied. To this perchance it will bee anfwered, That the Kings of England, and other Christian Kings, have seldome taken any such advantage over men of qualitie; who vpon even termes have slaine their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they have not often done it : so did our Noble-men and Gentle-men in former ages, in all important injuries, sue vnto the King, to approue themselves by battaile and publique 10 combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law: fo did they diffaine to submit themselves to the shamefull revenge therof; the same revenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-pursse or other Theeucs. Nav let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders; Yet is not the Manflaier freed by his pardon. For the fetwo remedies hath the partie grieved not withstanding; that is, to require justice by Grand Affize, or by battaile, vpon his appeale, which (faith St. Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further faith (for I vie his owne wordes) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Man slaier) be convinced either by Great Affize or by Battaile, vpon that appeale; the Man-flaier shall die notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So fauourable (faith the samelearned Gentleman) 20 are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to justice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men & Gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an enemie, taking the start either in wordes or blowes, shall lay on them an infamie vnsufferable? I say that a Marshalls Court will cafily give satisfaction in both. And if wee hold it no disgrace to submit our felues for the recouerie of our Debts, Goods, and Lands, and for all things elfe, by which the lives of our felues, our wives, and children, are fusiained, to the Judges of the Law; because it may bee fellonie, to take by violence even that which is our owne: why should we not submit our selues to the Judges of honour in cases of honour; because to recouer our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet 30 againe it may be objected, That the losse of honour ought to be more fearefull vnto vs, than either the loffe of our goods, of our lands, or of our lines; and I fay fo too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeede, and that which ought to bee fo deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of historic, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publike good? In these he that is imploied and trusted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he looseth his honor. But the acting of a private combate, for a private respect, and most commonly a friuolous one, is not an action of vertue; because it is contrarie to the law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult; because even and equal in persons and 40 armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrarie; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Now that a Marshall of England bath power to sauce every mans fame and reputation, as farre as reputation may sustaine iniurie by wordes, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any ill words that we have given, and to confesse that we have done him wrong to whom we have given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For hee that gives ill words in choller, and fuddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them upon adulement; bath the disaduantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeede not to be given but to those that are servile, whether sufficient recompence will be made 50 for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman Mounfieur de Plesis, that was firicken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Constable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue judge-

CHAP.3.S.17.1.2. ment, M.de Plesis was fet in a chaire under the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls fate: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a fword with the point towards him selfe; and in his left hand the like cudgell or ballinado, wherewith he had stricken M. de Pless; both which weapons he delivered into Pless hands, submitting himselfe to fuch reuenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons, the Constable and Marshalls having formerly left it to the will of Pless, to vie his ownedifcretion in the reuenge of his owne wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselse, as one beforehand in point of honour, who strucke M. de Plesis, like to a Ruffian comming behinde him, and (hauing advantage of companie, and his horses ready) shifted himselfe away on the suddaine, but being afterward taken, was taught to repent himselse in this shamefull manner; Or whether Monsseur de Plesis (of whose valour no man doubted) had not farre juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure haue beaten or wounded his enemie, but forgaue him aler any wise maniudge. To this if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission; that his repentance was enforced and not voluntarie; and therefore no diffrace vnto him: I answere, that one may say as well, that it is no diffrace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies bv him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that en-20 forced repentance is no difgrace in respect of the force, but in respect of the fact : which (but for our finnes to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for somewhat vnworthy of a Gentleman and of an honest man. Nay voluntarie repentance it selse, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weakenesse. Certainely, as wise men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie iniuries or suddaine iniuries, that are not offered from malice forethought, then reuenge them: fo men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their owne valour; and rather desire, that thereby the world should beleeue them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselues. For he that knowes himselse

20 indeede to be a valiant man, scornes to hunt after the opinion. Now the same power which the Constable and Marshalls of France have , bath alfoa Marshall of England, or his Deputies; by whose indgement, in all disputes of honour, euery mans reputation may be preserved; wee may therefore as well submit our selues to the Iudge of honour in all disputes of honour, as wee doe submitour selues in all controuersies of livelihood and life, to the Iudges of the Law. And out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Cheualrie in England, in France, and elsewhere, was no lesse charitable than politike. For the bloud of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth honie-bees, as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers or the face : but it produceth that monstrous Beast, Reuenge, which hath stung 40 to death, and caten vp of seucrail Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God vpon supreme

Gouernours, than the permission.

His Majestie therefore (which Henrie the fourth of France also endeuoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deede in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Predecessours could neuer doe: in beating downe, and extinguishing, that hereditarie prosecution of malice, called the deadly feud; a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power, for euer-more. And we have cause to hope, that his royall care shall be no leffe happy in preuenting the like mischiese, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outragious va-

Vnto this that I have spoken oflying, and ofman-slaughter, it must be added. That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe and vengeance proportionably, more or leffe, in their feuerall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of necessitie vpon breach of promise, or complementall lies; and fuch

fuch pernicious lies, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are vettered by false witnesses: the former fort, being excusable by weakenesse or leuitie; the latter, being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with euen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call killing by guile, dolo or per insidias; thoughour Lawes doe not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priviledge, commandeth, that the guilefull murderer bee drawne by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by overt violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poisoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, betweene comming presumptuensly upon a to man, to slay him with guile; and lying in wast for blood, privily, for the innocent, without a cause, upon hope of spoile, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the birds. Francis the sirfs, Queene Marie of England, and the Kings Majestie now raigning, have given notable testimonic of their justice, upon three Noble men, who

ning, have given notable testimonic of their justice, vpon three Noble men, who committed guilefull murder. Of the first kinde, King Francis vpon the Lord of Talard: who being (saith the French Historian) de baute & ancienne lignee, & supporte de plusieurs grandes alliances; who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by divers great alliances, of which the Cardinallot Bellay (in especiall fauor with the King) was one, was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of the Hang-man. Queene Marie, vpon a noble man of her owne Religion, and in many other respects very deare vnto her. His Maiestie, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no

very deare vnto her. His Maieltie, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no less ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poison, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans; euery Agehath had too many examples. Of guilefull killing by the pen (that I may not speake of any English Iudge) the Authour of the French Recherches gives vs two notable instances: the one of des Esbars, who (saith Pasquire) fit

mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, pour contente l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre; & Dieu permit que depuis il sut pendu & estrangle; Who caused Montaigu great Master of France to die, to content his minde (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Eshars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himself was soone af-30 ter hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great France, the sirst, you his Chancellor Poyet: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Ad-

mirall Chabot, a man most nobly descended, and of great service. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of love growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some offences which hee had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming vpon the great good service which hee had done the King in Piemont, and in the desence of Mar seilles against the Emperour; gave the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publike triall. Hereupon the King sit being easie to provoke an ill disposition) gave commission to the Chancellor, and 40

other Iudges, vpon an information of the Kings Advocate, to question the Admiralls life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Iudges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as, albeit nothing could be proued against the Admirall, worthy of the Kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got

Admiral, worthy of the Kings dipleature; yet the Chancellor lubleribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Libertie; though not able to preuaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating salshood in so great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignement, and condemnation? Belle leconceries (saith Pasquire) à tout sudge pour demourer 50

tousions ensoy, & ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginarie saueur, qui pour sin de ieu le submerge; A faire lesson to all sudges, to dwell alwates in themselues, and not to suffer their consciences to sloat upon the waves of imaginarie savour, which in the end overwhelmes them. And as for the Admirall: though it might have beene answered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as vndeserued, That hee was tried, according to his owne desire, by the Lawes of his Countrie, and by the Iudges of Parliament; yet the Kings justice, surmounting all other his passions, gaue backe vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Estate.

## t. III.

The last Alts of Scipio in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is chosen Conful.

"He last busines that troubled Scipio in Spaine, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangeroufly ficke, in fuch fort, that the rumor of his death ranne currant throughout Spaine. This encouraged Mandonius and Indibilis, pettic Kings, that had for faken the Carthaginians, and followed Scipio awhile before, to take armes against the Romans. They were vainely perswaded. that after the Carthaginians were driven out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spaine. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and 20 hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell vpon the Suessetani and Sedetani. Confederates of the Romans, and wasted their Countrie. Part of the Roman Armie lying at Sucro, in stead of making head against these Rebells, grew to be affected with the like diftemper. They had not reaped such profit of their Roman conquests, as might fatisfie their defires; or as they thought eafle to bee gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of Scipio was reported, they thought, that the time ferued very well, to enrich themselves with spoile of the Countrie. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driving away their Colonells, that should have bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellowes, Albius Calenus, and Atrius V mber, to be their Com-30 manders. These tooke vpon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had beene like to that, wherein Lucius Martius was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two Scipio's. But whilest they were denising, what exploits they might do, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such com-

the Souldiers, after the death of the two Scipio's. But whileft they were deuiling, what exploits they might do, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion; as was expected; there arrived more certaine newes, that Scipio was both aliue, and in good health. There came also new Colonells, sent vnto them from their Generall: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to bee glad that they had no further over-shot themselves; led them to Carthagena, there to receive their pay. Before their comming, Scipio had resolved to doe exemplarie justice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them to feare, of what they had descrued. Therefore hee caused Syllanus to make readic the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition

the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition againe Mandonius, and Indibits; He caused Albius and Atrius with some thirtie of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; He called the Mutiners to assembly; and hauing them what med as they were, encircled round by Syllanus and his Companies, prepared for the purpose; hee bitterly inneighed against them all, as Traitors. This done; Albius, and Atrius, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the Reman custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight rhousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and received e-sourcey man his pay when he was sworne.

Mandonius and Indibilis continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of Scipio his life and health. Well they could have beene contented to be quiet; but by the seueritie vsed to the Roman Souldiers; they stood in searc, as

Scipio obtaines leaue to make warre in Africk. His preparations. Of MA-SANISSA who toyned with Scipio. The victories against ASDRVBAL and SYPHAX.

VB. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, and P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, entring into their Confulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that Scipio should be allowed, to bestow part of the money which he had brought out of Spaine into the treasurie; vpon the setting forth of solemne plaies, that he had vowed to make,

whilest he was busied in his Spanish warres. This helped well to reviue the memorie of his victories already gotten; and to give hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which he intended to make in Africk. To the same purpose, did the Spanish embaffages availe much in the Senate, especially that of the Saguntines: who magnified his actions, highly and descruedly; saying, That they were the most happie of all their Countrimen, since they being present, had seene him chosen Couful, and should carry home such joyfull newes. The Saguntine Embassadours were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to Rome, though costly it were both to them, and to the Romanes, had well deserued. Neuerthelesse, when Sei-20 pie proposed, that Africk might be decreed vnto him for his Province: there wanted not many, cuen of the principall men, that vehemently gainefaid him. Of these was Q. Fabius Maximus, the chiefe: who seemes to have been troubled with that discase; which too often causeth men renowned for long approued vertue, to looke asquint vpon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee alleaged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treasuric was vnable to sustaine the charges of a warre in Africk; and that it was exa tremely perillous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure bee recalled vnto the desence of Rome it selfe, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein Italie flood, not only of Hannibal, but of Ma-30 gohis brother, that was arming the Ligarians: as also concerning the honour of the Conful; which would (he faid) be greater in setting Italie free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to Africk. Neither did he forget, both to eleuate the Spanish warres, as of leffe moment than the intended voiage against Carthage; nor withall to lay great blame vpon Scipio, for having suffered Afdrubal to passe into Italie: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen againe; and

good) might be fent from Carthige, to the vtter endangering of Rome, whill the Roman forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which he vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, Africk to be that yere 49 a Prouince: which the Consul neuerthelesse propounded in such wise, as is it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. Scipio on the other side, insified vpon this one point, That it was better to make an offensiue, than a defensiue warre: especially against such as the Carthaginians; who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by helpe of money, with levies made abroad. As for the care of Italie, he doubted not, but P. Lieinius his Colleague would bee as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiling to draw Hannibal into Africk, for defence of his owne home: and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuy of Fabius, which withstood such a gallant enterprise; he proposed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much altercation there was about the 30 manner of his proceeding: for a fmuch as it was noy fed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who resented in this honourable manalittle spice of that arrogancie, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had comman-

that a new Armie, notwithstanding the good successe of Scipio (if it hapned to bee

ded long abroad. But in conclusion, Scipio teferred himselse wholly vntothe Senates

being Spaniards, and greater offenders, of harder measure. Scipio went against them: and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof hee fought with them : and fending Lelius with all his horse to fetch a compasse about the Hills, and charge them in reare; he ouerthrew them. Indibilis and Mandonius had after this no hope remaining, to preserve themselves and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. Mandonius therefore came to Scipio : and humbly crauing pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother Indibilio, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves lesse

free Princes, then they formerly had beene.

Afterward Scipio went toward Gades: and was met on the way by Masanilla: 10 who fecretly promifed to doe him all feruice, if the People of Rome would fend him to make Warre in Africk. Vnto Mago that lay in Gades, came directions from Carthage; that letting all care of Spaine alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into Italie; and there wage an Armie of Gaules, and Ligurians, to joyne with Hannibal. For this purpose, was monie sent vnto him from Carthage; and he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Towne of Gades; without sparing either private men, the common treasurie, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, hee landed at Carthagena; hoping to have taken it by surprise. But hee failed in the attempt: and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himselfe awhile at Gades. The Gaditanes, offended with the robberies and spoile that hee had made at his ta- 20 king leaue of them, would not suffer him to enter againe into their Citie. By this hee foresaw, that it would not bee long ere they became Roman. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vncourteous dealing, hee allured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding Spaine farewell for euer.

The Isle and Citie of Gades, was yeelded to the Romans, presently after the departure of Mage. Then did Scipio deliuer vp the Province, to those that were sent from Rome to succeede him therein: and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to Rome he made fuite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied 30 him: for that it had as yet beene granted vnto no Proconful; excepting to fuch, as received that dignitie after a Confulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by generall voice of the Citie P. Cornelius Scipio was chosen Consul; and P. Licinius Crassus joyned with him. This Crassus, being high Priest, or Bishop of the Romans; might not by the custome of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though Cafar, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were staied by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that Scipio desiring to have the Warre transferred into Africk, was in no danger to loofe that honourable charge, by any 40 mischance of lot, in the division of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not ca-

pable of emploiment so farre off.

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good will and pleasure; whereby hecobtained thus much, That the Isle of Sicil might be appointed vnto him for his Prouince; with leaue to passeouer into Africk,

if he found it expedient.

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Want of money, and no great liking to his voiage, made the Roman Senate have little care to furnish out Scipto to the warre, by him intended vpon Africke. Herewithall it fellout, that Migo, comming on the suddaine from the Baleares to Genua, and winning the Towne, bred a feare of no lesse terrible inuasion vpon Italie, than that which Addrabal had lately made. He could not indeed raife any great Armie of the Ligurians; for that he found them diffracted with civill warres. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his partie; and to helpe those whom hee thought fit- 10 test for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have spared; yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the vnsteadie Gaules readie to enter into his pay. Hercupon the dispersed Legions of the Romans, that under Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay readie to be employed where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of Lombardie and Liquia, there to make head against Mago. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet either comming to his aide from Carthage, or by him fent thither (the report is vocertaine) loaden with the bootie that he had taken; fell into the hands of the Roman Pretor, that governed in Sardinia. This did much difable him : and though after a while, there came letters from Carthage, together with 20 store of money, heartning him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which he found, and that fatall voiage of Scipio into Africke, disturbed all; and made him be re-

Against Hannibal, was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the Raman Hiltorians have beene pleased to take notice. Onely it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of Iuno Lacinia, where heer assessed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in Punike, and Greeke letters. Such accompt of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelessed; in those that are vpon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they sinde a notable change. A great pestilence, insessing both the Carthaginian and the Raman Campe; is said to have beene the occasion of this yeeres idlenesse, which sell not out much amisse for the Citie of Rama, that was marual-lously empowerished by this warre; and had alreadie tryed the vtmost way to destray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieue the present necessitie, it was well thought upon, that a great part of Campania (not many yeeres since conficated) should bee sold, or let out: in which bargaine, that the Citie might receive no losse, the tenth part of the sine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was given to Scipio. Neither was hee allowed to 40 make presse of Souldiers for his African voiage; neither did hee over-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wifer than the Senate. It is vsually found in Councells of estate, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carricall the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their owne judgements, to the wisedome that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giving happie direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, hee that reposeth himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde himselfe deceived: the counsaile of those many being, wholly directed by the empire of a few, that ouer-fivay the reft. Q. Fabius was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature forted well with the businesse, 50 that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore Q. Fuluius adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne olde in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduife, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend

apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of Scipio: in such fort, that besides his Roman forces, he had from divers parts of Italie about seven thousand Voluntaries. Hee had also prouision from the seuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for sailes, Axes, Beede-hookes, Hand-mills, and the like implements, Firre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmets, and Speares of all kindes: every place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could affoord. Vnto this willingnesse of the People, the diligence of Scipio was correspondent. In the compasse of fine and fortie daics, hee had both feld his Timber, built, and lanched twentie Trireme, and ten Quinquereme Gallies; wherewith hee transported his Armie into 10 Sieil. In Sieil he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had served at Canne: which were olde Souldiers, and (as hee him felfe well knew) not guiltie of the ouerthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heavie censure. They had served under Marcellus and Lauinus, at the taking of many Cities, and ftrong peeces: in which regard, they were like to be of good vie to him in Africk, where would bee flore of fuch emploiment. For increasing the number of his horse, hee pressed three hundred Sicilians, all wealthie young men, and such as loued well their case. These he afterwards discharged from the Warre, highly to their contentment : but with condition, that they should deliuer their Horse and Armes, to as many Roman Gentlemen, which he brought ouer with him for the purpose. Whileft hee 20 was providing, to have things in a readinesse for Africk, the banished Locrians that followed the Roman fide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recouer their Citie. Some handicrafts men, that wrought for the carthaginians in one of the Citadells of Locri (for there were two in the Towne) being taken prisoners by the Romans, promifed to betray the place, if they might be ransomed, and rewarded. Scipio being aduertised of this, gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadell was surprised. The other Citadell was strongly defended by the Carthaginian Garrison, which fent to Hannibal for aide. The Romans in like fort, fearing left their owne paucitie should make them too weake for Hannibal, craued helpe of the Consul Scipio. The 30 Townsfmen were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the Romans, kept Hannibal out; whom the comming of Scipio caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the Carthaginian Garrison to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the Roman Souldiers, that were left by Scipio in custodic of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the Lacrians unto the Roman Senace; not onely against those of the Garrison: but much more against Pleminius the Captaine, who gaue bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other Villanies: the Temple of Proferpina, that had a great fame of fancitie, was spoiled by these barbarous Theeues. The Lograns therefore adulled the Senate to make present a-40 mends to the Goddeffe for this facriledge: faying, that the like had neuer been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gaue good eare to this complaint, comforted the Locrians, and redreffed the injuries done vnto them, fent for Pleminius, with other principall the offenders, whom they cast into prison, & vsed according to their deserts: as also they restored vnto Proferpina her money twice told. But old Q. Fabins was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame vpon Scipio, that had placed such a manin Locri; and had not carefully harkened to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharp inuective that Fabius made, others tooke courage to speak what they pleased, as well against the demeanor of Scipio, as against to the diffolutenesse of his Armie; which lay, as they said, idle in Sicil, neither mindfull of any service toward, nor fit for it if neede should require. Finally, things were so farre vrged, that ten Legates were fent ouer into Sicil, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; who should

examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into Italie, or con-

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tinue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was: they found him so well prepared against Carthage, as that they hastned him on his journie, and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had alreadic emploied Latius in Africk; rather to make discoucrie, than to worke any other great effect of warre. He tooke a great bootie: and struck no little terrour into the Carthaginians; who saw their affaires to bee vpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his journie was, That speaking with Masanissa, he will informed himselfe of the state of Affrick; and knew what was to bee expected of those two Kings, that had promised to joyne with the Romans at their landing.

Concerning Masanissa his revolt from the Carthaginians, and his compact made 10

vnder-hand with the Romans: Liuie doth protesse, That there was no such euident cause thereofat the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change was not without

some good cause. But Appianus (an Historian farre inseriour to Liuie, both in Worth and Time) gives one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary tructh. Only the doubt is, Howit could any way come to paffe; that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of Line, if it had beene true : vnlesse we should beleeue, that he wifully forbare to rehearfea Tragedie; the forrow whereof would cause Appian. Alex- men to thinke amiffe of Scipie. How focuer it was, thus \* Appian tells it: and many 20 circumsances of things done confirme it. Afdrubal, the sonne of Gifco, had a faire daughter, whom both King Syphax and Mafanifi loued. Mafanifa, being brought vp at Carthage, and being withall a goodly gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by Afdrubal to be his sonne-in-law When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, he went into Spaine, and there did great service. But afterwards, the Cartha-

ginian Senate thought the mariage of Asdrubals daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her vpon Syphax; without standing to acquaint her father or Masanifa therewithall. This they did, for that Syphax was the more mightie Prince; and for that the indignitie of the repulse, had made him become their enemie. Hereof Masaniffa was advertised: and forthwith entred into intelligence with Scipio, secretly as he 30

thought; yet not so secretly, but that some notice was taken of it: which would have cost him his life, had he not with great circum pection conucighed himselfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleeue Appianus: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Only it seemes, that how soeuer Sophonisba the daughter of Afdrubal, was promifed by the Carthaginians vnto Syphax:

yet fince this their courtesse proceeded from feare, He thought it wisdome to continue and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the Romans; vntill A s DRVBAL had fent for his daughter from Carthage, and the marriage was confummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein Appian differs much

from Liuie, and from Polybins, whom (as appeares by the broken pieces of his works 40 remaining) Linie did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports. Masanissa was the sonne of Gala, a King of the Numidians: whose father dying, the

Crown descended by order of the Country, vnto Defalces the brother, not vnto Ma-Sanifathe sonne. But this Vncle of Mafanifa shortly died : and his elder sonne, who tooke possession of the Kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a Rebel, that made himselse Protector ouer the yonger which was a child. The Traitor sortified himselfe against Mafanissa, whose returne hee feared; by Alliances with the Carthaginians and Sypbax. But all would not serue: He, and his Pupill, were disposseffed of their Estates by Masaniffa; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father Gala. The Carthaginians in reason should have beene 50 glad, that Masanisa, who had done them notable service, was thus confirmed in his Estate: had they not beene guiltie of the injurie by them done vnto him; whilst his Vncle or Coulin raigned, and hee seemed vnlikely to stand them in any stead. But Syphax, by their procurement, and perhaps by his owne malice towards his Corriual,

warred vpon him; and ouer-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuerthelesse Majanissa still retayned the hearts of his people: and thereby remained strong enough, to infest both Syphax and the Carthaginians; though he was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the leffer Syrtis, betweene the borders of the Carthaginians and the Nation of the Garamants, expected the comming of the Romans: vet fo, as he made long roades ouer all the Countrie, euen as farre as to Hopo; and when Lelius arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to haften on Scipio

to the inualion of Africk. But Syphax, in whose great aide and succour was reposed more hope of good succeffe, than could be expected from the good will of poore Majanifa; fent an Embaffage into Sicil about the fame time, which was little pleafing vnto Scipio. He excused himselfe of his promise lately made; and signified his alliance with the Carthaginians; adding, That hee could not choose but fight for the defence of Africke, wherein he was borne and raigned; and for defence of his beloued wives Countrie. ifit were inuaded. Neuerthelesse hee promised to remaine a Neuter; so long as the Romans and Carthaginians held warre abroad, farre enough from Africk, as hitherto

they had done. This message hastened scipio in his Expedition, much more than any perswasion could have done. For the promised assistance of Syphax had not a 20 little advanced his enterprife; in procuring both the affent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Aduenturers. Lest therefore the fayling of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the best way to preuent all discourse, and set the warre undertaken immediatly on foot. The Embassadours he dismissed in all haste, with letters to their King: wherein hee willed him to consider, that what hee had promised hee had also sworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Having fent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make ready for the voyage; which he intended no longer to deferre. For, said he, Masaniffa hath beene with Lelius: and Syphax hath newly sent to

me; greatly wondring voon what I should thus stay; and saying, that they will 30 prouide for themselues, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented an further inquisition, that might else haue beene made concerning themessage of these Embassadours; whose followers had beene scene walking vp and downe S, racuse. And ich any thing should afterwards breake out, that might hinder the bulinesse, Scipio immediatly sent about his fleet vnto Lilybeum: and requesting by letters M. Pomponius, that was Pretor in Sicil, to meete him there; hasted thither with his Armie. At Lelybeum he agreed with the Pretor, about the division of the Legions between them; which to leave behinde for defence of the Iland; and which to carrie with him into Africk. What numbers hee transported, it is not certaine: some Historians reckoning only ten thousand foot, and two and twentie

49 hundred horse; others increasing them to fine and thirtiethousand, horse and soot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I holdeit needlesse to set them downe: since they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither he, when he tooke his voyage into Spaine, nor others vpon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word set downe by an Historian, who borrowed them from Linie, and fitted them to a Prince of

This Roman Armie landed in Africk, neare unto a Fore-land then called the faire Promontorie: which how farre it was from Carthage, or toward what point of the Compasse, I cannot precisely affirme; because it is uncertaine, whether it were that 50 Cape or Head-land which borethe name of Mercurie, and lay to the Noth-cast of Carthage; or whether that of Apollo, which lay Northerly from Carthage, and by West. The comming of Masanissa vnto Scipio at his first arrivall, helpes to confirme the opinion of Xylander: who thinkes the faire Promoniorie to have beene the fame, that was also called Mercuries Cape, since with little difficultie Masanissa might come

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thither from the leffer Syrtis, whereabout was his common abiding. But for asmuch as without any memorable impediment, soone after his arrivall, Scipio encamped before Vica, that flood Westward from Carthage beyond the River Bagradas: it may rather seems, that hee landed within the Promontoric of Apollo; whence the way to Vica was not long. This is also strongly proued; for that out of Carthage were fent, the next day, fine hundred horse to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for Masanissa, that round about the Countrie with a troupe of horse, to finde out the Romans, though they landed farre from the place to the which hee vfuelly reforted, like as before he had met with Lalius at Hippo that was farther off: as it would have beene for Scipio, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouer-come the to trouble of a long journie, and fetch a great compasse to Vices, by Land; when he might have difembarqued nearer vnto it. Neuerthelesse it may passe as a conjecture, That Scipio came first of all to Emporia, a plentifull Region about the leffer Syrtis; fince he gaue charge to the Matters of his thips, at the fetting forth from Lilybaum. to shape their course for that coast. The Countrie thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well prouided to make relitance. Thus much perhaps Mafaniffa had fignified vnto Lalius, when he foake with him at Hippo: thinking that the Romans, how socuer they made braue promises, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when hee saw their fleet and Armie to be such, as not only served to invade the Lands of Carthage, but 20 threatned a conquest of the Citie, and whole Estate: then might hee better adule

The Cirthaginians had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in hafte. Aferabal the fonne of Gifco, the same that had lately beene chased out of Spaine by Scipio, was their best man of warre. And good enough perhaps he was thought by Hinne and his fellowes, of whose faction he was : or it ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinity of King Syphax, made him passeable. He was at that present with the King his sonne-in law, working him (no phix and to him, informing them of the Inualion: entreating the one of them to give affiliance; and commanding the other to make his repaire vnto the Citic, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be readic, Scipio had beaten the troupe of Carthaginian horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and flaine Hanno a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the Carthaginians: wherein, besides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which he conveighed abourd his Hulks or ships of burden, and sent them backe loaden into Sicil. Hee tooke likewise a Towne called Salera; which he held and fortified. In Saleralay another Hanno, with foure thousand Nuces; made Scipio to perceive the viskilfulnesse of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he fent Malanissa before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a Brauado, trained out the improvident Hanno fo farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the Romans lay in wait for him. The victoric was eafily gotten; and Hanno either taken, or flaine. With those that fled, the Romans entred pell-mell into the Towne; which presently they made their owne. Thence went Scipio to Vtica, a Citic of great importance, \* of which mention hath beene formerly made; and fate downe before it. Fortie dayes hee spent about it: assailing it both by Land and Sea, and vling all his engines of batterie whereof he had plentic; yet was in no for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-campe; which must bee well stored against the yeare following. Whilest thus necessitic viged him to leave Viice: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: As and Syphax gaue him the honour

them to fet faile for Vtica, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores. doubt ) against the Romans : when letters were brought from Carthage, both to Sy- 30 mi iau horse: whose service being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled pla- 40 likelihood of preuailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time 50

of a faire pretence to leave the fiege. A/drubal had made a Levie of thirtie thoufand toot, and three thou fand horse; yet adventured not with this ill-trained Armie to draw neere vnto the Romans, before the comming of Sypham. Sypham brought with him vnto Carthige fittle thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse: which joyning vnto the forces of Afdrubal, they marched brauely toward Scipio; who thereby tooke occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the bankes of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horfe-men he bestowed vpon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottome of the Creeke he mored his ships; and there hee quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vinto the fleet. The whole Campe he strongly fortified; and so attended the season of the yeare, when it should serue him againe to fight. Or cattaile and other bootie Masaniss had brought in great flore; by driving the Countrie, before the comming of Afdrubal and Syphax. Corne also he had gotten some: and great store was fent him from Sicil and Sardinia. Likewise apparrell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from Sardinia: though scarce enough to serve turne; for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as hee could belt spare; especially with Captines to be sold for slaves. A/drubal and Syphax encamped neere vnto Scipio: not fo itrongly fortifying themselves, 20 as did the Romans; either for that they wanted the seuere institution, which the Romans vied in discipline of Warre; or for that they prefumed vpon their multitude,

against which they found in Scipio no disposition to issue foorth of his strength, and fight So the Winter pailed without action. When Spring drew neere; Scipio thought it good to affay his old friend the Namidian King, if perhaps he might bee wonne by perswasions to forsake the Carthaginians. It was confidered, that those Barbarians were naturally vnconflaint; and particularly, that Syphan had given proofe of before this of his much leuitie. It might therefore be hoped, That having wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peraduenture no lesse wearie with satietie of his wife, who 30 had caused him to enter into this warre: Hee might bee mooned with a little entreatieto with-draw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a Neuter. But it is not vnlikely, that (uch a triend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honored in the Citie of Carthage, which was necre at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had beene innited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe a while; his wife Queene Sophonisha lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. How soeuer it were, S: phix did only make an outrture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That Hannibal should bee recalled out of Italie by the Carthaginians: and that the Romans in like fort should quietly depart out of Africk; and so make an end of the Warre, wherewith now both Africk and Europe 40 were disquieted. Vnto this would not Scipioat the first give care: yet being pressed earnessly by many messages from Syphan, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadours: He beganne to make thew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the King, That the Enemies had their Campes without any great defence of earth, full of woodden Cabbins, and covered with boughes: and that the Numidians, such of them as came first with Syphax, vsed couerings of Mats and Reedes; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaves: vnder which they lay carelefly without their Trenches. Vpon this advertisement he bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to fet their camps on fire; and thereby give them so a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of fome such stratageme, Hee forefaw that it would be a worke of great difficultie for him, to proceede in his warres when time should serve. It was a plaine open Countrie wherein hee lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, vpon such ground,

could not be refifted by the Roman Legions. The longer therefore that he thought

\*I.ib.5.cap.2.

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vpon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt voon their Campe. To this end he sent many Embassadours, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeede of purpose to discouer all that might concerne the intended surprise. With these Embassadous he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers disguised like states, that wandring (as it were) idlely vp and downe the Campe, might observe the waies and entrances, with whatsoeuer else was needfull. When hee had learned as much as hee defired; vpon the fudden hee fent word to Syphax, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, for a much as he could not get the content of his Councell of warre; without whole approbation, all that himselse could doe was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the 10 end that, without any breach of faith, hee might put his defigne in execution. The Truce being thus cut off: Afdrubal and Syphax were very penfine; as having lately perswaded themselues, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they beganne to deuise, by what arte they might draw Scipio out of his campe; and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe; they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refufall of peace, as did M. Atilius after the like prefumption. But if he should refuse to come foorth of his Trenches: what elfe remained than to beliege him? which they themselues were well able to doe by Land; and the Carthaginian fleet should doe by Sea, that was miking readie for the purpole. By fuch discourses these two comforted themselues: 20 recompencing in conceipt the loffe of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that, consulting about the future, they prouided not against present danger; but continued in the fame negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for Scipia, Hee was not idle: but made preparation out of hand, asit were to doe Iomewhat against Viica. Two thousand Souldiers he had made readie; and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon hee lay against Vitea before. This he did, partly to keepe secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemie might happen to have notice of it spartly to hinder those of Vica from setting vpon the few, that hee purposed to leave behinde him in 20 his campe. He caused his men that night to suppe well and betimes; that they might be readie for the journie. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, vnto the desence of his Campe; all the rest of his Armie he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The Carthaginians lay from him seuen miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to vndertake hunselse with the one halfe of his armie; the other halfe he committed vnto Lalius and Masanisia, whom hee sent before him to set vpon the Campe of Syphax, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of Syphax should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the Carthaginians. For the fire might seeme to have taken hold by casualtievpon the Numidians, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the Campe of Afdrubal, it would bee suspe- 40 Red as the doing of enemies; and give Syphax warning to looke vito himselfe. To this end therefore Scipio marched faire and foftly; that Lelius and Masanissa, who had a longer journie, and were to fetch a compasse about for searc of being discoucred, might have time to get before him, and doe their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the campe of syphan beganne to blaze: which not only the Numidians, but their King himfelfe, imputed vnto casualtie; as thinking themselves safe enough from Enemies, for that the Carthaginians lay interposed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, fome, starting halfe assecpe; and others, that had sitten vp late at drinking; ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But fuch was the tumult, that they neither could so rightly understand in what case they were; nor give remedie to the mischance, as it was supposed. Many were smothered, and burnt in the slame, which grew greater and greater many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the sudden mischiefe, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped

the fire, tell vpon the Enemies sword, which was readie to receive them. Especially Mafaniffa, that be it knew the Countrie, did great execution vpon them; having laid all the waves, by which he foresaw that they would seeke to cleape. The Carthaginians perceiuing this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance: fo that some ranne out to helpe the poore Numidians; carrying only what would ferue to quench the fire. Others ranne vp to the Rampart : where, teareleffe of any danger towards themselues, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as Scipio would have it. Hee therefore lost no time: but setting vpon those that were running towards the Numidians, 10 he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their campe; which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of Syphax. Aldrubal seeing this, and knowing that the Romans were there, did not Hand to make relistance, but shifted onely for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If Hannibal, or any of the Barchine faction, had beene taken in such a manner : it is more than probable, that old Hanno would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have been said, that with leffe than one halfe of thirtie thousand men, hee might at least haue given some bad recompence, to them that were taking paines in kindling these fires, had he not beene only carefull how to faue his owne fearefull head. Neuerthelesse Polybius acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have beene true, That if Afdrubal, Excerpt. Pol. 20 or any of those about him, would have firmen to shew valour, when the campe was 116.14. once on fire: He should not thereby have done any manner of good, because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not neede to tell what a searcfull thing it was, to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that confumed them; which (as Polybius affirms) none that bath being is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few

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themselves in the darke: but they were not many; as after shall appeare. Surely it must needes have beene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made 30 away; and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore Linie, who in the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow Polybius; may seeme to haue followed some lesse wor by Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in cafling vothe summe. For hee reckons onely two thousand foot, and fine hundred horse, to have escaped; fortie thousand to have perished by sword or fire; and aboue fixe thou fand to have been taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of four escore and thirteene thousand, which were in these

did escape; which accompanied Astarubal and Syphax in their severall waies of flight.

Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the Numidians, that saued

Aldrubal, putting himselse into the next Towns that was very strongly fortified; thought there to finde the Romans worke, untill the Carthaginians at good lei-49 fure might repaire their Armie. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and fine hundred horse : which he thought sufficient to defend the Towne ; if the Townsmen would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Vnto this disputation, hee well foresaw that the arrivall of Scipio would soone give anend. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold vpon him, and seeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; Heshrunke away betimes, and made all haste to Carthaze. As for the Towne, which hee left, it opened the gates to Scipio, at his first comming: and thereby preserved it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next Townes adjoyning would needes bee valiant, and make countenance of warre: but 50 their ftrength not being answerable, they were soone taken by Scipio; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This done, hee returned to the siege

The Carthaginians were fore troubled, as they had good reason; when, in stead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a

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lamentable ouerthrow. Necessitie enforced them to make hastic provision for the future: but how to docit, few of them faw any meanes. Some gaue aduice to craue peace of Scipio: others, to fend for Hannibal out of Italie; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithit anding the loffe of this Armic, the wmight well defend themselves against the Romans, by raysing new forces: especially, if Syphex would not leave them. It was therefore concluded. That they (hould bend all their care this way, leaving in all hafte another Armie; and fending Embaffadours to deale with Syphax, who lay then at a Towne called Abba, not passing eight miles from Carthage. Immediately the same their infortunate Commander, As drubat the sonne of Gisco, was imployed to make new leuies of men: 10 and Oucene Sophonisba went forth with Embassadors to her husband Syphan; who having gathered together as many as he could of his subjects that had escaped from the late flaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne Kingdome. Sophonisbalaboured so with her husband, that at length she wonne him to her owne desire. And it fell out at the same time, that foure thousand Spaniards, waged by the Carthaginians, were brought ouer to serue in Africk. Of these were made such braue reports : as if their courage, and the armes which they vied, were not to be relifted. Euen the multitude within Carthage beleeved these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole Countrie of Spaine had beene twice conquered; first, by the Carthaginians themselves, and after by the 20 Romans. But with Syphax these tales prevailed much: which the Carthaginian Embaffidours helped with a lie; faying, that there were come ten thousand of these terrible Spaniards. Vpon this confidence, the people of Carthage and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirtie daies they made up an Armie, consisting wellneare of thirtie thousand men; reckoning the Spaniards, and Syphax with his Numidians, in the number. So they encamped in a Region called the great fields, about fiue daies journie from Vtica. Scipio hearing of this, came from Vtica thither, to visit them: leaving behinde him his impediments, with fome part of his Armie; to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three daies after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish; without any great thing done. It had now beene 3º time for Aldrubal to follow the example of the Roman, Fabius, and seeke to wearie out the Enemie by delaies. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worfe Commander, or else it was not in his power to give such directions as best pleased himselfc. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: wherein the Romans were marshalled by Scipio after their wonted manner; having their Italian horse in the right wing; and Masanissa with his Numidians in the left. On the contrarie side, as drubal and his Carthaginians had the right wing; Syphax, the left; and the Spaniar ds, the Battaile. The victorie was gotten without many blowes: for the vntrained followers of Syphax and Aldrubal, could not sustaine the first charge of the Italians, or of Mafanissa. Onely the Spaniards fought a long time, even till they were all in a manner 40 flaine: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercie, since they were thus come ouer to fight against Scipio, who had otherwise deserved of them; than vpon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacy was beneficiall vnto those that fled; for that it hindered the Romans from making any great pursuit. Hereby Aldrubal, and Syphan elcaped: Aldrubal, to Carthage; and Syphan home, to his owne Kingdome: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediatly fol-

Scipio, having thus gotten the masterie of the field, tooke counsaile about the profecution of the Warre. It was resoluted vpon as the best course, That hee himselfe, with part of the Armie, should attempt the Cities round about him : and that Ma- 50 fanissa, with his Numidians, and Lelius, with some of the Roman Legions, should follow after Syphax; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdome, where easily else hee might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice it feemes that Mafanissa gave: who knew best the qualitie of the Numidians;

of the Historie of the World. and what good might bee done among them, by the reputation of a victoric. The least that could be expected, was his relititution into his owne Kingdom, vsurped by Syphax: which to accomplish, it no leffe concerned the Romans at the present, than it did himselfe. According to this order concluded, Leius was sent away with Mafanissa: and Scipio stayed behinde, carrying the warre from Towne to Towne. Many places yeelded for feare: many were taken by force: and all the subjects of Carthage wavered in their fidelitie; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those vnreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid voon them for maintenance of the warre in Spaine and Italie. What to doe in this case the 10 Carthaginians could hardly resolue. Fortune was their Enemie: they had lost their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durft they make bold to trouble their owne subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who neverthelesse of their owne free will were likely to give little helpe. Very much it grieued them, to fend for Hannibal out of Italie: yet lince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Armie; it was decreed, that Embassadours should bee forthwith fent to call him home. Some there were that gaue advice, to fet out a fleet against that of Scipio, that rode before Vtica, weakely manned, and easie to be taken, whilst Scipio himselfe was busied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, Thatie thould be their principall care, to fortific by all meanes the Citie of Carthage: vpon 20 the fafetie whereof they faid that all depended; adding, that whilest they were true, and at vnitie among themselves, they might well enough sublist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtlesse) would present them. These counsailes were not rejected: but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning defence of the Citie, and for the attempt vpon the Roman fleet at Vtica. Neuertheleffe it was confidered, that hereby they should onely protract the warre: without any way advancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victorie; no. though it should fall out, that all the shippes at Vtica might bee taken or destroyed. Wherfore the determination held concerning Hannibal, That he should immediately come ouer into Africk, as the last refuge of Carthage. The Councell was no soo-30 ner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: fome, to fortification of the Towne: fome, to make readie the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themselues for Italie. In this their trepidation Scipio comes to Tunes, a Citie in those daies very strong, and standing in prospect almost of every part of Carthage. This place, or rather some defencible piece adjoyning, he easily tooke; the Garrison forsaking it, and running away as foone as he drew neere. But whilest hee was about there to incampe, and fortifie himselfe against the Citie, He might perceive the Carthaginian fleet setting forth, and making towards Vica: What this meant, he readily conceived: and flood in great feare, left his owne ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being 40 heavily loden with engines of batterie, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most convenient for affaulting the Towne) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that special service. Wherefore he hasted away towards Vica, to affift with his presence in this needfull case. It fellout well, that hee had sent his carriages, and all the great bootie which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to Tunes. For had not he now made great expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could be indeede have beene there in due time, if the Carthaginians had vsed such diligence as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their comming to Viice, they tarried awhile to make a brauado; presenting themselves in order of battaile, as if the Romans would have put 50 forth to Sea against them. But Scipio had no such intent: He thought it would bee sufficient, if hee could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their brauerie at Sea: it should little availe the Carthaginians, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole Effate by Land. Wherfore he tooke his ships of burden, and fastning them to-

gether with cables, in foure ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge ouer

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the Channell of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with flore of Darts and other cafting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces hee left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessells, might runne out and back againe vpon any advantage or neede: but these he couered with plancks; vsing the masts and vards of his ships in stead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it selfe not be torne asunder. Scarce was this worke finished; when the Carthaginians, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Hauen. The fight betweene them and the Romans, that were in the Hulkes, was rather like to the affaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood voon the bridge, had fure footing, and threw their weapons downwards with their whole 10 strength and violence; which the Carthaginians out of their Gallies, that were lower and vnsteadie, could not doe. But the Roman Frigots and long Boats, adventuring foorth from behinde the Bridge, were greatly ouer-borne by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood voon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them: nor yet could freely beflow their weapons among the Carthaginians, as before; for feare of hurting thefe their friends. that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The Carthaginians had brought with them grapling hookes, hanging at Iron chaines. These they threw vpon the masts and yards which served as Arches to joyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all afunder; in such fort that one ship followed another, and 20 all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to faue themselues as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the Carthaginians trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke: but having haled away fixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to Carthage. Their wel-come was greater then their victorie: because among so many grieuous losses, onely this exploit had succeeded well; though it were of small importance.

Whilest things thus passed about Carthage; Lalius and Masanissa, in their journie against Syphax, found as good successe as could be defired. The fame of the victories alreadie gotten, restored Masanissa to his Kingdome, without further contention: 30 the Mafefili, his subjects, joyfully receiving him; and for saking the Vsurper. But here they flayed not: neither indeede would Syphax permit them to be quiet. Hee had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and, therefore being follicited by Afdrubal and Sophonisba, hee prepared againe for warre. But besidethe instigation of his beloued wife; the losse of the Masafili would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of Lalius and Masanissa, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leffe vnwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession; be the title vnto some part neuer so vnjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the yong Kite; which 40 thought that shee had vomited up her owneguts, when it was onely the garbage of fome other fowle, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, Syphax, like the young Kite, beleeued the Kingdome of the Masasyli to be part of his entrailes: Lalius and Malaniffa will shortly give him somwhat, that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farre. It concerned the Romans to dispossesse (if it might be) that King: whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had beene converted into strong enmitie; as also to fet in his place another, who might doe them such good offices, as Syphax had lately done unto the Caribaginians. How casily this might be effected, Masanissa knew best: as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, even to this 50 day, though there be many strong Townes, yet the fortune of a battell is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they mer with Syphax, who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the Roman order; according to the skill, which he had learned of the Roman Centurion.

Centurion, long agoe fent vnto him out of Spaine fron Cn. Scipio. But though hec could teach his men how to march in order; yet could hee not teach them to fight couragiously. They were a rabble of all forts, gathered up in haste; and few of them had seene warre before. Encamping neare vnto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly, that some small Troupes of Horse on both sides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: fo that at length Syphan, vnwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foile at their first meeting with the Enemie, came vp with all his Horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith overcharged Masanilla, whose numbers were farrelesse. But whilest he was prosecuting his hope of victorie : some Roman Squadrons of Foot came against him through their owne Troupes of Horse; which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their Battaile standing now more firme, than a little before; Syphax was vnable, though hee laboured much in vaine to make them give ground. Masanissa likewise, and his Troupes, grew confident vpon this affistance: and charging afresh the Enemie, that could not make way forward, caused him to give backe. Herewithall the Legions came in sight: which terrified so the Numidian Horse, that they beganne presently to disband. Faine would Syphax have stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person 20 against the Romans; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out wnhappily, that he was cast from his Horse, which received a wound; and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It fufficed, that they for fooke the place, and fled and that their King, vpon whom all depended, was in the Romans hand. Masanista told Lelius, That this victoric should make an end of the Numidian warre, if presently they hasted away to Cirta the chiefe Citic of the Kingdome; whither hee himselfe desired to bee sent before with the Horse, carrying Syphax along with him. Hereunto Lalius agreed. Masanista comming to cirta, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the Citie to parlee: wherein by many faire promifes and threats, but ed 30 specially by shewing vnto them Syphan bound, he prevailed so far, that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and every one strong to get his favour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queene Sophonisba yeelded her selfe into his hands : and vehemently befought him, that flee might not be deliuered vp vnto the Romans. Her youth, and excellent beautic, so commended her suit, that Masamills forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himselfe that very day: thereby to preuent Lelius and Scipio from determining otherwise of her, fince the was his wife. But Lalins, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainoufly; fothat at first he would have haled her away, together with Syphax and other prisoners, and have sent her vnto Scipio. But being ouer-entreated by Masanissa, he 40 suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to Scipto's discretion: to whom hee fent away Syphax and other Captiues immediatly; following shortly after himselfe with Malanissa, when they had done what was needefull in the

At the comming of Syphax there was great ioy in the Roman Campe: the mightie Armies which he had lately brought into the field: and his entertainment of Scipio and Astrabal, both at one time, when Rome and Carthage together fought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune; ministring to every one a large argument of discourse. Scipto demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to for fake the Roman friendship, but to make warre vpon 50 them, vnprouoked. He briefely answered, That his wife had moued him so to doe: calling her a Furie, and a pestilent creature : and saying, That Masanissa was no wiser than himselfe; since hee had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat Scipio was greatly troubled: and

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CHAP.2.S.19.

profit thence redounding.

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flood in great doubt, lest this perilous woman should deprive him of Masanilla, as thee had done of Syphax. It was not long, ere Misanissa and Lalius came vnto him: both of whom together hee louingly welcommed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable service in this Expedition. Then taking Masanissa apart, he brake with him, as touching Sophonisba: letting him understand, that the Romans had title to her head; and that the was a mischieuous enemie of theirs. Wherefore hee entreated him to moderate his affections; and not to deface the memorie of his great services alreadiedone; (for which he should be highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reason. Malanisa blushe. and wept: and finally promifed to be gouerned by Scipio; whom hee nevertheleffe 10 entreated, to thinke vpon his faith given to Sophonisba, that the should not be delinered into the Romans power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after some time fpent in agonie, he called vnto him a feruant of his that had the cultodie of his poyfon (which Princes then yied to have in readines, against all mischances that might make them vnwilling to liue:) and tempering a potion for Sophonisba, (ent it vnto her with this meffage. That gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but fince they who had power to hinder him of his defire, would not yeeld thereto. he fent her a cup, that fliould preferue her from falling alive into the handes of the Romans; willingher to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her selfe.

At the receit of this Message and Present, shee onely said, That if her Husband had no better token to fend vnto his new wife, the must accept of this; adding. That theemight have died more honourably, if thee had not wedded to lately before her Funerall. And herewithall shee boldly dranke off the poison. Thus Limit reports. But Appear varies from this; and fets it downe'agreeably to that which hath beene spoken before, concerning the pracontract betweene Masanssa and sophonisha. Hee faith, That after the taking of Syphan, Embaffadors from Circa met with Lalius and Masanissa vpontheir way thither, yeelding vp their Citic, and the Kings Palace: and that Sophonisba, for her owne private, fent meffengers to excuse her marriage with Syphax; as made against her will, by compulsion of those in 30 whose power the was. Majaniffa readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when Scipio had received information from Syphan, how cunning in perfwalion Sophonisha was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of Carthage; he fell out about her with Mafanissa at his returne; and challenged her, as a part of the bootie belonging to the Romans. Mafaniffa faid, the was his owne wife. and vnto him betrothed many yeares before. But Scipio would not heare of this: or if it were true; yet he faid it was no reason, that Masanissa should keepe her in possession, as long as it was disputable, vnto whom she might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime vnto her; wherein he should have no wrong. Herewithall hee sent to fetch her away: 40 and Misanissa accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliver her; but making her acquainted with the necessitie, gaue vnto her a cup of poison, wherewith shee ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So hee shewed vnto the Romans her dead bodie; which he royally enterred. The fudden violence of Majaniffa his love, and the readic confent of Sophonisha to marrie with him: adde not so much credit vnto this relation of Appear, as doth the want of all other euident cause (which a Livie notes) of the sudden falling out betweene him and the Carthaginians; vnder whom he had bin trained vp, & done them great service. Howfocuer it were: Scipio, hearing of this tragicall accident, fent for Majaniffa, and comforted him as well as he could; left his melancholic should lead him to some incon- 50 uenience. Hauing thereforegently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him foorth in presence of the Armie: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deferued of the Citic of Rome, he proclaimed him King; and gave vnto him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed the readie way to dinert his thoughts from the fadde remembrance of that which was past. vnto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that beganne to smile

This was the first time that the Romans tooke vpon them to create or proclaime a King. Which honour though Masanisa well deserved : yet would not the Title haue redounded unto his great benefit; neither should he haue beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recourred possession of his Countrie together with the greatest part of Syphax his Dominions. It seemes not vnlike-10 lie, that had he remained a Neuter in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his Troupe of Horse, in such fort as hee did before the comming of the Romans; hee might neuerthelesse haue recourred his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne subjects, without other helpe, when Syphax had once or twice beene vanquished. As for the enlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than hee deserued: neither were the Romans then in case, to make a conquest of Numidia for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunitie, than of such a man, vpon whom to beflow it that was their affured friend, and passable withall among the Numidians, as being (for the Masefyli were a Numidian Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberalitie of the Romans, was noy sed abroad as very glorious: and the Ro-20 mans themselues, in a politicke sort of gravitie, tooke highly vpon them; as if even their faluting him by the name of King, had beene a matter of great consequence. Hee thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, encroaching vpon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all vpon the State of Carthage, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that Vermina the some of syphax ( of whom wee shall shortly speake more ) which held some piece of his Fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the Romans, and promising by all meanes to deserue their loue, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were fo, that never any before him had made this a matter of fuit : yet the Roman Senate was puntilious herein ; and answered very grauely, That 30 it was not their custome to give the honour of that appellation, saue onely vnto such Lindat. Kings, as had greatly descrued of their Citie. Thus they made it a matter of State: and in processe of time grew so proud of this their imaginarie prærogatiue, that they imputed as a singular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the sa-

lutation by b that name; though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or b cafarteen.

# è. XIX.

# The Carthaginians desire Truce : and breake it.

He Carthaginians were extremely dismaied, when they heard of the great calamitie, that was befalme their good friend Syphax; and vndergreat calamitie, that was betaine then good in the good from the flood that Masanissa, their mortall enemie, had got possession of his Kinodome. To increase their feare, Scipio returned againe to Tunes in view of their Citie: where hee made an ende of that Fortification, which hee had begunne at his last being there. The Carthaginians had neither

forces, nor courage, to withstand him but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth vnto them thirtie Embassadors, Princes of the Citie, which were their These being admitted into the presence of Printe Councell, to make this for peace. I there being admitted into the peace is a Exterpt. PreScipie, did not only protrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the effect of him, bb.lib.15.Lin.

and of those that sate in Councell with him. Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They con-Bbbbbb 2

fessed themselves to have vniustly broken the Peace betweene them and Rome; and to have deserved what so cuer punishment it should please the Romans to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly befought Scipio and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercie vnto the Citie of Carthage, and let it remaine, as a Monument of their clemencie; which by the follie of her Citizens, had now twice deferued to be ouerthrowne. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame upon Hannibal; who without their appointment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that these Embassadors were no Barchines: but rather, that they were Hanno and the choice of his companie; 10 who had now their long defired worke in hand, of fuing vnto the Romans for peace. Whatfocuer they were, it must needes be that they were most infolent men ouer those that were subject vinto their power: for they would not have made such adoration vnto the Romans, in their owne necessitie; vnlesse they themselves had expe-Eted the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not vnknowne to Scipio, or to his affiftants, in what poore case the Citic of Rome then was; and how vnable to defraie the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in fuch ill case, as the Romans themselves had very lately beene. For they had monie enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre stronger than Rome; 20 and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman resolution; and therefore distrusted the walls of Carthage; though Vtica, a weaker Citic, had all this while held out against Scipio, and could not yet be forced by him and his Armie, though so often victorious in the field. Scipio therefore accepted their submission and told them. That though he came into Africk, to make a Conquest, and not a Peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, hee would not denie to grant them the Peace, which they defired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of Rome did follow the rule of justice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The conditions which he imposed vpon them, were these: That they should render vp vnto him all prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegado's and fugi- 30 tiue flaues: That they should withdraw their Armies out of Italie and Gaule: That they should not meddle in Spaine, nor yet in any Iland between Italie & Africk: That they should deliner up all their ships of warre, saue twentie; and That they should pay a great summe of monie, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of Wheat and Barlie. To confider of these Articles, hee gaue them three dayes : and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might fend Embassadours vnto the Roman Senate.

This done, Ma(anissa was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the warre had beene alreadie at an end. Syphax was a little before fent with Lalius vnto Rome: where the fame of these victories filled men with ioy; and gaue hope, that 40 the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were fet open, and an holy day appointed for thank sgiuing and supplication to their Gods. Lalius was accompanied with Embassadors from King Masanissa: who gratulating the happie successe of the Romans in their African Warre, and giving thanks vnto the Senate for the benefits done by Scipie vnto their Mafter, made request for the Numidians, such as were now his subjects and prisoners in Rome, that they might be bestowed vpon him; who by rendring them to libertie; should doe an act very plaulible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The Roman Senate were not behinde with Mafant fain complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that Scipio had done, and should to doe for him; they called him King againe; released his Numidians that were captiues; and fent him two purple Caffocks, that had each of them one gold button; with fuch other Presents, as in time of their pouerty might serue to testifie their good

will. Scarcely were thefe and Lelius gone from Rome; when the newescame, that Embassadours from Carthage were arrived to delire peace. These Embassadours were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: vntill Lelius being fent for came backe from Offia, to bee present when their demands were to bee heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of Bellona; that stood in the suburbs. The errand of these Embassadours, was Peace: but the meaning of them and of their Citie, was onely to winne time, and get respite from warre; vntill Hannibal and Mago should come out of Italie, either to chace the Romans out of Africk, or to obtain peace for Carthage, by terror of their great names and Armies, vpon more casie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded betweene them and Luctatius Catulus, at the end of the former warre. This League they faid, all things well confidered, did still remaine in force: neither had there fince beene any warre at all betweenethe people of Rome and the Carthaginians. For it was onely Hannibal, that, without any leave from Carthage, had of his owne head befieved and razed the Towne of Saguntum; and after that aduentured in like fort, without Commission, to passe the Alpes, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of Italie. This being fo: their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of Catulus, might hereafter stand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cause to wonder at this 20 tale; hearing these Embassadours make (as it were) a jest of a warre, that had beene fo terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made by Luctatius, and other passages following between the two Cities. But they excused themselves by their age: (for they were all yong men ) and said. That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they fought no other than to gaine time; untill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were lent home in companie of Lalius; without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answere. This notwithstanding, we find in Polybins, That the Senate receiving advertisment except. & Polyb. from Scipio, of that which had pailed betweene him and the Carthaginians in this Lis.

30 Treatie of peace, approued the conditions by him propounded; and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceede vnto conclusion. This may with good reason bee beleeued: fince it was not vnknowne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly hopes must rest vpon the most uncertaine issue of one battaile betweene Hannibal and scipio: wherein if fortune should be averse to them, their forces in Africk were no better than quite loft.

Matters thus hanging in suspence, before the Carthaginian Embassadours came backe from Rome: a Fleet out of Sicil, wherein were two hundred ships of burden, and thirtie Gallies, being bound for Africk to victualle the Roman Campe, was overtaken by foule weather at Sea; and hardly cleaping wracke, was dispersed, and dri-49 uen aground in diners parts of the Bay of Carthage, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we finde in Appian, and may gather Appeleble out of Polybius, a great dearth of victuails in Carthage: which caused the people to Punico. crie out vpon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a bootie escape them; faying that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger vrged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedie desires: the multitude in Carthage understood (as it seemes) that all this discourse of peace in hand, was no better than meere mockerie; and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was except. & Polybo the manner in Carthage, as likewise in Alexandria, for all the Rascalitie, together with Lis. so women and boyes, to be medling in vprores: the clamours of the boyes being in

fuch tumults no leffe violent, than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out under Adrabal, to gather up the dispersed Roman ships of burden ( for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recouered the station whereto their Campe adioyned) and Bbbbbb 3

bring them into Carthage; which was done. Scipio was hereat much offended; not only for the loffe, and for that the Towne was thereby relegued; but for that by this breach of truce, he forefaw the intention of the Carthaginians to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he fent Embaffadours vnto them; both to require fatisfaction for the injuried one; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gauethe Cartinginians to vndersland, That Letters were come from Rome vnto Scipio, with allowance to conclude the peace; vpon those conditions which hee had propounded. But (faid they ) we hold it strange, That yee, who so lately have cast your selves to the ground before vs, and kiffed our feet, after an unufuall manner of humilitie, confessing your 10 lelues to have perfictiously broken the league that was betweene vs, and thereby to have deferued such punishment as is due unto Rebels; should so soone forget what yee then uttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which yee acknowledged your selues worthie to be destroyed having only recourse unto our mercie. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in HANNIBAL that thus emboldens you. Yes were it not amisse. that yee should consider, how long hee hathbeene pent up in a corner of Italie, among the Brutians: where he is in a manner befieged, and unable to stirre: (othat yee are like to finde his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or let it bee supposed, that he were now in Africke. and readie to give us bat taile; yet should it well agree with your wisdome, to doubt what might betall remembring that he is a man and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were 20 ouercome : what refuge have yee left unto your selves against hereafter? What gods will yee either (weare by, to bee beleeved, or call upon in your miserie? what wordes, and lamentable gesture will yee hences oorth vse, to move compassion? Surely yee have alreadie wa-Ited all your forces of perswasion, and shall not againe deceive us, if ye refuse the grace whereof at the present ye are capable. It is no maruell though the Carthaginians were angric. when they heard the felues vpbraided with the base demeanour of their Embasfadours. For it was not the general opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased Hanno, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the Romans with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all inftification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that 30 the Roman Embassadours were very much delighted, in the rehearfall of that point which was veelded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrell. But the Carthaginians tooke this in foill part, that hardly they could refraine from doing violence vnto the men, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the furic of the multitude was in some fort appealed; either by Hanno, whom Appean (I know not why) calls Hanno the great; or by the very reucrence, due unto the place of those that had uttered such liberall words. So they were dismissed in triendly fort, though it were without answere to their Proposition. There were allo two Galiles appointed for their safe Connoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their persons. As drubal was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from 40 Carthige towards Vica. Hee, whether onely desirous to please the Multitude, of whose disposition he was informed, or whether directed by publike order, to cut off these Embassadours in their way homeward: lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the River Bagrada. Their Convoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of Bagradas, wished them a good Voyage; and so tooke leave of them as if they had beene then in safety: fince the Roman Campe was even in fight. The Embassadours tooke this in ill part: not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, for a fmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than Afdrubal fell vpon them in such manner, as they might well 50 discerne his purpose; which was to have stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquereme, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any Gallie of Aldrubal; they flipt away, and made him ouer-shoot himselfe. Yet he gaue them chace; and had well-neare surprised them. But they discovered some

CHAP.3. S.20. of the Historie of the World.

Roman Companies on the shore ouer against them, and therefore adventured to run their veffell aground: whereby they faued their owne lines; though a great part of their companie were flame, or hurt. This practife of the Carthaginians was inexculable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driven to studie nothing else, than how to get the victorie, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same feare, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also have caused them to be better aduised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatic: had they not been egiuen to vn-10 deritand, that Hannibal was alreadic landed in Africk, in whom they repoled no small confidence; but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune. and teach the Romans to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that Scipie, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

# d. XX.

In what fort HANNIBAL spent the time after the battaile of Metaurus. The doines of MAGO in Italie. HANNIBAL and MAGO calledout of Italie. How the Romans were diverly affected by HANNI-BALS departure.

Ver fince the loffe of that battaile at Metaurus, Hannibal remained in the Countrey of the Brutians; waiting for another supplie from Carthage. The Roman Consults that succeeded vnto Clausius and Linus, by whom Afarubal was ouercome and slaine, were contented to bee quiet all their yeare. Neither did Lieinius the Colleague of Scipio

ought worthse of remembrance against Hannibal: being hindred by the pestilence that was in his Armie. Sempronius the Conful who followed Licinius, and Cn. Ser-20 nilius Capio, who followed Sempronius, were carnelly bent to have done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with Hannibal, they had the better; in some, the worse: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by itealth; his care being more to preserue his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weake.

The Romans had at this time so many great pieces of worke in hand, that their chiefe enemie was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon Africk, wherin they were at no small charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) should bring the warreto a short and happie conclusion. They stood neuerthelesse in much scare of Mago, the brother of Hannibal: who 40 tooke exceeding paine among the Ligurians and Gaules to raise an Armie, wherewith to kindle anew the warre in Italie, that beganne to waxe colde. Mago follicited alfothe Hetrurians; and found them foreadie to stirre in his behalfe, that if he could haue entred their Country strong, it might have proved no lesse needfull for scipio to returne home out of Africk, than shortly it was for Hannibal, to make speed vnto the defence of Carthage. These dangers caused the Romansto employ one of their Confuls or Proconfuls, with an Armic, among the Hetrurians; another among the Gaules; and a third among the Ligurians: for a fruuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which fide Mago would breake out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to ouercharge Hannibal with any great power.

As for Mago; when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he met in the Countrie of the Infubrians, which is about Milan, with M. Cornelius the Roman Proconful, and P. Quintilius Varus one of the Prætors. With these hee fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selfe worthie of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was Carthaginian. The fight continued a long while doubt-

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full; in such fort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore Quintilius the Prætor, taking vnto him all the Roman Horse, thought to have haken the Enemies to peeces. The Legions at the fame time gaue a loud shout; and strained themselues hard; as if at that brunt the victoric should have beene carried before them. But Mago opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the service of those beafts being fitter for such vie, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent. and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to mannage them. Hereby the Numidians got advantage vpon them: whose manner of fight was more availeable against those that were loose, than against the Troups that were close and thick. 10 Then fel the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a showre of darts, and killed foure of them; causing all the rest to giue backe. This not with standing, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemie; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make refistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these Mago employed some of his Gaules, whom her had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these Gaules discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off; and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When Mago faw that his men beganne to shrinke, Hee put himselfe in the head of his 20 Armie; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemie. But at length he received a grieuous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after hee dyed. He was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men: the rest of them, after little further rest. stance, prouided every one for himselfe: So the Romans obtained victorie, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about fine thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Armie, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides divers Colonells, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hote peece of scruice. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, be-30 fore they had recovered some ground that might affure them from pursuit. How euer it were, this victorie would have much imported for the affurance of Italie, if the State of Carthage could longer have permitted these valiant sonnes of Amilear to abide therein. But Mago with-drawing him selfe (by easie journies, because of his wound) into Liguria, found there Embassadours from Carthage attending him: who gaue him to understand the pleasure of their Citie, which was, That both he and Hannibal should presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of Italie, since Carthageit selse was readie to bee log. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarqued shortly his Armic, but dyed of his wound about Sardinia, in the way homewards.

About the same time Hannibal received the like command from Carthage to returne into Africk. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were readic to burst out, whilest the Embassadours were delivering their errand. When their message was done; Hee told them, That this was yet plaine dealing. For, said He, They that now directly bit innee come home, have long agoe done their best to hale mee out of italie; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stopping the supply, that sould have enabled mee to manage the Warre here. Scirt of to therefore shall not need to bragge, that hee bath drawne me home by the heeles: it is Hanno, that hath wrought this mobile leat; and our whelmed the House of the Barchines, for lacke of other meanes to doe it, with the raine of Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse doubting that, which after came to passe; wherein he embarqued, besides his ownemen, as many of the Italians, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrunke backe from him, and resuled to doe service in this Expedition: of whom such as hee could

take he flew; not sparing those that sled into the Temple of Iuno Lacinia, which had been held an inuiolable Sanctuarie vnto thatday. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of Italie no lesse passionate, than men are wont to bee, when they leave their owne Countries to goe into exile. Hee looked backe vnto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse, in that he had not led his Armie from Canne, hotte and bloudied as it was, directly vnto the wals of Rome. With such vexation of spirit Hee quitted the possession of Italie; wherein he had lived almost halfe his time.

wherein he had lived almost halfe his time. If it could have beene foretold vnto the Romans, in the first beginning of this war, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertaine the newes of Hannibal his departure out of Italie: they would (I thinke ) lesse earnestly haue preffed the Carthaginians to fend him over thither. When fure advertisement was brought vnto the Citie, that Hannibal was gone with all his Armie: an Holiday was appointed for thanksgiving vnto their gods; and extraordinarie great sacrifices publikely made, for joy of such happie tidings. Yet old Q. Fabius was of opinion, That the danger did ftill remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that Hannibal, at his comming into Africk, would finde P. Scipio other manner of worke, than he had beene troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Countrie, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. 20 The remoue of the warre from their owne dores, and the conceit of that victoric for which they hoped; was enough to make them prefume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the Saguntine Embassadors brought vnto them a great masse of Golde and Siluer, together with some Agents of the Carthaginians taken by them in Spaine: onely the Carthaginian prisoners were accepted: the treasure was rendred backe vnto the Saguntines that had surprised it. V pon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had beene borrowed in time of more necessitie from private men. Hence also proceeded the seuere chastisement, laid vpon those twelue Colonies, that for want cyther of meanes, or of good will, had refused to give aid to the 30 Romans. They were commanded, and enforced, to give double the number of Foot to that which they had beene wont to fet out for the warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the verie most of their abilitie. So consident were the Romans growne (though their wealth were not as yet suteable to the greatnesse of their spirit) vpon the good successe of the Battaile at Metaurus, and the hopes which they reposed in Scipio. All this not with standing, when they considered more neerely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof Italie had beene few dayes since discharged, was landed safe in Africk: they began to revolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest Q. Fabins (who died about the same time) would bee found atrue Prophet. For be-49 thinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes : they found in the victories against Syphax and Asarubal no specialitie of such great worth, 29 might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were either of those two. The Numidian King had beene wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of halfe-scullions, that were good for nothing; being himselfe a fit Captaine for such souldiors. Likewise Aldrubal, the sonne of Gisco, was a Commander well thought of by the Carthaginian Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was onely good at sauing himfelfe by a swift retrait. But now there came an Armie of men, hardened from their child-hood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in Roman bloud, 50 and wearing the spoiles not onely of good souldiors, but of brane Captaines, by them flaine. Such talke vied the people of Rome, faying, That Scipio was like to meet in battaile, with many that had flaine Roman Prætors, yea and Confuls, with their

owne hands; with many, that had beene first in getting ouer the Trenches of seue-

rall Roman Campes, or in winning the tops of wals at the fiege of Townes; briefly,

that he should now bee opposed by an Armie, as good as had euer served in watre, and following the dreadfull Name of Hannibal.

#### d. XXI.

HANNIBAL in Africk prepares to fight with Scipio; treates with him about peace in vaine ; loofeth a battaile at Nadagara, and per (wades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.



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ANNIBAL disembarqued his Armie at Leptis, almost an hundred miles from Carthage, Ealtward from the Headland of Mercurie, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill prouided of Horse, which it was not easie for him to transport out of Italie. Therefore it behoued him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the Ene-

mie ; that hee might furnish himselse with this and the like needfull helpes, against theday of battaile. From Leptis he passed on to Adrumetum, and so along through the In-land Countrie; gathering friends vnto him by the way. Tychaus a Numidian Prince, and familiar friend of Syphax, was said to haue in those dayes the best Hor- 20 ses of service, that were to be found in Africk. Him therefore did Hannibal allure vnto his partie : making him understand, that if the Romans got the victorie, it should bee casie for Masanisa, by their countenance and helpe to oppresse both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his prospect. This Argument, and the fame of him that vied it, prevailed with Tycheus; who shortly after brought vnto the Carthaginian two thousand Horse. Appian further addes, That Mezerallus, (the same who had made himselfe Protectour ouer Masanista his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and adverse to the Numidian Kings of that race) brought vnto Hannibal another thousand Horse: as likewise that Vermina the sonne of Syphax, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the same time to affaile the 30 places that yeelded obedience to Masanissa. This Vermina, as we finde in Linie, came with more than fixteene thousand men (for he lost more than so manie) to succour Hannibal when it was too late.

The Carthaginians were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would have made the victorie affured. When they confidered the worth of Hannibal, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene so base, as to make humble suit vnto the Romans for Peace; whilest they had such a braue Champion aliue, to maintaine their cause by warre, But when they bethought themselues of their owne sufferings, which, for want of 40 Roman magnanimitie to endure them, appeared greater than indeede they were: then cried they out carneflly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad. And to this purpose, they sent their Mandates to Hannibal: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. Hannibal made answere, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since he was Generall of their forces, He thought it reasonable, that they should suffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Neuerthelesse, to giue them satisfaction, Hee made great marches to Zama; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the Carthaginians: The violence, done to his 50 Embassadours: and the newes of Hannibal his being landed in Africk; made Scipio to vnderstand the resolution of the Carthaginians, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions vnprofitable for themselues, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee sent vnto Masanissa: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying

praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other businesse a-part. Ten Roman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, Masanista had with him; that were lent vnto him by Scipio, to doe him service in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well understood, that those and many more belides all his owne forces would little auaile him; if Hannibal should drive the Romans out of Africk. Whereforetaking such order as hee could vpon the sudden, for the safetie of his owne Kingdome; with fourethousand Horse, and fixe thousand Poot, hee made all haste vnto Scipio.

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Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadours 10 that had beene at Rame, returned backe vnder the conduct of Lettus and Fulmus: who brought them fafe into the Roman Campe. There when they arrived, and understood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaned themselues towards the Roman Embaliadours: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answere for such notorious outrage. To consirme them in this

M. Babius one of the late Embassadours that had beene in Carthage, being left by Scipio to take charge of the Campe, laid hands upon them, and detained them; fending word vnto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Countrie, that he had them in his power, and that now the Carthagimans might bee repaid in 20 their owne Coyne, for the injurie by them lately done. Scipio was very glad to heare of this; and commanded Babius to yie them with all possible courteile, and fend them safe home. By thus doing He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and caufed them to acknowledge themselves, (which was a great victorie) farre lesse honourable than the Romans. This not with flanding, He made more cruell warre vpou them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to facke, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the Romans, as often as they tooke a Towne by attault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatfoeuer they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselues terrible: and the better to worke such impression in the mindes of those, with whom they 30 had to doe, they vsed oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beasts, that ranne Exerpt, & Polyb, athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies afunder, as men delighted in shed-

ding of bloud. This being their practife at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no peece of crueltie; when they meant to give proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengefull mindes, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the Carthaginians were so earnest in pressing Hannibal to fight.

Hannibal being encamped at Zama, sent foorth his Scowts and Spies, to discouct where the Romans lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought vnto Scipio: who in Head of trusfing them vp, gaue them free leaue to view his Campe at pleasure; appointing one 40 to conduct them vp and downe, and show them what socier they desired. This done, He gaue them libertie to depart; and fent them away fafe vnto their Generall. Hannibal understanding this, admired the braucric and courage of his Enemie: with whom on the sudden he grew desirous to have an Enter-view, and personall conference; and fignified so much vnto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the Roman liked well: and returned answere, that Hee would meet him shortly in place connenient. The next day Masanisa came with his Armie: whom Scipio taking with him, remoued voto a Towne called Nadagara; neare voto which hee fat downe, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a water that might opportunely serue his Campe. Thence he sent word vnto the Carthaginian, That the time 50 and place did fitly ferue, if He had ought to fay to him. Hannibal thereupon remoued from Zama, and came within foure miles of the Enemie: where hee encamped well to his owne good liking in all things elfe; excepting that his men were drinen to take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a troupe of

Horse, rode foorth of their Campes, till they came vnto a peece of ground; which was before well fearched, for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to fland off: and themselues, with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while filent, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginian, faluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had beene better both for Carthage and for Rome, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of Africke and of Italie; for that the Countries of Sicil and of Spaine, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Flects as had beene lost, and of so much bloud as had beene to shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not bee recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to consider, vnto what extreme dangers their owne Cities had beene exposed, by the greedie desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisedome hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition He affirmed that his owne yeares, and long triall of Fortune both good and euill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that Scipio, by want of the like experience might rather fixe his minde your vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutabilitie, whereto all humane affaires are subject. Tet ( said He ) mine owne example may peraduenture suffice to 20 teach thee moderation. For I am that same HANNIBAL, who after my victorie at Canna wanne the greatest part of Italie; and deuised with my selfe, what I should doe with your Citie of Rome: which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walles. as thou hast since brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, see the change! I stand here entreating thee to grant us peace. This may forue as a document of Fortunes instabilitie. I fought with thy Father, Scipio: Hee we the first of the Roman Generals, that ever met mee in the field. I did then little thinke; that the time would come, that I (bould have fuch businesse, as now at the present, with his sonne. But this is even one of Fortunes Pageants. whereof shee hath many. And thou maist have experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowes how soone? Thinke upon M. ATILIVS. If hee would have hearkened unto such 20 perswasions, as Inow vee to thee; hee might have returned home to Rome an happy man. And so mailt thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou be contented, that all Spaine, Sicil, Sardinia, and what soeuer Hands else are situate betweene Italie and Africk, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever; and left wate the Romans, to beare Dominion therein? Thou shalt have glorie enough by effecting thus much : and the Romans may well be glad of fuch a bargaine. As for vs : our owne quiet shall henceforth gine vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, Shall make vs faithfully observe the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all toolittle, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou must undergoe, for the obtaining of avery little more than that which thou mailthaue without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay holde upon 40 good Fortune, if it please thee: say but till to morrow night and thou must take such fortune, as it shall please the gods. The issue of battaile is uncertaine, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and steele we shall each of us bring into the field : but of the victory, neither of vs hath assurance. Let vs therefore without more adoe, make peace. And doe not tell me. that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is I HANNIBAL that now desire peace with thee which I would never doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrie. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintaine it: like as I have maintained unto my power, as long as the gods did not envie mee, the Warre by me begunne. Hereunto Scipio made answere, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicil and in Spaine, which had mooued the Romans to enter into this or the former 50 Warre: but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the finall issue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to bee most just. As for the mutabilitie of Fortune: he said, that he was not thereofignorant; and that with-

CHAP.2. S. 21. of the Historie of the World. out any note of infolence, or ouer-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For was it not plaine, that all thefe Countries, with which the Carthaginians now fo willingly departed, were alreadie wonne from them by the Romans? If, faid He, thefe Conattions had beene propounded whileft as yet yee detained some part of Italie, they might peradventure not have beene rejected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason, why I should remit unto you any one peece of those my former demands; to which the Carthaginians have yeelded alreadie, and thought mee to deale graciously in being fo moderate. Rather I fay, that the injuries which they have done me fince, have made them unworth eo; obtaining peace pron to friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, HANNIBAL, though thou wouldest be 10 glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how much of their burden they are by thy meanes eased. Onely thou must thinke, that in tike fort it concernes me in honour, not to let them be gainers or fauers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well that befides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto vs ransome-free all prisoners that they have of ours; to pay us pue thousand Talents; to deliver up their Callies; and to deliner hostages for assurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of Truce; their spoiling of our Fleet; and their violating our Embassadours 2 Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these insuries newly done: then will I take advice with my Councell what answere to give you; otherwise, you may even prepare for warre, and blame your

20 owne felues, for that I have denied you peace. Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battaile, wherein should be decided the quarrell betweene Rome and Carthage. The next morning at breake of day they issued into the field: a notable March, and such as hath very seldome beene found; whether we regard the Generals; their Armies; the two Cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the Haftaty, divided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance betweene them: Not farre behind these followed the Principes, likewise divided; and so after them the Triarii. But herein 30 Scipia altered a little the ordinarie custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his Principes opposite vnto the void spaces betweene the Hastaty, that so the Hastar, as was vivall, might fall backe betweene the Principes; but hee placed them directly one behind another, asit were, in File. This Hee did because of the Elephants; whereof Hannibal had many. For of those beasts the danger was lesse, whilest there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee tooke such order, that when they had passed through the spaces betweene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the Principes in Front. Vnto his Velites or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight. Hee gaue direction, that when they found themselues over-charged, eyther by the Enemies, or (which was most to bee fea-40 red ) by the Elephants, they should runne backethrough those lanes that were betweene the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able. should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behind all their owne Armic: thereby leaning roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behinde, to faue themselves on the word ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the fecond and third Battailes, without cloying up the way betweene the Maniples. which he defired to keepe open. His Italian Horschee placed in the left wing vnder C. Lalius. In the right wing was Wafanisa with his Numidians. He himselfe riding

forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieued, fince their comming 30 into Africke. He told them, That if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end; and that their victoriem this warre; thould make them Lords of all the World; for that afterwards, none would be found able to refilt them. On the contrary; if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would fly. They were farre from home, yea and farre from their owne standing Campe neyther was there any place in

wp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; wing words not many, but verie

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Africk, that would give them shelter; if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but Death or Victory: vnlesse they would live like wretched slaves under most mercilesse Enemies. In such necessitie, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, have never beene knowne to saile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourescore. in Front of his Battaile. Next behind these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercinaries, Ligurians, Gaules, Baleares, and Moores. Then followed his Battaile: which was of Carthaginians and Africans, more interessed in the quarrell than were those Mercinaries; though not so good souldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want 10 of courage, they had with them foure thousand Macedonians, lately sent from King Philip. More than the space of a furlong behind these came his Rereward, consisting of those brave Souldiers which had served him in his Italian warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to Lalius, in his owner right wing he bestowed the Carthaginian Horse. Tychaus and the Numidians he placed in his left wing against Ma (anilla. He was indeede farre too weake for the Finemie in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For Tychans and Mezetullus had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the source thousand of Masanissa. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor none other than fuch as could be levied in the hafte of a few dayes; and the remainder of those, that 20 had of late beene often vanquished, and accustomed to fly. But it was no time for Hannibal, neyther had hee perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serue on foote, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could have done. was to stay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had Vermina the sonne of Syphax come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with fixteene thousand and vpwards, the most of them Horse: the advantage of number might have served well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of Carthage would brooke no delay: Hannibal must be faine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that hee reposed in his old Italian Souldiers; whose vertue had wrought preater wonders, when it was more frongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their severall 20 conditions : promiting vnto the Mercinaries bountifull rewards : threatning the Carthaginians with ineuitable feruitude, if they loft that day, but especially animating his old fellow-fouldiers by the thany victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Armie which they had flaughtered at Canna. He willed them to remember, That it was one P. Scipio. even the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very work of the Romane Souldiers; even such, as for their dastardly flight out of fundry battailes, could no longer be trufted to beare Armes in their owne 40 Countrie. As for the reft: they were your men, the sonnes of Cowards, and bred vp in the continual feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slaine or chaced. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, upon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day striue to make good their honour; and to purchase the same of meninumcible

Such exhortations vied the two Generalisbefore the fight. When they drew neare together: the Numidian Horfemen on both fides beganne to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, sounded to battaile: and Hannibal commanded his Elephants to breake upon the Ramanet. Of these Elephants (as they were alwayes an uncertaine kinde of helps) those that shoot neare unto the point of 50 the left wing, runned backe sonsen: and kanne upon their owne Numidian Horse; which they aftrighted and displaced. Malanisa epoints they aftrighted and displaced. Malanisa epoints the same numidians; and not suffering them to getally them shirts; draw them quite out of the field. The rest of these beasts made agrees spoile of the Roman relites, whom

they followed into the spaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themselues; which gaue them open way, accordingly as Scipio had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned: but ranne backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the Carthaginian Horse which were in that wing : against whom they gaue to Lalius the same aduantage, that Masanissa had against the Numidians; which hee vied in like fort. In the meane while, the Battels of foote advanced, and drew neere together with a flow and stately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what 10 time they gave a shout, and ranne one at the other. The Mercinaries for a time seemed both in audacitie, and in quicknesse, to have the better of the Romanes; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the Romane discipline after a while, preuailed against the boisterous violence of these vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell of the Principes, following somewhat neere after the Hastaty, encouraged their fellowes; and shewed themselves readie, if neede were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercinaries received no manner of helpe or confort, from those that should have seconded them. For the newleuied Carthaginians and Africans, when they faw their hired fouldiers give backe, did also themselues retire. This caused the Ligurians, Gaules, and the rest, to thinke 20 themselues betrayed: whereupon they inclined vnto flight. The Carthaginian Battaile was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way vnto the Mercinaries for their faferetrait; and yet withall forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chaced by the Romanes, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their Armes with an heedlesse surie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the Carthaginians beaten downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercinaries. The Romane Hastaty in like fort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of worke; that the Principes were faine to come vp 30 vnto them, and helpe to ouer-beare this great medley of enemies, that were together by the cares among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercinaries and of the Carthaginians: which hindering one another could neither fight, nor easily flie. Such of them as escaped, ranne towards Hannibal: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or faue these Runne-awaies He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his owne lide, that would have rushed vpon him: whom hee thereby compelled to turne aside beyond his Battaile, and saue themselues in the open field. The ground, ouer which the Romanes were now to march, ere they could meete with Hannibal, was couered with such thicke heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and so slippery with bloud: that Scipio began to fland 40 in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissoluted in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Armie, which he saw before him, remayning yet entire, and without seare expecting him; He might be well affured to receive a notable overthrow. Hee caused therefore the Hastain to make a fland there where they were, opposite vnto the maine battaile of the Hannibalians. Then drawing up his Principes and Triarij: Hee placed them, when they had ouercome the bad way, all in one Front with the Hastaty, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards Hannibal: who entertained him after another manner, than euer he had beene received in his life before. All the dayes worke till now, seemed to have beene onely a matter of passione; in regard of the sharpe 50 Conflict, that was maintained betweene these notable Souldiers. The Romanes were encouraged, by their having prevailed all the day before: They were also farre the more in number. But the feold Souldiers of Hannibal were fresh; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gaue backe

one foote; butrather chose to die vpon the ground, whereon he stood. So that, af-

Lxcerpt.è Polyb.

ter a long time, it was uncertaine which part had the worse: unlesse it may seeme, that the Romanes were beginning to shrinke; for as much as the returne of Masanissa and Lelius from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to have beene most happie and in a needfulltime. These upon the sudden charged the Hannibalians in Rere; and overbearing them by meere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battaile there dyed of the Romanes fifteene hundred and vpwards: on the Carthaginian fide, aboue twentic thouland, besides as many that were taken; of whom, Sepater Captaine of the Macedonians was one. The singular skill that Hannibal shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by Polybius; and was acknowledged, as Linie reports, by Scipio himselfe. But the Enemics were too strong 10 for him in Horse: and being enioyned, as hee was, by the State of Carthage to take battaile with such disaduantage, he could worke no maruels. He sauch himselfe with a few Horse; and stayed not in his journey, till he came to Advanctum. Thence was he sent for to Carthage; from which he had beene absent sixe and thirtie yeares. At his comming into the Senate He said plainly. That there was none other way lest, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the Carthaginians, not knowing what other course to take, resolued to send Embassadours againe; and trie the

fauour of Scipio, whose Armes they could not now resist.

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to Vtica: where hee found P. Lentulus newly arrived, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of bur- 20 den. With this Fleet, and that which hee had before. Hee thought it best to make towards Carthage: rather of purpose to terrific the Citie, than with any hopeto take it His Legions he committed vnto Cn. Octavius; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then fending Lelius away to Rome with newes of the victorie. He fet faile from Vica towards Carthage. He was encountred on the way by ten Embaffadours from the Citie: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, beganne to vse the pittifull gelture of suppliants. But they received none other answere, than that they should meet him at Tunes, where He would give them audience. So rowing along before the Citie: and viewing it more in brauerie, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned backe to Viica, and called backe Octaviiis thither, with whom 30 in person Hee set forwards to Tunes. As they were in their journie thither, they heard the newes, that Vermina the fonne of Syphax, was comming with an Armie of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were alreadie vanquished. This Vermina feemes to have beene both careleffe of getting intelligence how things paffed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the Roman Foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him : which did not onely beat him, but so compasse him in, that hee hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leaving fifteene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelve hundred taken priloners. If this good companie had beene with Hannibal at Nadagara, they should have beene farre better conducted, and might well have changed 40 the Fortune of the day; which the Carthaginian loft, by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to bee doubted, that this victorie, though it were no great accesse vnto the former; yet served well to daunt the Carthaginians, and imprint in them the greater feare of Scipio. When he came to Tunes, there met him thirtie Embassadours from Carthage; whose behauiour though it was more pitifull than it had beene before; yet procured it leffe commiscration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like fort humbled themselves. Neverthelesse it was considered, what a long and laborious worke it would proue, to besiege the mightie Citie of Carthage. And particularly Scipio flood in great doubt, left the honor of this warre, if it were protracted, should bee taken out of his handes; and given to 50 one of the Confuls. Cn. Seruilius Capio, that Conful who had charge of the warre against Hannibal, at such time as he departed out of Italie: was bold to passe ouer into the Ile of Sicil (as it were in chace of Hannibal by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into Africk, and taken from Scipio the Com-

mand of the Armie there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to rettraine the ambition of this Conful Seruilsus. After him followed Tiberius Claudius, who made fuite for the same Province of Africk: and was therein so earnest, that though neyther the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet hee needes would begoing, procuring onely leave of the Senate, that hee being Conful might iovne with Scipio, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere Hee could have his Fleete and all things in a readinesse for the journey, wherein no man cared to further him: Winter came on, and hee was onely tolt at Sea with foule weather, first voon the Coast of Hetruria, and afterwards by Sardinia; where his Consultap 10 expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyfull newes to Rome, of the victoric obtained against Hannibal, and that the warre was now even at an end . Yet was Lentalus the new Conful to pathonate, in defiring Africk for his Prouince, That hee said hee would suffer nothing to passe in the Senate, untill heehad first his will. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by Scipio; if the warre continued, Scipio should haue command therein by Land, and the Conful at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused Scipio to give the more favourable answere vnto the Carthaginian Embassadours. Hee willed them to consider what they had descrued: and in regard 20 thereof to thinke themselves well dealt withall, in that hee was contented to leave vnto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Gouernour ouer them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also vnto them their possession Africk, such as they were at the beginning of this warre. As touching the rest hee was at a point, That, before hee cyther granted them Peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilest the late Treatic was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld; then required Hee That immediatly they should deliuer up unto the Romanes all Prisoners, Fugitines, and Renegados, that they had of theirs: likewife all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants: That they should make no warre at all thence-forth out of Africk, neither 30 yet within Africk, without licence of the Romanes: That the Countries, Townes, goods whatfocuer, belonging any wife unto MASANISSA, or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored unto him: That they should finde corne for the Romane Armie, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded: That they should pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in the terme of fifty yeares, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages, such as Scipio would choose, being none of them under foure-

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home; and reported them vnto the Citie. They were verie vnpleasing; and therefore one Gisco stood vp to speake against them: and exhorted the People, who gaue good attention, that they should not condescend vnto such intolerable demands. But Hamibal perceiuing this and noting withall what sauourable audience was given to this vaine Oratour, by the vnquiet yet vnwarlike Multitude; was bold to pull him downe from his standing, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured; as if their common libertie were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captaine. Which Hamibal perceiuing, rose vp and spake vnto them: saying, That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citie would allow; forassmuch as he had been ethence absent ever since he was a Boy of nine yeares old, vntill he was now a man of sine and forty. Hauing thus excused himselfe of the disorso der, Hediscoursed vnto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept

50 der, Hediscoursed vnto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themselves; had the demands of the Enemie beene yet more rigorous. Finally vpon good advice, they resolved to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by Scipio: to whom they payed out of hand five and twentie thousand pound weight of Silver, in recompense of damages, and injuries by them

done to his Fleet and Embassadours. Scipio granted them Truce for three moneths: in which time they might negotiate with the State of Rome, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall Hee gaue injunction, that they should nevther in the meane while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismisse any Embasfadours to them sent; without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time Hanno, and they of his Faction, were become wife and honorable nen, by the mileries whereinto Carthage was fallen through their malicious Counfales. Aldrubal, surnamed the Kid, a venerable man, and great friend of Hanno, was chiefe of the Embassages which they sent to Rome for obtaining peace. They 10 went thither in company of Scipio his Embassadours; who related vnto the Senate and People these joyfull newes. About the same time arrived at Rome Embassadours from Philip King of Macedon: who, together with the Carthaginians, were faine to waitawhile for audience, till the election of new Confuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Prouinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the Macedonian Embassadors called into the Senate: who first answering vnto some points, wherein the Romanes had lately fignified vnto their King that they found themselues grieued; returned the blame vpon those Greekes themselues, that had made their complaint at Rome. Then accused they M. Aurelius: who being one of the three Embañadours, that had lately beene fent from Rome vnto King Philip, 20 tarried in Greece behinde his fellowes; and there lenying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was between chim and the Romans. Further they desired of the Senate, That one Sepater, a Macedonian Gentleman, with other of their Countrimen, that had lately scrued Hannibal for Pay, and being taken Prisoners in Africk, were kept in bonds by Scipio; might be released. and delinered vnto them. Vnto all this M. Furius, whom Aurelius had fent to Rome for that purpose, made a sharpe answere. Hee faid, that the Greekes which were confederate with Rome, endured so many injuries at the hands of Philip, that M. Aurelius was faine to stay behinde, to helpe them as he might; which else were like to be brought vnder the Kings subjection. As for Sopater: He affirmed him to be one 30 of the Kings Counsaile, and vericinward with him; one that served not for money, but carried money with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the ayde of Hannibal. About these points when the Macedonian Embassadour's could make vnto the Senate no good answere: they were willed to returne, and tell their Master, That warre hee sought, and warre hee should finde, if hee proceeded as hee had begunne. For in two maine pointes Hee had broken the League, that was betweene him and the Romanes : first, in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that hee had ayded their Enemies against them with men

These quarrels with Philip, that promised to open a way into Greece and the Ea-40 sterne Countries, helped well the Carthaginian Embassadours in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reuerend company, when they entred into the Senate : and Afarubal aboue the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the Romanes from necessitic of sending Embassadours to Carthage, vpon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrell had beene wholly on the Romanes side; saying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could be not altogether excuse the Citie; that had beene too vehement in the profecution of bad counfaile. But if Hanno and himfelfe might haue had their wills: the Carthaginians, euen at the best of their Fortune, should have granted the peace which they now desired. Herewithall hee commended the 50 moderation of the Romanes, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwaies they had beene victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to have the Peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the dinerfitie of their stile. They had patience

enough to endure such reproofe of Persurie, as they themselves might have laid vpon the Romanes; if their diligence and fortune had beene such as the Romanes was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would Iweare to keepe the peace hereafter: Afdrubal made answere; Euen by the same gods, that are to fenere unto those that violate their Leagues.

Lentalus the Conful interpoling the authoritie of his Office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto conclusion of peace; for that hereby Hee was like to lose the honour, which he purposed to get by making warrein Africk. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom rested the Soueraigne Com-10 mand of Rome; and by them referred wholly vnto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That Scipio with ten Delegates sent vnto him from Rome of purpose, should make a League with the Carthaginians, vpon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had alreadie propounded. For this fauour, the Carthaginian Embassadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craued licence, that they might visite their Countrimen, which were prisoners in Rome: afterwards, that they might ransome and carrie home with them some, that were their especiall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embafsadours would choose, should be sent ouer into Africk, and be freely restored to li-20 bertie by Scipio, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leave, and re-

turned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyne with Scipio in Commission. At their comming into Africk, the Peace was given, and accepted, without any

controuersie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, were deliuered vp to Scipio: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. Scipio tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegados, than vpon the Fugitiues; and vpon those of the Romanes, than vpon the Latines or other Italians. The Latines hee beheaded: the Romanes hee crucified. About the first payment of their money; the Carthaginians were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could 30 haue spared two hundred Talents for the present: yet fince the pension was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeares; it was thought meete to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collecting of the fumme there was piteous lamentation, as if now the Romane yoke had begunne to pinch them; fo as many, even of the Senatours, could not forbeare weeping. Contrariwise Hannibal could not refraine from laughter. For which when hee was checked by Adrubal Hadus and tolde, That it worst of all beseemed him to laugh, since hee had beene the cause why all others did weepe; Hecanswered, That laughter did not alwayes proceed from ioy; but sometime from extremitie of indignation. Tet faid Hee, My langhter is more seasonable, and lesse abfurd, than your teares. For yee should have wept, when yee gave up your Shippes and Ele-40 phants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the vie of Armes; without the good

leane of the Romanes first obtained . This miferable condition keepes vs under; and holds vs in affured feruitude. But of the sematters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, yee have thereof some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein yee [hall acknowledge, That it was the very least part of your miferie, for which yee have shed these teares. Thus discoursed Hannibal vnto those, who taffing the bitter fruits of their owne malicious counsaile, repented when it was too late; and in stead of cursing their owne disorders, which had bred this grieuous discale, accused that Physicion, whose noble endeauours had been employed in procuring the remedie.

50 Scipio being to take leave of Africk, produced Mafanissa, and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not vindeseruedly. To him also hee configned ouer those Townes of King Syphax, which the Romanes at that prefent held: wherein, to say truth, he gaue him but his due; and that which otherwise hee knew not well how to bestow. But the love of the Romanes, and friendship of

Scipio, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deferuings of this Numidian King. About Carthage there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the Romanes embarqued themselves for Sicil: where when they arrived at Lilybaum, Scipio with fome part of his Armic tooke his way home to Rome by land; and fent the reft before him thither by Sea. His journey through Italie was no leffe glorious than any Triumph: all the people thronging out of the Townes and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. He entered the Citie in Triumph : neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with fo great joy of the people, as was this of Scipio; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether Syphax were carried through the Citic in this 10 Triumph; and died soone after in prison: or whether he were dead awhile before: it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be auowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the Romanes, to insult ouer the calamities of mightic Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made faire and courteous warre. But hereof we shall have better example, ere the same Age passe. It was neyther the person of Syphax, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of Scipio; as did the contemplation of that gricuous warre past, whereof the Romanes had beene in a manner without hope. that ever they should set Italie free. This made them looke cheerefully upon the Author of fo great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could 20 moderate. Wherefore they gaue to Scipio the Title of the African: stiling him by the name of that Province which he had subdued. This honorable kind of surname. taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was vsurped by men of lesse described especially by many of the Casars, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if fuch glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue vnto Setpiothe African.

CHAP. III.

Of PHILIP the father of PERSEVS, King of Maccedon; His first Acts and warre with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great warres, at one time. The Ætolians overrup Pelopon- 40 nesus. Philip and bis Associates make war against the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians inuade Greece and Macedon, and are inuaded at home by PHILIP.

Plut, in vita



F the great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of matter hath beene affigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined vnto a subiect that is not vnbounded; the workes of Nature must needes be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependance vpon the will of man, 50 we are lesse to wonder, if we find lesse varietie: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious unto humane power; and fince they are the same affections, by which the wills of fundrie men are o-

uer-ruled, in mannaging the affaires of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the Assyrians or Chaldeans inuaded the kingdome of the Medes, with two hundred thousand foote and threefcore thousand horse: but fayling in their intended conquest, they became fubiect within a while themselues vnto the Medes and Persians. In like manner Darius, and after him Xerxes, fell vpon the Greekes with fuch numbers of men, as might haue seemed resiltlesse. But after that the Persus were beaten home, their Empire was never secure of the Greekes: who at all times of leasure from intestine warre deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great 10 Alexander. If Nabuchadona for with his rough old fouldiours, had undertaken the Medes: or Cyrus with his well trayned Armie, had made the attempt vpon Greece; the iffue might, in humanereason, haue beene farre different. Yet would it then have beene expedient for them, to employ the travell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though leffe renowned, than their owne. For the menacing wordes vied by Crus, and some small displeasures done to the Greekes (in which kind it may bee, that Nabucho dono for like wife offended the Mides and Persians) were not so qualleableto victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decayin strength, suffer as did the old Lyon, for the oppression done in his youth; 20 being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Affe. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse understanding the language of Fame: and despiling the vertue that makes little noise, aduenture to prouoke it against themselves, as if it were not possible that their owne glory should be soyled by any of lesse-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat Xerxes, and before him (as I take it) Euilmerodach, had itumbled; Pyrrhus the Epirot hath dash his foot. Hee was not indeed the King of all Greece; though most of marke, and a better souldiour than any other Greekish King, when he entred into war against the Romans. This war he vndertooke as it were for his mindes sake: having received no injurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the Greekes that served vnder him, to 30 preuaile so catily against the barbarous Romans, that they should onely serue as a step to his further intended conquests, of Sicil and Africk. But when the Romans, by their victory against Pyrrhus; had found their owne vertue to bee of richer mettall, than was the more shining valour of the Greekes: then did all the brauery of the Epirot (his Elephants and what soeuer else had serued to make him terrible ) serue onely to make the Romans, in time following, tothinke more highly of themselues. \*For fince they had ouercome the best Warriour in Greece, euen Him; that, being \*The King of The tince they had ouercome the best wanted himselfe Lord of Greece and Macethus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himselfe Lord of Greece and Macethus beaten by them, could be a yeer after make himselfe Lord of Greece and Macethus beaten by them, could be a yeer after make himselfe Lord of Greece and Macethus beaten by them. don: what should finder them from the conquest of all those vnwarlike Prouinces, cible Nauie, which in compasse of twelue yeeresa Macedonian King of late memory had won? being beaten which in compatie or tweine yeeres a macedoman King of late memory, had won't out of the Brido Certainly there was hereunto requilite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotifi feas, inuition by some good meanes, the whole Country of Greece : all the rest, this done, ted yes to those would follow of itselfe. How to deale with the Greekes; Philip and Alexander had of Spaine; and having broken shauing broke fhewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more ac-the greatest

When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed soone after the gathered toquaintance with the Nation. wars of Pyrrhus and of the Tarentines: then were the Romans at good leifure to hear-gether; wee kenafter newes in Greece; and to entertaine any good occasion, that should bee on neuer made account of a count of a coun that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet : and were become, though ayoihis prenot otherwise very skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as hap- parations after 50 pily as could be wished, that the Illyrian Queene Teuta made at the same time cruell warre vpon the Greekes: wasting their Country, and sacking their Townes, only

because they were vnable to relist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the Romans were desirous to enter; the Queene was not flow to give theme cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with 6.7.

Her, was, in their owne opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the Greekes. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embasfadours, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the love of Greece they . had undertaken this Illyrian warre. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the Greekes and Romanes: which afterwards encreased very hastily, through the indiscretion of King Philip the Macedonian; whose bufinesse with them being now the subiect of our storic, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefely) the be-

ginning of his reigne, and his first Actions.

It was like to proue a busine time in the world, when, within the space of source yeares, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countries knowne; and three 10 of them yong boyes, in three of the greatest Kingdomes. This happened from the third yeare of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, vnto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died Seleucus Ceraunus King of Asia and Syria, in whose roome succeeded his brother Antiochus, afterwards called the great. Ptolemie Philopator succeeded in the Kingdome of Agypt vnto his father Euergetes. And Philip the sonne of Demetrius, being lixteene or seuenteene yeares old, received the Kingdome of Macedon, together with the Patronage of the Acheans and most of the Greekes; by the deccase of his Vncle Antigonus Roson, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in Cappadocia, Lacedamon, and the Countries about Mount Taurus. For Ariarathes then beganne his reigne in Cappadocia, Ly- 20 cureus found meanes to make himselse King ouer the Lacedamonians, whose Common weale, fince the flight of Cleamenes, had continued in a manner headleffe; and Acheus, a kinsman of Antiochus, but a Rebell vnto him, occupied the Regions neare vnto Mount Taurus, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeares of the hundred and fortieth Olympiadit was, that open war brake out betweene Rome and Carthage; and that Hannibal began his great Invalion vpon Italie. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we have alreadie followed vnto an end : Of Antrochus, Ptolemie, and the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the Romanes finde them out.

Philip, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into Peloponnesus; greatly de- 30 fired of the Achems, and many others his dependants. That Country, having freed it selfe by the helpe of Antigonus from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subiection vnto Cleomenes: was now become no leffe obnoxious to the Macedonian than it should have beene to the Spartan; and therewithall it lay open vnto the violence of the Atolians, who despised even the Macedonian Kings, that were Patrons therof. These Etolians were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other Art, than warre. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the Messenians that were their owne Clients, and excepting the Eleans, that were anciently of their confanguinitie) the onely good friends which they had at the present in Peloponnesus. Their inualion was no lesse vnexpected, then it was vniust: whereby with greater 40 ease they made spoile of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The Acheans, were called by the Meffenians to helpe : which they did the more willingly; because the Atolians passing without leauethrough their Territorie, had (as was their manner) done what harme they lifted . Olde Aratus could ill abide these Ætolians; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries, wherewith most vingratefully they had required no small benefits done to them by the Acheans. He was therefore so hasty to fall vpon this their Armie, that hee could hardly endure to stay a few dayes untill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prætor of the Acheans for the yeare following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselse a man fitter (as hath beene alreadic no- 50 ted of him) for any other feruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a great part of the Countrie, wherein he might easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neare, when they had recourred ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie.

Lib. s. chap. 2.

CHAP.4. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

So they departed home rich, and well animated to return againe. As for the Acheans; they got hereby onely the friendship of the Meffentans: with whom, by licence of King Philip, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the Atolians inuaded Peloponnesus againe; having no more to doe, than to passe ouer the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulle of Lepanto, where they might land in the Country of the Eleans. There iouned with them in this their fecond Innalion a great number of the Illyrians: who neglecting that condition imposed vpon them by the Romans, of fetting out no thips of warre vnto the Coast of Greece; made bold to seeke aduentures againe, and did great mischiefe. Demetrius Pharius, a creature of chap. 3. \$. 14

to the Romans, commanded a part of these Illyrians: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdome, as is shewed before. But this Demetrius went another way, and tell upon the Hands of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King Philip or his friends. The rest of the Illyrians under Scerdilaid., or Scerdiletus, having gotten what they could elfe-where by rouing at Sea, accompanied the Etolians into Peloponne fue: who made greater hauocke in the Countrie now, than in their former Expedition; and

returned home, without finding any relistance. Of these things great complaint was made unto Philip, when he came to Corinth. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselues with some speedie reuenge: 20 there were that vrged to have some gricuous punishment laid vpon the Lacedamonians: who were thought under-hand to have favoured the Atolians, in meere defpight of the Acheans and Macedonians, by whom themselves had lately beene subdued. It is true, that the Lacedemonians had beene so affected: and (which was worse) at the arrivall of Philip, they slue such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Armie: fince their Towne was lately much disquieted with civill discord, which they hoped soone to appeale, and meant alwayes to remaine at his denotion. Philip was casily satisfied with this: not for that 30 he (orratherold Aratus, who then wholly gouerned him) did miffe-vnderstand the Lacedamonians: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at Corinth, in presence of the King, the Embassadours of the Acheans, Baotians, Phocians, Epirots, and Acarnanians: all complaining vpon the Atolians: and desiring to have warre decreed against them, by common assent. Philip fent his letters vnto the Atolians: requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time a if they could alleadge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at Rhium for that purpole: whither if it pleased him to come or fend, hee should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have beene there at the day. 40 But when the Etolians understood this for certaintie, they adjourned the Councell vnto a further time: faying, That such weightie matters ought not to be handled, faue in the great Parliament of all Ætolia. This tricke of Law not with standing, open warre was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had described it, made election of Scopes to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Invalions made on Pelsponne/ws; and the onely man, in a fort, vpon whom they must biane laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publike. After this, Philip went into Macedon; where he prepared builly for the warre 2 gainst the year following. He also affayed the Hyrian, Scot diluidas, with faire words and promifes: whom he casily won from the Etolian fide, forasmuch as the Etolia 5 0 was had coulened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like fort the Acheans, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre intheir owne Country, sent unto the Acarnanian, Epirots, Meffenians, and Lacedamo-

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CHAP.4. S. 1. of the Historie of the World.

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them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have beene there at the day. 40 But when the Etolians understood this for certaintie, they adious ned the Councell vnto a further time: faying, That fuch weightie matters ought not to be handled, faue in the great Parliament of all Ætolia. This tricke of Law not with standing, open warrejwas proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had described it, made election of Scopes to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Inradious made on Peleponne sus; and the onely man, in a fort, vpon whom they must biane laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publike. After this, Philip went into Macedon; where he prepared builly for the warre againstithe yeer of tollowing. He also affayed the Hyrian, Seet dilaidas, with faire words and promiles: whom he cally won from the Etolian fied, forafmuch as the Etolia

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diuerse answeres, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The Acarnanians, a free hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering vpon the Ætolians, of whom they flood in continuall danger; faid, that they could not honeftly refuse to show their faithfull meaning in that warre, which was concluded by generall affent. The Epirots that were more mightie, were neverthelesse more cunning and referued : so that they stood vpon a needlesse point; and desired to bee held excused, vntill Philip (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaime the warre. The Meffensans, for whose cause the warre was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Towne which the Atelians held vpon their borders, and faid, that they durft not be ouer-bold, vntill that bridle 10 were taken out of their mouthes. As for the Lacedemonians; the chiefe of them fludied onely how to mannage that treason, for which their Citie had beene so lately pardoned: and therefore difinissed the Embassadours of the Confederates, without any answere at all. They had three yeares together continued subject against their wils to the Macedonians, expecting fill when Cleomenes should returne out of Agypt to raigne ouer them againe; and maintaine, as he was wont, the honour of their Citie. In this regard they chose not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of Ephori. Of these there were some, that thought the publike safetic to consist, in holding their faith with the Macedonian that had preferued them: And hereto they referred all their counsailes; being perhaps not a little moued with respect of the 20 benefit, which might redound vnto themselves, by adhering firmely to those which at the present bore rule ouer them. Others, and those the greater part, were still deuising, how to make all readie for Cleomenes against his returne; and therefore fought to loyne with the Atolians, which were the most likely to give him strong assistance. The Macedonian faction had the more authoritie, and durst more freely speake their mindes: but the contrary side was the more passionate; and spared not by murders, or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neyther did it fuffice, that about these times there came certaine report of Cleomenes his death. For it was the liberty and honour of Sparta, which these intended: sancying vnto themselues the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as were not like to come againe. 30 Cleomenes was, they knew, the most able man to restore them vnto their greatnesse and lustre; which once he had in a manner performed: But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deferring vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of Hercules, as in former times; for that without such helpes, they must continue little better than fubiects vnto the Macedonian, and farre leffe by him respected, than were the Achaans, Thus were they transported, by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the Etolians to fend an Embaffie to Sparta: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people; whereof no one of the Citizens durst haue made himselfe the Author. Much disputation 40 and hot there was, betweene those of the Macedonian partie and these their oppofites: in fuch wife that nothing could be concluded; vntill by maffacre or banishment of all, or the chiefe, that spake against the Liolians, the diversitie of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the Lacedamonians and Alolians : without all regard of the Macedonians or Acheans ; who had spared the Citie, when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the choosing of the one King; that we may inftly wonder, how they grew fo carelesse in making chayce of the other. In the one of their Royall Families they found Agesipolis; the sonne of Agesipolis the son 50 of King Cleembrotus: and him they admitted to raigne over them; as heire apparant to his Grandfather. This Agespolis was a yong boy, standing in neede of a Guardian; and had an Vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Gouernment. Yet because the Law required, that the sonne, how yong soeuer, should have his fathers whole right and title: the Lacedemonians, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in observation of the Law; that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Vncle Cleomenes to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall samily, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime; but made election of one Lycurgus, who having no manner of title to the kingdome, bestowed upon each of the Ephori a Talent, and thereby made himselse be salved King of Sparta, and a Gentleman of the race of Herenles. This Lycurgus, to gratise his Partisans, and to approve his worth by Action; invaded the Countrie of the Argines: which lay open and ungarded, as in a time of peace. There hee did great spoile, and wanne divers Townes; whereof two hee retained, and annexed vnto the State of Lacedemon. After such open hostilitie, the Lacedemonians declared themselves on the Etolian side; and proclaimed warre against the Arginess.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwife, than the Acheans and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. Philip was not readie: the Epirots gaue vncertaine answere: the Olessenians would not firre: all the burden must lie vpon themselues and the poore Acamanians, whom the Atolians, by fauour of the Eleans, could inuade at pleasure, as they were like to doe; and 20 by helpe of the Lacedemonians, could affaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the Atolians, paffing ouer the Bay of Corinth, furprised the Towne of Agira: which it they could have held, they should thereby gricuously have molested the Achaens; for that it Rood in the mid-way betweene Agium and Siegen two of their principall Cities, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrie. But as Ægira was taken by surprise : so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoile; whilest they that should have made it their first care to assure the place vnto themselues, by occupying the Cittadell and other peeces of strength, fell heedleffely to ranfack private houses, and thereby gaue the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great flaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About 30 the same time, another Atolian Armic landing among the Eleans, fell vpou the Westerne Coast of Achaia; wasting all the Territoric of the Dymeans and other people, that were first beginners of the Achean Confederacie. The Dymans and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders, but were so well beaten, that the enemie grew bolder with them than before. They fent for helpe vnto their Prætor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the Achesns having lately beene much weakened by Cleomenes, were now able to doe little of themselues: neither could they get any firength of Mercinaties; for a funch as at the end of Cleomemes his war, they had couetoully with held part of their due from those that serued them therein. So through this disabilitie of the Achesns, and insufficiencie of their 40 Pretor; the Dymeans, with others, were driven to with-hold their contribution heretolore made for the publike service, and to convert the monie to their owne defence. Lycurgus also with his Lacedemonians, began to winne vpon the Arcadians; that were confederate with Philip and the Acheans.

Philip came to the borders of the Ætolians, whilst their Armie was thus employed a farre off in Peloponnesus. The Epirots ioyned all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier peece, which they desired to get into their owne hands, for that, by commoditie thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselues Masters of Ambracia. There he spent fortie dayes, see he could end the busines; which tended onely to the benefit of the Epirots. Had he entred into the beatt of Etoliaat his first comming; it was thought that he might have made an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small Townes or Forts: and not seldome, that the importunitie of Associates, to have their own desires suffilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those which they never were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their casine which they never intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their casine.

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dessignes. Thus was our King Henrie the eightled aside, and quite out of his way. by Maximilian the Emperour to the fiege of Tournay: at fuch time as the French King Leves the twelfth, hearing that the itrong Citie of Terwin was loft, and that of his Cauellerie, wherein rested his chiefe considence, two thousand were beaten by the Earle of Effex with feuen hundred English; was thinking to withdraw himselfe into Brittaine, in feare that Henrie would have come to Paris.

The stay that Philip made at Ambracus, did wondrously embolden the Atolians: in such fort, as their Prætor Scopus adventured to lead all their forces out of the Countrie; and therewith not onely to ouer-runne Thessalie, but to make impression into Macedon. He ranne as farre as to Dium, a Citie of Macedon vpon the Agean 10 Sea: which being for laken by the Inhabitants at his comming, Hee tooke, and razed to the ground. Hee spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the reft, he threw downe the Statua's that were there erected, of the Macedonian Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrimen at his returne; for a funch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not onely (as before) vnto Peloponnesus, but euen to Macedon it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrie, for their paines taken at Dium. Philip having difpatched his worke at Ambracus, made a strong inuasion vpon Atolia. Hee tooke Phoetia, Metropolis, Oeniade, Paanium, Elaus, and divers other Townes and Castles 20 of theirs: of which hee burnt some, and fortified others. Hee also beat the . Ata. lians in fundrie skirmishes; and wasted all the Countrie ouer, without receiping any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into Peloponnelus, and to doe the like spoile in the Countrie of the Eleans, whereto he was vehemently sollicited by the Achaan Embassadours: newes came out of Macedon, that the Dardanians were readic with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrie. These Dardantans were a barbarous people, divided by Mount Hamus from the Northerne part of Macedon; and were accustomed to seeke bootie in that wealthic Kingdome, when they found their owne times. Having therefore intelligence, that Philip was about to make a journic into Peloponnesus: they purposed in his absence, which they 30 thought would beelong, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrie; as had beene their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to dismisse the Achean Embassadours, (whom hee should have accompanied home with his Armie ) and to bid them have patience vntill another yeare. So Hee tooke his way home: and as he was passing out of Acarnania into Epirus, there came to him Demetrius Pharius with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaced out of his Kingdome by the Romans. This Demetrius had lately shewed himselfe a friend to Antigonus Doson, in the warres of Cleomenes: and returning in his last Voyage from the Cyclades, was readic, at their first request, to take part with Philips Captaines. These, or the like confiderations, made him welcome vnto the Macedonian King: whose 40 Counsailor he was euer after. The Dardanians hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie; and gaue ouer for the present their inuasion of Maceden, towardes which they were alreadie on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at Lariffa in Thessale, whilest his people gathered in their Haruest. But the Etolians rested not. They avenged themselues upon the Epirois: whom for the harmes by them and Philip done in Atolia, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the famous Temple of Dodona. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre vntill another yeare was laid afide: Philip stole a journie into Peloponnesus. with fine thousand Foot, and about four hundred Horse. As soone as hee was 50 within Corinth; He comanded the Gates to be shut, that no word might bee carried foorth of his arrivall. He sent privily for old Aratus to come thither vnto him; with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, hee would have the Achaan Souldiors readie to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with

fomewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse; little thinking to meete with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to feare : since the Acheans themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his Macedonians; vntill they heard, that these two thousand Eleans, Atolians, and their fellowes, were by him surprised and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which hee did at his first comming, Philip got very much reputation: as likewise hee purchased both reputation and loue, by divers actions immediatly following. He wanne P/ophu, an exceeding strong Towne, in the borders of Arcadia; which the Eleans and Aetolians then held. Hee wanne it by affault at his first comming : wherein it much auailed him, that the Enemie, not beleeuing that he would vndertake such a peece of worke at such an unseasonable time of the yeere, was carelesse of prouiding even fuch flore of weapons, as might have ferued to defend it. I he Towne was preferued by the King from facke; and given to the Achsens, of his owne meere motion. before they requested it. Thence went he to Lifton, which yielded for very feare; hearing how easily he had taken Psophis This Towncalso he gaue to the Acheans. The like liberality he ysed towards others; that had ancient title vnto places by him recovered. Then fell he vpon the Countrie of Elis, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to hulbandrie, and lived abroad in Villages; euen such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the 20 Citie of Olympia: where having done facrifice to Iupiter, feafted his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three dayes; Hee proceeded on to the spoile of those that had taken pleasure to share with the Aetolians, in the spoiles of their other-wise-deseruing neighbours. Great abundance of Cattaile hee tooke, with great numbers of flaues, and much wealth of all forts, fuch as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yeelded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his journie, by fending Embassadours to yeeld before hee came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wils, tooke courage to let themselves at libertie, by seeing the King so neare; to whose Patro-30 nage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the Etolian Captaines; because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King wanne more Townes in the Countrie, than the tharpenedle of Winter would fuffer him to stay there dayes. Fainche would have fought with the Atolians: but they

made such hast from him, that he could not overtake them, vntill they had covered themselves within the Towne of Samicum; where they thought to have beene safe. But Philip affaulted them therein so forcibly, that hee made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their lives and armes. Having performed fo much in this Expedition, the King reposed himselfe a while in Megalopolis; and then removed to Argos, where he spent all the rest of the Winter. Before the Kings arrivall in Peloponne fus, the Lacedemonians with Lycurgus their new King, had gotten somewhat in Arcadia; and threatned to doe great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell upon the Eleans, of the

danger hanging ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings and withdrew themselves home. This Lycurgus, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of Sparta, than that which he could buy with monie: fo was hee neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which Vsurpersare commonly perplexed. There was one Chilon, of the Royall bloud, that thinking himselse to have best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by 50 propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equall distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Commonwealth. He wanne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the Ephorias they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to Ly-

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curgus his house: wo perceiuing the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their mindes being not hereto prædisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as cuen whilft he was vling his best perswasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. Chilon perceived whereabout they went. and shifted presently away. So hee lined afterwards among the Acheans a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for Lycurgus, he returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of Hercules his race, found meanes to drive out his fellow King yong Agelipalis; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such fort as once he should have beene apprehended by the Ephori. But though 10 his actions hitherto might have beene defended; yet rather than to adventure himselfe into judgement, hee chose to flie for a time, and sojourne among his friendes the Atolians. His wel-knowne vehemencie in opposition to the Macedonians, had procured vnto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weakness of their owne surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, Hee tooke better heed vuto him selfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tvrant, and was fo acknowledged ) but by taking order, that it should not bee in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they lifted. By what actions hee got the name of a T yrant : or at what time it was, that he chaced Agelipolis out of the Ci- 20 tie. I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three vsurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to bee placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he was towards some private Citizens: in the war against Philip, He behaued himselse as a prouident man, and carefull of his Countries good.

#### I I.

How P st 1 L 1 P was misseadussed by ill Counsailors: Who afterwards wrought, treason against him, and were instly punished. Hee inuadeth the Æto-lians a second time: And forceth them to sue for peace: Who his granted vn-to them.



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Hilest the King lay at Argos, deuising vpon his businesse for the yeare following; some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently their owne greatnesses, as they were like to have spoiled all that he tooke in hand. Antigonus Doson had left vnto Philip such Gounsailors, as to him did seeme the fittest men for governing of his youth. 40

The chiefe of these was Apelles; that had the charge of his person, and ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable peece of service to his Prince; is he could reduce the Acheans unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the Macedonians lived. To bring this to passes out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the Dacedonians to thrust the Acheans out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the bootie that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, He was bold to chastice some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refraine) to helpe their fellowes; them hee laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby hee thought to bring it to 50 passes his his possible to hat they should be equalified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these Acheans were tenderly sensible in matter of libertie: whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the Macedonians to helpe

them in the warre against Cleomenes: They bemoned themselves vinto old Arasus; and belought him to thinke vpon some good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. Aratus foorthwith dealt carnessly with the King; as in a matter more weightie, than at first it might seeme. The King beltowed gracious words vponthole that had bene wronged; and forbad Apelles to follow the course begunne. Hereat Apelles was inwardly vexed, though he diffembled his cholier for atime. He thought so well of his owne Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps vnable to doc the King any valuable service, in butinesse or other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereaster to beginne at the head; since, in bito ting at the taile, the filh had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee than that among the Acheans there were lome, who bore no heartic affection to Aratus. These he enquired out: and sending for them, entertained them with wordes of Court; promiling to become their especiall friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselse: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of Aratus, He must be faine to deale precisely with the Acheans, and, asit were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the Acheans, and all other Peloponnesians, bec quickly brought to conforme themselves vnto the dutie of obedient Subjects. By 20 luch perswasions, He drew the King to be present at Agium, where the Acheans were to hold election of a new Pixtor. There with much more labour, than would have beene needfull in a businesse of more importance; the King, by faire word; and threatnings together, obtained so much, That Eperatus, a very insufficient man, but one of Apelles his new Fauorites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthe, for whom Aratus had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by Patras and Dyma, to a very frong Castle held by the Eleans, which was called Tichos. The Garrison yeelded it vp for feare, at his first comming: whereof hee was glad; for that hee had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the Dymeans, as hee pre-

CHAP.4. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

30 fently did. The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the Eleans, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrie the last Winter, hee had let loose one Amphidamus a Captaine of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that undertooke to make them forfake their alliance with the Atolians, and joyne with him voon reasonable termes. This if they could be cotented to do, He willed Amphidamus to let them understand. That he would render vnto them freely all prisoners which hee had of theirs; That he would desend them from all forrein inuation; and that they should hold their libertic entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tri-40 bute, or being kept vnder by any Garrison. These Conditions were not to be defpiled, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when Philip came to the Castle of Tichos, and made a new invasion vpon their Countrie then beganne the Eleans, (that were not before ouer-hastie to beleeue such faire promises) to sufpect Amphidamus as a Traitour, and one that was fet on worke for no other ende, than to breed a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the Atolians. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands vpon him, and send him Prisoner into Atolia, But hee perceived their intent, and got away to Dyma: in good time for him elfe; in better for Aratus. For the King (as was faid) maruailing what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the Eleans, concerning the offers which be had made vnto them 50 by Amphidamus: Apelles, his Counsailor, thereby tooke occasion to supplant Aratus.

He faid that old Aratus, and his sonne together, had such devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good; And long of them he said it was, that the Eleans did thus hold out; For when Amphidamus was dismissed home, the two Arati (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside and given him to understand, that it would be

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be very præjudiciall to all Peloponnesus, if the Eleans once became at the denotion of the Macedonian: And this was the true cause, why neither Amphidamus was very carefull in doing this message, nor the Eleans in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a falle lie; denifed by Apelles himfelfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. Philip had no fooner heard his tale, but in a great rage hee fent for the two Arati; and bad Apelles rehearfe it ouer againe to their faces. Apelles did fo, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already conuicted. And when he had faid all the rest, ere either Philip or they spake any word; Hee added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath tound you such vngratefull wretches: it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the Achaans; and therein having made it to knowne what yee are, to depart into Macedon, and leave you to your sclues. Olde Aratus gravely admonished the King; That when soeuer hee heard any accusation. especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth. He should forbeare a while to give credit, vntill he had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and hee should never thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talke with Amphidemus; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to Apelles. For it would be a very abfurd thing. That the King should make himselfe Authour of a report in the open Parliament of Achaia, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans rea, and anothers no. Hercof the King liked well; and faid that he would make 20 sufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilest Apelles delaied to bring in the proofe, which indeed he wanted; Amphidamus came from Elis, and told what had befalne him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the Arati: which when hee found no better than a meere denice against his honourable friends; Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his love to Apelles, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could

The vnrestfull temper of Apelles, having with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe, began (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venomous 20 for want of his free motion. Hee betakes him felfe to his cunning againe; and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, hee had prepared a snare for the Arati; so fayling of them, he thinkes it wisedome to lay for the King himfelfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chimnie; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtile workemanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto Apelles were left by Antigonus in chiefe place about Philip; Taurion, his Lieutenant in Peloponne (us, and Alexander Captaine of the Guard, were faithful men, and fuch as would not be corrupted. The other two, Leontius Captaine of the 40 Tarquesiers, and Megaleas chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily wonne to bee at Apelles his disposition. This Politician therefore studied how to remooue the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Against Alexander He went to worke the ordinarie way, by calumniation and prinie detraction. But for the supplanting of Taurion hee vied more finenesse: loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King might ill spare from being alwayes in his presence. By such Art he thought to have removed him, as wee fay, Out of Gods blessing into awarme Sunne. In the meane season Aratus retired himselfe; and sought to avoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbcaring to meddle in affaires of State. As for the 50 new Prætor of Achaia, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore 2 great deale of time was loft, whileft Philip wanted both the monie and the Corne, wherewith he should have been furnished by the Acheans. This made the King

understand his owne errour; which he wisely sought to reforme betimes. He perswaded the Achaans to rejourne their Parliament from Agium, to Sicyon the Towne of Aratus. There he dealt with the old man and his sonne: perswading them to forget what was past, & laying all the blame vpon Apelles, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthy men, Hee casily obtained what hee would of the Acheans. Fifty talents they gaue him out of hand, with great store of Corne : and further decreed, That so long as he himselfe in person followed the warres in Peloponnesus, he should receive ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide (hipping, that so hee might inuade the Ætolians, Eleans, and Lacedamonians, that were maritime people, at his pleafure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed Apelles beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe; even by the ministery of those whom hee most hated. Wherefore hee entred into conspiracie with Leontins and Megaleus: binding himselfe and them by oath, to croffe and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to passe, that very want of abilitie to doe any thing without them, should make him speake them faire; and be glad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilest he was a childe; and therefore these wise men perswaded them-20 felues, that, by looking bigge vpon him, and imputing vnto him all that fell out ill through their owne milgouernement of his affaires, they might rule him as a child

fill. Apelles would needes goe to Chalcis, there to take order for the prouisions, which were to come that way out of Macedon: The other two staid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His fleet and Armie being in a readines : Philip made countenance, as if he would have bent all his forces against the Eleans; to whose aid therefore the Atolians sent men, little fearing that the mischiese would have fallen as soone after it did, vpon themselves. But against the Eleans and those that came to help them, Philip thought itenough to leave the Achaans, with some part of his and their Mercinaries. He 30 himselfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sca, landed in the Isle of Cephallenia: whence the Atolians, dwelling over against it, vsed to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to roue abroad. There he belieged the Towne of Palas, that had been very serviceable to the Enemic against him and his Consederates; and might beevery vse-full to him, if hee could get it. Whilest hee lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fifteene ships of warre from Scerdilaidas; and many good Souldiers, from the Epirots, Acarnanians, and Messenians. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts faue one, on which fide Philip carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he ouerthrew two hundred foote thereof. Leontius Captaine of the Targettiers, was ap-40 pointed by the King to make the affault. But hee, remembring his couenant with Apelles; did both wilfully forbeare to doe his best; and caused others to doe the like. So the Macedonians were put to foile, and many flaine; not of the worst fouldiers, but fuch as had gotten ouer the breach, and would have carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this; but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the siege. For it was casier vnto the Townes-men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilest he stood thus perplexed, and uncertaine what course to take: the Messenians and Acarnanians lay hard voon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The Meffenians alleadged, that Lyeurgus was busic in wasting their Countrey: vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the Etelian windes which then blew, feruing fitly for his Nauigation. Hereto also Leontius perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would cassly carrie him thither, so would they

detaine him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-dayes) and make him spend the

Summer to small purpose. But Aratus gaue better counsaile, and prevailed. Hee shewed how vositting it were, to let the Atolians ouer-run all Thessalie againe, and fome part of Macedon, whilest the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small adventures. Rather, he faid, that the time now ferued well to carry the warre into Actolia; fince the Prætor was gone thence abroad on rouing, with the one halfe of their strength. As for Lycurgus; hee was not strong enough to doe much harme in Peloponnesus: and it might suffice, if the Acheans were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King sets saile for Aetolia; and enters the Bay of Ambracia, which divided the Actolians from Acarnania The Acarnanians were glad to see him on their borders; and joyned with him as many of them as 10 could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. Hee marched vp into the in-land Countrie: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to affure his Retrait; Hee passed on to Thermum, which was the Receptacle of the Aetolians, and furest place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great Fastnesse, enuironed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, steepe, and difficult ascent. There did the Aetolians vie to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their solemne games. There also they vsed to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest securitie. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them careleffe in looking vnto it. When Philip therefore had ouercome the bad way, there 20 was nothing else to doe than to take spoile: whereof hee found such plentie, that hee thought the paines of his iournie well recompenced. So hee loaded his Armie: and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple. the chiefe of all belonging vnto the Astolians; in remembrance of the like their courtelie, shewed vpon the Temples of Dium and Dodona. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue beene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as Monsieur du Gourgues the French Captaine told the Spaniards in Florida, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from Thermum, the Ætolians laid for him: which that they would doe, hee beleeued before; and therefore was not taken vna wares. Three thousand of them there were 20 that lying in ambush fell vpon his skirts: but hee had laide a Counter-ambush for them of his Illyrians, who staying behind the rest, did set vpon the backes of the Atalians, whilest they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with flaughter of the enemie, he returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Country round about him, Hee fafely carried all that hee had gotten aboord his Fleet. Once the Actolians made countenance of fight, issuing out of Stratus in great brauerie. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious Expedition being enery way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any finister accident; it pleased the King to 40 make a great feast vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were inuited among the rest Leonisus, with his fellow Megaleas. They came, because they could not choose: but their heavie lookes argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperitie. It grieued them to thinke, that they should bee able to give no better account vnto Apelles, of their hindering the Kings businesse; since Apelles himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had plaied his owne part with a most mischieuous dexteritie. The forrow and indignation, which they could ill dissemble in their faces, brake out after supper, when they had warmed themselues with drinke, into open riot. Finding Aratus on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reuiling him, throwing flones at him. fo that they caused a great vprore; many running in (as 50 happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had paffed. Which made him fend for Leontius and his fellowes. But Leontius was gotten out of the way: Megaleas, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their dif-

order; and they, to give him froward answeres: insomuch as they faid at length, That they would neuer give over, till they had rewarded Aratus with a mischiefe as hee described. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. Leontius hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles; and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands vpon Megaleas, yea and to cast him into prison? Why, said the King, It was even I. This resolute anfwere, which Leontius had not expected, made him depart both fad and angrie; feeing himselfe out frowned, and not knowing how to remedie the matter. Shortly after, Megaleas was called forth to his answere, and was charged by Aratus with mato ny great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victorie at Palea, and the Compact made with Apelles: matters no leffe touching Leontius, that flood by as a looker on than Megaleas that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answeres thereto so weake; that he, and Crinon one of his fellowes, were condemned in twentie Talents: Crinon being remanded backe to prison; and Leontius becomming Bayle for Megaleas. This was done

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vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to Corinth. Philip dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as he was at Corinth, he tooke in hand an Expedition against the Lacademonians. These and the Eleans had done what harmethey could in Peloponnesus, whilest the King was 20 absent. The Acheans had opposed them as well as they could; wi. hill successe: yet fo, as they hindered them from doing such harme as else they would have done. But when Philip came, hee ouer-ran the Countrie about Lacedemon; and was in a manner at the gates of Sparta, cre men could well beleeve that he was returned out of Atolia. He tooke not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fields: and having beaten the enemie in some skirmishes, carried backe with him to Corinth a rich bootie of Cattell, flaues, and other Countrie-spoile. At Corinth hee found attending him, Embassadors from the Rhodians & Chians: that requested him

to set Greece at quiet, by granting peace vnto the Atolians. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deale first with the Ltolians; who, if they would 30 make the same request, should not finde him vnreasonable. The Ætolians had spedill that yeere: neither saw they any likely hopes for the yeeres following. The Armie that they had fent forth to wall The false and Macedon, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane season they had beene grieuously afflicted, as before is shewed, by Philip in the center of their owne Countrie. All Greece and Macedon was vp in armes against them, and their weake Allies the Eleans and Lacedemonians. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of these their Peloponnesian friends should bee able to hold out; fince they were not strong enough to keepe the feild, but had alreadic suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would 40 make them glad, each, to seeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confede-

rates. Wherefore the Etalians readily entertained this Negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirtie dayes with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadours, to entreat his presence at a Diet of their Nation, that should bee held at Rhium; whither if he would vouchfafe to come, they promised that hee should finde them conformable to any good reason.

Whilest these things were in hand; Leontius and Megaleas thought to have terrified the King, by raifing sedition against him in the Armie. But this device sorted to no good effect. The fouldiours were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends; who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded 50 with so much of the bootie, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger spent it selfe in a noise, and breaking open of dores; without further harmedone. This was enough to informe the king ( who casily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yeathe souldiours themfelues, repenting of their insolence, desired to have the Authors of the tumult fought

The Ætolians, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Nonage of Philip: so finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of Aratus, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow;

ouerthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Neuerthelesse being a turbulent Nation, and readie to lay hold upon all advantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of Apelles, Leontius, and Magaleus, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and therevpon brake the day appointed for the meeting at Rhium. Of this was Philip nothing forie. For being in good hope throughly to tame this viquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the warre should rest vpon themselves. Wherfore he willed his Confederates, to lay a-10 fide all thought of peace, and to prepare for war against the yeere following, wherein hee hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian fouldiors, by yeelding to let them winter in their owne Countrie. In his returne homeward, he called into judgement one Ptolemie, a companion with Apelles and Leontius in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the Macedonians; and suffered death. These were the same Macedonians, that lately could not endure to heare of Leontius his imprisonment: yet now they thinke the man worthie to die, that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vse to build in their fauour

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with the Multitude. During his abode in Macedon, Philip wan some bordering Townes; from which 20 the Dardanians, Etolians, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his kingdome: when hee had thus prouided for fatetie of his owne; the Ætolians might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Embaffadours from the Rhodians and Chians, with others from Ptolemie King of Agypt, and from the Citic of Byzantium, recontinuing the former follicitation about the Peace. This fashion had beene taken vp in matters of Greece, cuer since the Kings that raigned after Alexander, had taken vpon them to fet the whole Countrie at libertie: No sooner was any Prouince or Citie in danger to be oppressed, and subdued by force of war, but prefently there were found intercellours, who pittying the effusion of Greekish bloud, would importune the stronger to relinquish his aduan-30 tage. By doing such friendly offices in time of neede, the Princes and States abroad fought to binde vnto them those people, that were how soener weake in numbers, ver very good fouldiours. But hereby it came to passe, that the more froward fort, especially the Etolians, whose whole Nation was addicted to falshood and robberie, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours : being well affured that if they had the worft, The love of Greece would be sufficient to redeeme their quiet. They had, fince the late Treatic of peace, done what harme they could in Peloponnesus: but being beaten by the Acheans, and standing in feare to bee more foundly beaten at home, they defired now, more carneftly than before, to make an end of the warre as foone as they might. Philip made fuch answere to the Embassa-40 dours, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue not occasion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it : but that the Ætolians, if they had a defire to live in rest, must first be dealt withall, to fignific plainly their determination, whereto himfelfe would returne fuch anfwere as he should thinke fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the warre. But it happened in the middest of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of Maccdon, what a notable victorie Hannibal had obtained against the Romans in the Battaile at Thrasymene. These letters he communicated vnto Demetrius Pharius: who greatly o encouraged him to take part with Hannibal; and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian warre. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the £tolians: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at Naupactus. There did Agelaus an £tolian make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the Greekes, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about sinishing war between them-

felues,

59**9** 

felues, without being molested by the Barbarians. For when once either the Romans, or the Carthaginians, had subdued one the other; it was not to bee doubted. that they would forthwith looke Eastward, and seeke by all meanes to set footing in Greece. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrie should be at peace within it selfe: and that Philip, if he were desirous of war, should lay hold on the opportunitie, now fitly seruing, to enlarge his dominion, by winning somewhat in Italie. Such aduice could the Etolians then give, when they flood in feare of danger threatning them at hand: but being soone after wearie of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselues by pillage, they were so farre from obseruing and following their owne good counsel, that they inuited the Romans into Greece, wherby they brought 10 themselues and the whole Countrie, (but themselues before any other part of the Countrie) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That enery one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

## d. III.

PHILIP, at the persuasion of DEMETRIVS PHARIVS, enters into League with HANNIBAL, against the Romans. The Tenour of the League betweene HANNIBAL and PHILIP.

His being agreed vpon: the Greekes betooke themfelues to quiet courses of life; and Philip, to prepare for the businesse of Italie, about which hee consulted with Demetrius Pharius. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaile of Canna: after which hee joyned in League with Hannibal, as hath beene shewed before: Demetrius Pha-

rius bore great malice vnto the Romans; and knew no other way to bee auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne loft Kingdome, than by procuring the Macedonian, 30 that wasin a manner wholly guided by his counsaile, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise beene farre more expedient for Philip, to have supported the weaker of these two great Cities against the more mightie. For by so doing, hee should perhaps have brought them to peace vpon some equal termes; and thereby, as did Hiero a farre weaker Prince, haue both secured his owne Estate, and caufed each of them to be desirous of chiefe place in his friendship. The iffue of the counsaile which he followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the Romans; the trouble which they and the Atolians did put him to in Greece; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon Conditions that might easily be broken: haue beene related in another place as belonging vnto the second Punick 40 warre. Wherefore I will onely here set downe the tenour of the League betweene Him and Carthage: which may feeme not unworthic to be read, if onely in regard of the formeit selse then vsed; though it had beene ouer-long to have beene inserted into a more busie peece.

THE

# OATH COVENANTS BETWEENE HANNIBAL, GENERALL OF THE

CARTHAGINIANS; and XENOPHANES, Embassador of PHILIPKing of Macedon.

H1S is the League ratified by oath, which HAN-NIBAL the Generall, and with him. MAGO, MYRCAL, and BARMOCAL, as also the Se-

natours of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Armie, haue made with XE-NOPHANES the Sonne of CLEOMACHUS Athenian, whom King PHILIP the sonne of DEMETRIVS hath fent unto vs, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before Iupiter, and Iuno, and Apollo: before † The god of the Carthaginians, Hercules, and Iolaus, † Demon. before Mars, Triton, Neptune : before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sun, the Moone, and the Earth; before 30 Rivers, and Meddowes, and VV aters; before all the Gods that have power over Carthage; before all the Gods, that rule ouer Macedon, and the rest of Greece; before all the Gods, that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League. HANNIBAL the Generall bath said, and all the Senatours that are with him, and all the Carthagintans in his Armie: Beit agreed betweene You and Us, that this Oath stand for triendship and louing affection, that Wee become friends, familiar, and brethren, Upon Couenant, that the safetie of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of HANNIBAL the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Prouinces of the Carthaginians vsing the same Lawes, and of the Uticans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the 50 Carthaginians, and of the Souldiors and Affociates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold friendship in Italie, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom We shall hold friend-Eeeece

ship or make Alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserved by King P HILIP and the Macedonians, and such of the Greekes as are their Affociates. In like manner shall King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Affociates, bee faued and preserved by the Carthaginian. Armies, and by the Uticans, and by all Cities and N ations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers. 10 and by all Nations and (ities in Italie, Gaule and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or hall bereafter ionne with Vs in 1. talie. Wee shall not take counsaile one against the other nor deale fraudulently one with the other. Withall readinesse and good will, without deceit or subtiltie, We shall be enemies vnto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, 20 Townes, and Hauens, with which We have alreadie league and friendship. Wee also shall be enemies to the enemies of King PHILIP, excepting those Kings, (ities, and Nations, with which VVee have alreadie league and friendship. The war that VVe have with the Romans, have Ye also with them, untill the Gods shall give us a new and happie end. Ye (hall aide Us with those things whereof VVee have neede, and 30 shall doe according to the Couenants betweene Us. But if the Gods shall not give unto You and Us their helpe in this warre against the Romans and their Associates : then if the Romans offer friend (hip, VV e (hall make friend ship in such wife that Ye shall be partakers of the same friendship, With Condition, That they shall not have power to make war vpon you: 10 Neither shall the Romans bee Lords over the Corcyraans, nor over those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor over Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They (hall also render unto DEMETRIUS PHARIUS all those that belong vnto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make war upon Ye or Vs : We will succour one another in 50 that warre, as either shall have neede. The same shall be observed in warre made by any other, excepting those

Kings, Cities, and States, with whom Wee hold alreadie league and friendship. To this League if VVe or Ye shall thinke fit to adde or detract, such addition or detraction shall bemade by our common consent.

## ò. IIII.

How PHILIP yeelded to his natural vices being therein foothed by DEMETRIVS PHARIUS. His desire to tyrannize vponthe free States his Associates: With the troubles, into which hee thereby fell, whileft he bore a part in the fecond Puniske warre. He poisoneth ARATVS: and growes hatefull to the Acheans.

Itherto Philip had carried himfelfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdome, he might haue offered his with more commendation of his wildome, he might have one to the friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatnesse of minde, the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatnesse of minde,

with a desire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath beene said) by Demetrius Pharius: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himselfe to his desires : and thereby shortly gouerned him, euen as he listed. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed fuch as they feemed. He was luftfull, bloudie, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what hee listed, and not otherwise listing to doe what hee ought, than so farre foorth, as by making a faire shew he might breede in 30 men such a good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before he should busie himselfe in Italie, hee thought it requisite in good policie, to bring the Greekes that were his Associates vnder a more absolute forme of subjection. Hercunto Apelles had aduised him before; and hee had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apelles was a boisterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deepely wronged if he might not wholy bauchis owne way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunitie at better times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to obserue the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reines in his hand, those affections which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore hee grew daily more and 49 more in credit: fo as, without any manner of contention, bec supplanted Aratus:

which the violence of Apelles could never doc. There arose about these times a very hote Faction among the Messenians, betweene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forrein warre) vnto domesticall obiects: than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In proceile of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. Hee was glad of this: refoluing fo to end the matter, that they should not hencefoorth striue any more about their Gouernment: for that he would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his comming thither, hee found Aratus busic among them 50 to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose. Wherfore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with fuch of the Messenians as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they

meant to stand thus disputing : and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the infolence of the vnruly Rabble: Contrariwife, in talking with the heades of the po-

become his Enemies. To this good aduice Philip yeelded at the present: but not without some dislike, thencefoorth growing betweene Him and the Arati; whom he thought more fro- 40 ward than befeemed them, in contradicting his will. Neyther was the old man defirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as he plainly discourred his T yrannous purposes: so likewise he perceived, that in reforting to his house. He had beene dishonest with his sonnes wife. Hee therefore staid at home: where at good leifure he might repent, that in despight of Cleomenes, his owne Countriman, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the Macedonians into Peloponne sus.

it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith

vnto the Messenians: But if, by seizing vpon Ithome, Hee must lose all the other

Castles that hee held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him

by Antigonus, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his foul-

diers, and keepe men in dutie, as hee had done hitherto, by their owne good

wils, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends

Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponnesus into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to beare him companie. In this journie He found by experience what Aratus had latelv told him: That vnhonest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appea- 50 rance. The Epirots were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But He would needes have them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his will, Hee feized vpon their Towne of Oricum, and laid siege to Apollonia; having no good colour of

these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what hee listed, and not feeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in stead of settling the country, as his intended Voyage into Italie required: He kindled a fire in it which he could neuer quench; vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whileft he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in Italie: M. Valerius the Roman came into those parts; who not onely maintained the Epirots against him, but procured the Etolians to breake the Peace, which they had lately made

CHAP.4. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

with him. Thus began that warre; the occurrents whereof wee have related before, in chap.3.5.13. to place whereto it belonged. In mannaging whereof though Philip did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leifure ferued, He made it apparant that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former defire, of oppreffing the libertic of the Mef-(entans; but made another journie into their Countrie, with hope to deceiue them, as before. They understood him better now than before; and therefore were not hastie to trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serue, Hee went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, inuaded them with open warre. But in that warre hee could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprise. In this attempt vpon Messene he lost Demetrius Pharius; that was his Counsailor, and Flatterer, not his 20 peruerter; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angrie he waxed against those, that seemed not to fauour hisiniurious doings. Wherefore by the Ministerie of Taurion, his Lieutenant, he poyfoned old Aratus; and shortly after that, hee poyfoned also the yonger Aratus; hoping that these things would neuer haue beene knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselves were more sure, than manifest in operation. The Sicyonians, and all the people of Achsia, decreed vnto Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Processions, to bee celebrated euery yeeretwice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpose; as was accustomed vnto the Heroes, or men, whom they thought to bee translated into the number of 3 othe gods. Hereunto they are faid to have beene encouraged by an Oracle of Apollo: which is like enough to have beene true; since the helpe of the Deuill is never fai-

ling to the increase of Idolatrie. The louing memoric of Aratus their Patron, and lingular Benefactor, could not but worke in the Achaens a marueilous diflike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counfaile for themselues. At the present, the murder was not generally knowne or beleeved: neither were they in case to subsist, without his help that had comitted it. The Lelians were a most outragious people, great darers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the Romans had made a League: whereof the Conditions were soone 40 divulged, especially that maine point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make; namely, That the Ætolians should have the country and townes; but the Romans the spoile, and carrie away the people to sell for slaues. The Achaans, who in times of greater quiet could not endure to make fireight alliance with the Etolians, as knowing their vnciuill disposition; were much the more auerse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the Barbarians (for fuch did the Grèckes account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauocke of the Country. The same consideration moued also the Lacedamonians, to stand off awhile. beforethey would declare themselues for the Atolians; whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industrie therefore of Philip, and the great care 50 which he seemed to take of the Acheans his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them:

especially at such time, as their owne necessitie was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himselsethe Dymeans, by an inestimable benefit : recoucring their Towne, after it had beene taken by the Romans and Etolians; and redeeming their people wherefocuer they might bee found, that had beene carried away Captiue, Eccece 3

Captine, and fold abroad for flaues. Thus might he have blotted out the memoric of offences past; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not other whiles broken out, and given men to vnderstand; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other soule acts. whereof he was not alhamed; He tooke Polycratia the wife of the yonger Aratus, and carried her into Macedon: little regarding how this might ferue to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of fuch faults he shall be told, when the Romans make warre vpon him the second time for of that which happened in this their first Inuasion, I holde it superfluous to make repetition.

#### ð. V.

Of PHILOPOEMEN Generall of the Acheans : and MACHANIDAS, Tyrant of Lacedamon. A battaile betweene them, wherein MACHANIDAS is flaine.



T happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discouers the vertue of another. In the place of Aratus there flood vp Philopamen: 20 whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the Acheans redoubtable among all the Greekes, and carelesse of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence

of their neighbours. This is that Philopamen: who being then a yong man, and having no command; did especiall service to Antigonus at the battaile of Sellasia against Cleamenes. Thence-forward untill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of Crete: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldome or neuer at peace betweene themselves; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of warre. At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himselfe so strictly, trauailing with all the Cities of the Confede- 30 racic to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as also he so diligently trained them vp in all exercise of service, that hee made the Acheans very strong in that part of their forces. Being after chosen Prætor or Generall of the Nation. Hee had no lesse care to reforme their militarie discipline throughout, whereby his Countrie might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others. Hee perswaded the Acheans to cut off their vaine expence of brauerie, in apparrell, housholdstuffe, and curious fare, and to pellow that cost vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to proue the better Souldiours; and suteable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had serued hi-40 therto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast afarre off: that were vsefull in skirmishing at some distance, or for Surprises, or sudden and hastic Expeditions; whereto Aratus had beene most accustomed. But when they came to handie strokes, they were good for nothing: so as they were wholly driven to relie vpon the courage of their Mercinaries. Philopamen altered this: causing them to arme themfelues more weightily, to vse a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order; and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files so deepe as had beene accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the scruice of many hands.

Eight Moneths were spent of that yeere, in which hee first was Prætor of the 50 Acheans : when Machanidas the Tyrant of Lacedamon caused him to make triall, how his Souldiers had profited by his discipline. This Machanidas was the succesfor ynto Lycurgus; a man more violent than his fore-goer. Hekept in pay a strong Armie of Mercinaries : and he kept them not onely to fight for Sparta; but to hold

the Citie in obedience to himselfeperforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the Acheans, that were fauourers of libertie; but to firengthen himselse by friendship of the Atolians: who, in making Alliances, tooke no turther notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people also of Lacedamon, through their inucterate hatred vnto the Argines, Acheans, and Macedonians; were in like fort (all or most of them) inclinable to the Ltolian Faction. Very vnwisely. For in seeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordinip of Peloponness; they hindred themselves thereby from recoucring the Mastrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the Spartans, toto gether with the regard of his owne fecuritie, and no fmall hope of good that would follow, suffered not Machanidas to be idle; but made him alwayes ready to fall vpon his neighbours backes, and take of theirs what he could, whileft they were enforced, by greater necessitie, to turne face another way. Thus had hee often done, especially in the absence of Philip: whose sudden comming into those parts. or some other opposition made against him, had vsually made him taile of his attempts. At the present He was stronger in men, than were the Acheans; and thought his owne men better Souldiours than were theirs.

of the Historie of the World,

CHAP.4. S.5.

Whilest Philip therefore was busied else-where, hee entred the Countrie of the

Mantineans: being not without hope to doe as Cleomenes had done before him; yea 20 and perhaps to get the \* Lordship of Peloponnesus, as having stronger friendes, \* Except. è and weaker opposition, than Cleomenes had found. But Philopamen was readic to Polybel. 11. entertaine him at Mantinea; where was fought betweene them a great battaile. Plut in vita

The Tyrant had brought into the fielde vpon Cartes a great many of Engines; wherewith to beate vpon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To preuent this danger, Philopamen sent foorth his light armature a good way before him; so as Machanidas was faine to doe the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supplie; till at

length all the Mercinaries, both of the Achans and of Machanidas, were drawne vp to the fight: being so far advanced, each before their owne Phalanx, that it could no 30 otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were Machanidas his Engines made vnseruiceable, by the interpolition of his owne men; in such manner as the Canon is hindered from doing exe-

cution, in most of the battailes fought in these our times. The Mercinaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not onely by their advantage of number, but (as Poly- Polybibid. bius well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein vsually the hired souldiers of T yrants exceed those that are waged by free States.

For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant, than they which live oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) 40 to affure their owne scruitude: so the Mercinaries of a T yrant, being made parta-

kers with him in the fruites of his prosperitie, have good cause to maintaine his quarrellas their owne; whereas they that ferue vnder a free State, have no other motiue to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the Victorie: many Companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are prefently cast; and therefore such good fellowes will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victorie of a Tyrant, makes him stand in neede

of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more Subjects; and therefore stands in searc of more, that should seeke to take reuenge vpon him. The stipendaries therefore of the Acheans, being forced to give ground, so were veged to violently in their retrait by those of Machanidas, that shortly they be-

tooke themselves to flight and could not bee staid by any perswasions of Philopamen, but ranne away quite beyond the battaile of the Achaans. This disaster had beene sufficient to take from Philopamen the honour of the day; had hee not wisely obscrued the demeanour of Machanidas, and found in him that errour which might

restore the victorie. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries gaue chace vnto those that fled : leaving behind him in good order of battaile his Lacedamonians; whom hee thought sufficient to deale with the Acheans, that were alreadie disheartned by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of fight: Philopamen advanced towards the Lacedamonians that flood before him. There lay betweene them athwart the Country a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed ) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The Lacedamonians aduentured ouer it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the Achaans; who had in a manner alreadie loft the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaile; and had no sooner the foremost of them re- 10 covered the further banke, than they were stoutly charged by the Acheans, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first rankes being broken, all the rest began to shrinke: so as Philopamen getting ouer the ditch, easily chaced them out of the Field. Philopamen knew better how to vie his advantage, than Machanidas had done. Hee suffered not all his Armie to disband and follow the chace: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come backe. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries returning from the chace, looked very heavily when he faw what was fallen out. Yet with a lustic Troupe of Horse about him Hee made towards the bridge: hoping to find the Achaans in diforder; and to fet vpon their backes, as they 20 were careleffely pursuing their Victorie. But when he and his Companie faw Philopæmen ready to make good the bridge against them; then beganne euerie one to looke, which way he might shift for himselfe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was eafily discovered by his purple Cassocke, and the costly trappings of his Horse. Philopamen therefore leaving the charge of the bridge vnto another, coafted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it felfe, as he was getting ouer it, flew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battaile on the Lacedemonians side about fourethousand and more than fourethousand were taken Prisoners. Of the Achaan Mercinaries, probable it is that the losse was 20 not greatly cared for; fince that War was at an end, and for their monie they might hire more when they should have need.

PHILIP baning peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagona, Bithynia; and their Linages. Of the Galatians.

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Y this victorie the Acheans learned to thinke well of themselues. Neither needed they indeed after awhile (fuch was their discipline, and continuall exercise) to account themselves in matter of war inferiour to any, that should have brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the Macedonian, He made no great vse of them: But

when he had once concluded peace with the Romans and Atolians, He studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or very necrely together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the Acheans would have done 50 him feruice; they must, by helping him to oppresse others that neuer had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deale with themselves. He greatly hated Attalus King of Pergamus, who had joyned with the Romans and Atolians in warre against him. This

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This Attalus, though a King, was scarce yet a Noble-man, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in Phileterus his Vncle: who being guelded, by reason of a mishap which hee had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to bee the more eneemed; as great men in thole times reposed much confidence in Eunnehes, whose affections could not be obliged vnto wines or children. He was entertained into the familie of Docimus, a Captaine following Antigonus the first; and after the death of Antigonus, he accompanied his Master, that betooke himselfe to Lysimachus King of Thrace. Lysimachus had good opinion of him; and put him in truit with his monic and accompts. But 10 when at length hee flood in feare of this King, that grew a blondie Tyrant: Hee fled into Asia, where he seized upon the Towne of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to Lysimachus. The towns and monie, together with his owne seruice, He offered vnto Seleucus the first, that then was readie to give Lyfmachus battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that Seleneus having flaine Lylimachus, died shortly after himselse, before he made vse of Phileterus or his monic. So this Eunuch till retained Pergamus with the Countrie about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an absolute King. Hee had two brethren; of which the elder is faid to have been a poore Carter; and the yonger perhaps was not much better; before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. Philet.e-20 rus left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called Eumenes. This Eumenes enlarged his kingdome; making his advantage of the diffension. betweene Seleucus Calinicus and Antiochus Hierax, the sonnes of the second Antiochus. He fought a battaile with Hierax, neere vnto Sardes; and wan the victorie. At which time, to animate his men against the Gaules that served under his Enemie, he used a pretie deuice. He wrote the word \* VICTORIE vpon the hand of his Soothfayer, in \* Iul. Front. fuch colours as would eafily come off: and when the hote liver of the beaft that was Strat.L.i.c.11. facrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armic as a Miracle, plainely fore-shewing that the gods would bee affishant in that Battaile.

After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemie to Selencus: who never durst attempt to recover from him, by warre, the Territorie that hee had gotten and held. Finally, when hee had reigned two and twentic yeeres, hee died by a furfet of ouermuch drinke; and left his Kingdome to Attalus, of whom wee now entreat, that was some vnto Attalus the yongest brother of Phileterus. Attalus was an undertaking Prince, very bountifull, and no leffe valiant. By his owne proper forces Herestored his triend Ariarathes the Cappadocian into his Kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was grieuously molested by Acheus: who setting vp himselfe as King against Antiochus the great, reigned in the lesser Asia. He was belieged in his owne Citic of Pergamus: but by helpe of the Tectofage, a Nation of the Gaules, whom hee 40 called ouer out of Thrace, He recovered all that he had loft. When these Gaules had once gotten footing in Asia, they never wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters; or interposed themfelues, without inuitation, and found themselues worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused Prusias King of Bithynia to cease from his warre against Byzantium. Whereunto when hee had condescended; they neverthelesse within awhile after invaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victorie; and vsed it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increasing; they occupied the Region about Hellespont: where, in seating themselves, they were much beholding vnto Attalus. Neuerthelesse, presuming afterwards 50 vpon their strength; they forced their neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto Attalus than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time follow-

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CHAP.4.S.7.

ing, and was called Galatia. Yet continued they still to oppresse the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill up the Armies of those, that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posteritie of such as had saved themfelues and their Provinces, in the flothful reigne of the Persians; or in the busic times of Alexander, and his Macedonian followers. The Cappadocians were veriencient. For the first of their line had married with Atosa, fister vnto the great King Cyrus. Their Countrie was taken from them by Perdiceas, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom Perdiceas crucified, espying his time while the Macedonians were at civill warres among themselves; recovered his dominion, and passed it over to his off-spring. The Kings of Pontus had also their beginning from the Persian 10 Empire; and are faid to have issued from the royall house of Achamenes. The PAphlagonians deriued themselves from Pylamenes, a King that affisted Priamus at the warre of Troy. These, applying themselves vnto the times, were alwayes conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of Prusias had begun to reigne in Bithrnia. fome few generations before that of the great Alexander. They lay somewhat out of the Macedonians way: by whom therfore having other employment, they were the leffe molested. Calantus, one of Alexanders Captaines, made an Expedition into their Countrie; where hee was vanquished. They had afterwards to doe with a Lieutenant of Antigonus, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, vntill the reigne of Prusias, whom wee haucalreadic some- 20 times mentioned.

#### d. VII.

The Towne of Ciostaken by PHILIP, at the instance of PRVSIAS King of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, PHILIP growes hatefull to many of the Greekes: and is warred woon by ATTALVS King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

R v s 1 A s as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with Attalus, whole greatnesse he suspected. He therefore strength ned himselfe, by taking into a strict Consederacie with the Listians, Rhodians, and other of the Greekes. But when Philip had ended his Listian warre, and was denising with Antischus about sharing between them two the Kingdome of Egypt, wherein Ptolomie Philopater a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his some Ptol. Epiphanes a yong child his heire; the Bithynian entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into Asia, there to winne the Towne of the Ciani, and be- 40 flow it vpon him. Prusias had no right vnto the Towne, nor just matter of quarrell against it: but it was fitly seated for him; and therewithall rich. Philip came; as one that could not well denie to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby hee mightily offended no small part of Greece. Embassadours came to him whilest hee lay at the flege, from the Rhodians, and divers other States: entreating him to for fake the Enterprise. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answeres: making shew as if he would condifiend to their request; when he intended nothing leffe. At length hee got the Towne: where, euen in presence of the Embassadours, of whose sollicitation he had seemed so regardfull, Hee omitted no part of crueltic. Hereby hee rendred himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Espe- 50 cially his Fact was detected of the Rhodians: who had made vehement intercession for the poore Cian; and were aduertised by Embassadours of purpose sent vnto them from Philip, That, howfoeuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as foone as he listed: yet in regard of his love to the Rhodians, Hee was contented to

giue it ouer. And by this his clemencie the Embassadours said, that he would manifest vnto the World, what slanderous tongues they were; which noyled abroad fuch reports, as went of his fallhood and oppretions. Whilest the Embaffadours were declaming at Rhodes in the Theater to this effect; there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that Philip had sacked and destroyed the Towne of Cios, and, after a cruell flaughter of the Inhabitants, bad made flaues of all that escaped the sword. If the Rhodians tooke this in great despight, no lesse were the Ætolians inflamed against him: fince they had fent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at Lylimachic and Chaltocedon (which he had withdrawne from their Confederacie to his owne) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this King. But most of all others was Attalus moued, with consideration of the Macedonians violent ambition, and of his owne e-

state. He had much to lose; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could makea strong Partie in Greece. He had alreadie, as a new King, followed the example of Alexanders Captaines, in purchasing with much liberalitie the loue of the Athenians; which were notable Trumpetters of other mens vertue, having loft their owne. On the friendship of the Liolians he had cause to presume ; having bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with Philip. The Rhodians that were mightie at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the Egyp-20 tians, Syrians, and many other Princes and States, Heceafily drew into a fireight Al-

liance with him 3 by their hatred newly conceived against Philip. Vpon confidence in these his friends, but most of all in the readic assistance of the Rhodians, Attalus prepared to deale with the Macedonian by open warre. It had been vnscasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemie tended; fince his defire to fasten vpon Asa was manifest, and his falshood no lesse manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not farre from Chius, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherin though Attalus was driven to runne his owne ship on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admiral of the Rhodians tooke his deaths wound : and though Philip after the battaile tooke harbour 20 vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the Wracks vpon the shore: Yet for a smuch as He had suffered farre greater losse of ships and men, than had the Enemie: and since He durst not in few dayes after pur forth to Sca, when Attalus and the Rhodians came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victorie was adjudged to his Enemies. This not withflanding, Philip afterwards besieged and wanne some Townes in Caria: whether onely in a brauerie, and to despight his opposites; or whether upon any hopefull desire of conquest; it is vncertaine. The stratageme, by which he wonne Prinossus, is worthie of noting. He attempted it by a Myne: and finding the Earth so stonie, that it resisted his worke, He neuerthelesse commanded the Pyoners to make a noyse vnder ground; 40 and secretly in the night-time Hee rayled great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the belieged, that the worke went marucilously forward. At length he sent word to the Townssimen, that by his vnder myning, two acres of their wall flood onely vpon woodden props: to which if he gave fire, and entred by a breach, they should expect no mercie. The Prinasians little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise vp those heapes which they faw; but rather that all had beene extracted out of the Myne. Wherfore they suffered themselves to be outfaced; and gave up the Towne as loft, which the Enemie had no hope to winne by force. But Philip could not stay to fettle himselfe in those parts. Attalus and the Rhodians were too strong for him at 50 Sca, and compelled him to make hafte backe into Macedon; whither they followed bim all the way in manner of pursuit.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, seeke matter of quarrell against PHILIP. The Athenians, upon flight cause, proclaime warre against PHILIP; moued thereto by ATTALVS; whom they flatter. PHILIP winnes diners Townes: and makes peremptorie answere to the Roman Embassadour. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.

Hefe Asiatique matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet ser-

ued well to make a noyle in Rome; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a desire of making warre in Macedon, at least with a conceit that it were expedient to to doe. The Roman Senate was perfectly that it were expedient to to doc. A the Assumptions and knew, that informed of the state of those Easterne Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the Greekes, which lay betweene them and the Lordship of Asia. These Greekes were factious, and seldome or neuer at peace. As for the Macedonian, though length of time, and continual dealings in Greece euer fince the Reignes of Philip and Alexander, had left no difference betweene him and the Naturals: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because He was original- 20 ly for sooth a Barbarian: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they that had been most beholding vnto him, were neuerthelesse wearie of him, by reason of his personali faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of Greece would not long detaine the Roman Armies: especially fince the divisions of the Country were fuch, that euerie pettie Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selse; without much regarding the generalitie. But the poore Commonaltie of Rome had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were alreadic quite exhausted, by that grieuous war with Hannibal: wherein they had given by Loane to the Republike all their monie: neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive vntill fifteene or fixteene yeeres after this, their whole summe backe againe. That part of 30 paiment also which was alreadie made, being not in present monie, but much of it in Land: it behoued them to rest awhile; and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to heare, that Attalus and the Rhodians had sent Embassadors to follicite them against Philip, with report of his bold attempts in Asia: or that M. Aurelius, their Agent in Greece, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by fetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemic, that sollicited not onely the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Ilands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant Shortly to hold warre with the Romans vpon their owne ground. Philip had indeed 40 no such intent: neither was he much too strong either of himselfe, or by his alliance in Greece, to be refifted by Attalus and the Rhodians, especially with the helpe of the Ætolians their good friends, and (in a manner) his owne professed enemics. But such things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therfore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affaires of those, that were more mightic than himselfe. He was too vnskilfull, or otherwise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends : yet would he needes be secking new enemies. And he found them fuch, as he deserued to haue them: for he offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in miserie, and had done se him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to have strained his forces to the vtmost in making warre vpon them; or, in desisting from that injurious course, to haue made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But He, having broken that League of peace which is of all other the most

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naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnleffe they think them felues iustly prouoked; was afterwards too fondly perswaded, that he might wel be secure of the Romans, because of the written Couenants of peace betweene him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby such articles of peace can be held inusolable, faue onely \*by the water of Styx, that is, by Necessitie: which whilest it bindes one \*\$ir Fr. nacon partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparent that he shall bee a loser who flarts from the Conditions; it may folong (and folong onely) bee prefumed, that there shall be no breach. Till Hannibal was vanquished, the Romans never hearkened after Philip: for necessitie made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with Carthage, then was this River of Styx dried vp; and then could they Sweare as \* Mercurie did in the Comedie, by their owne selves, even by their good \* Plant. Amfwords, that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of Sopa. Phil. ter into Africke, and the present warre against Attalus; were matter of quarrell as much as needed : or if this were not enough, the Athenians helped to furnish them

The Athenians, being at this time Lords of no more than their owne barren Territorie, tooke state vpon them neuerthelesse, as in their ancient fortune. Two vong Gentlemen of Acarmania entring into the Temple of Ceres, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were deliuered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of Idolatrous superno fiition, vainly saide to bee auaileable vnto felicitie after this life) discouered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereypon they were brought before the Officers; and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meere errour, not thinking to have therein done amisse; vet, as it had beene for some hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Countrymen at home tooke this in ill part; and fought to revenge it as a publike injurie, by warre vpon the Athenians. Procuring therefore of Philip some Macedonians to helpe them, they entred into Attica: who wasted it with fire and sword; and carried thence away with them a great bootie. This indignitie firred up the high-minded Athenians; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had abilitie to performe. 30 All which at the prefent they could doe, was to fend Embassadours to King Attalus; gratulating his happie successe against Philip, and entreating him to visit their Citic. Attalus was hereto the more willing; because he understood, that the Roman Embaffadours, houering about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to bee there at the fame time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his owne followers. with some of the Rhodians. Landing in the Piraus, hee found the Romans there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy to Philip; and He being no leffe glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the warre. The Athenians came foorth of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as solemne a pompe as they could deuise, to 49 meet and honour the King. They entertained the Romans that were with him. in very louing manner: but towards Attalus himselfe they omitted no point of observance, which their flatteric could suggest. At his first comming into the Citic they called the people to Assembly: where they defired him to honour them with his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfe; saying, That with an euill grace he should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliner in writing, what he would have to be propounded. He did fo. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their fake: then, what had lately passed betweene him and Philip: lastly, an exhortation 50 vnto them, to declare themselves against the Macedonian, whilest he with the Rhodians, and the Romans, were willing and readic to take their part: which if they now refused to doe, He protested, that afterwards it would bee vaine to crane his helpe. There needed little entreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as Ffffff

Hee to desire it. As for other matters; they loaded him with immoderate honours: and ordained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the bodie of their Citizens confifled, should be added another, and called after his name; as if Hee were in part one of their Founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the Rhodians free Citizens of Athens.

Thus beganne a great noyfe of warre, wherein little was left vnto the Romans for their part; Astalus and the Rhodians taking all vpon them. But while these were vainly mil-spending the time, in seeking to draw the Atolians to their partie; that contrarie to their olde manner were glad to bee at quiet : Philip wanne the Townes of Maronea and Anus, with many other ftrong places about the Hellespont, 10 Likewise passing over the Hellespont, Hee layd siege vnto Abydus; and wanne it, though Hee was faine to stay there long. The Towne held out, rather vpon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from Attalus and the Rhodians, then any great ability to defend it selfe against so mightie an Enemie. But the Rhodians sent thither onely one Quadrireme Gallie : and Attalia no more than three hundred men, farre too weake an aide to make good the place. The Roman Embale fadours wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken fo much vpon them.

These Embassadours C. Claudius, M. Emylius, and P. Sempronius, were sent vnto Ptolemie Epiphanes King of Ægypt, to acquaint him with their victorie against Han-20 nibal and the Cartheginians; as also to thanke him for his fauour vnto them shewed in that warre; and to defire the continuance thereof, if they should neede it against Philip. This Agyptian King was now in the thirdor fourth yeere of his Reigne. which (as his Father Philepator had done before him ) Hee beganne a very young boy. The courtefic for which the Romans were to thanke him, was. That out of Agypt they had lately beene supplied with Corne, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the mileries of Warre had made all their owne Prouinces ynable to relecue them. This mefface could not but bee welcome to the Agyptian; fince it was well knowne, how Philip and Antiochus had combined themselues against him; conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason 20 bee hoped, that Hee, or his Councell for him, should offer to supplie the Romans with Corne: fince this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadours both leifure, and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that M. Amylius the yongest of them should steppe aside, and visit Philip, to trie if he could make him leaue the siege of Abydia; which else He was like to carry. Emylius, comming to Philip, telles him, that his doings are contrarie to the League that Hee had made with the Romans. For Attalia and the Rhodians, upon whom Hee made warre, were Confederate with Rome: and 40 the Towns of Abydess, which Hee was now befieging, had a kind of dependancie vpon Attalus. Hereto Philip answered, That Attalus and the Rhodians had made warre vpon him: and that He did onely requite them with the like. Doe you al-To (layd Emylius) requite these poore ABY DEN I with such terrible Warre, for any the like Inuasion by them first made upon you? The King was angry to heare himselfe thus taken short: and therefore Hee roundly made answere to Emylius; It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (above all,) your beeing a Roman, that makes you thus prasumptuous. But I would wish yee to remember the League that yee have made with mee, and to keepe it: If yee doe otherwise, I will make yee understand, that the Kingdome, and Name of Macedon is in matter of Warre, no lesse noble than 50 the Roman. So Hee dismissed the Embassadour; and had the Towne immediatly yeelded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died enery one of them, and fet their Towne on fire; binding themselves herero

by a fearefull oath, when Philip denied to accept them you realonable Conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meete by the Gouernours and Ancients of the Citie to change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to Philip: about which whilest they were busies the memorie of their oath wrought so effectually in the yonger fort; that, by exhortation of their Priefts, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that He said he would grant the Abrdeni three dayes leifure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the Towne; or 10 hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fooles.

CHAP.4. S.9. of the Historie of the World.

#### D. IX.

The Romans decree warre against P H I L I P, and send one of their Consuls into Grecce, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederats. How poore the Athenians were at this time. both in qualitie and estate.

His calamitie of the Abydeni, was likened by the Romanes unto that of the Saguntines: which indeed it neverly refembled; though Rome was not alike interessed in the quarrell. But to helpe themselves with pretence for the warre, they had found out another Saguntum, euch the Citie of Athens: which if the Macedonian thould winne, then refled

there no more to doc, than that he should presently embarke himselfe for Italie, whither he would come, not as Hannibal from Saguntum in five moneths, but in the short space of fine dayes sayling. Thus P. Sulpicius the Consul tolde the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre voon Philip; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of Pyrrbus was by him alleadged; to shew, what 30 Philip, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to vadertake: as also the fortunate Voyage of Scepio into Africk; to shew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Countrey. By such arguments was the Commonaltie of Rome induced to beleeve, that this warre with the Macedonian was both just and necessary. So it was decreed; and immediatly the same Consul hasted away towards Macedon, having that Province allotted vnto him before, and all things in a readincife, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people must bee acquainted with. Great thankes were given to the Athenian Embaffadours, of their constancie (as was fayd) in not changing their faith at fuch time as they flood in danger of being belieged. And indeed great thankes were 40 due to them, though not vpon the same occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to thinke it a benefit vnto themselves, that any Greeke Towne, refusing to sue vnto the Macedonian for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Easterne parts; had reason to give thankes vnto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an vntrue fuggestion, That Philip was making ready for Italy: and fince neither Attalus, the Rhodians, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the Romanes to give them protection: these busi-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and confequently with Philip, a matter of May-game, (as was shewed before) sent Embaffadours into all parts of the World, even to Ptolemie of Egypt, and to the Ro-50 mans, as well as to Attalus and others their neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authours of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuerthelesse as it loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doines of P. Salpicius the Conful were fuch, as might have argued Athens to bee the least part of his care. Hee sailed not about Peloponnesus, but tooke the readie Ffffff 2

way to Macedon; and landing about the River of Apfus, betweene Dyrrachium and Apollonia, there beganne the warre. Soone vpon his comming the Athenian Embassadours were with him, and craued his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whileft he was so farre from them. They bemoaned themselues as men besieged, and intreated him to deliuer them. For which cause He sent unto them C. Claudius with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces Hee retained with him, for the prosequution of a greater designe. The athenians were not indeed belieged: onely some Rouers from Chaleis, in the Ile of Eubera; and fome bands of adventurers out of Corinth, vied to take their shippes and spoile their fields, because they had declared themselves against King Philip, that was Lord of 10 these two Townes. The Robberies done by these Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike Athenians, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrivall of Claudius, and shortly after of three Rhodian Gallies, easily preserved them. As for the Athenians themselves; they that had been wont, in ancient times, to undertake the Conquests of Agypt, Cyprus, and Cicil; to make warre vponthe great Persian King; and to hold so much of Greece in subiection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest; had now no more than three shippes, and those open ones, not much better then long Boates. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men; but stood as highly vpon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had been still their owne.

#### ð. X.

The Towne of Chalcis in Eubwa, taken and fackt by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garison at Athens. PHILIP attempteth to take Athens by Surprise: wasteth the Countrey about : and makes a journey into Peloponne fus. Of NABIS the Tyrant of Lacedamon, and bis wife. PHILIP offers to make warre against NI A-BIs for the Acheans. He returneth home through Attica, which he Spoyleth againe : and provides against his Enemies. Some exploits 30 of the Romans. Diners Princes toyne with them. Great labouring to draw the Atolians into the warre. ,



HILIP, returning home from Abydus, heard newes of the Roman Consul his being about Apollonia. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainement; or perhaps before hee had well refolued, whether it were best awhile to lit still, and trie what might bee done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Inua-

ders with all his forces: Hee received advertisement from Chalcis of a grienous 40 mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians. For C. Claudius with his Romans, finding no such worke at Athens as they had expected, or as was answerable to the fame that went abroad; purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the Warre, and make his owne imployment better. Heegrew soone weary of sitting as a Scarre-Crowe, to faue the Athenians grounds from spoyle; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The Towne of Chalcis was negligently guarded by the Macedonian Souldiours therein, for that there was no enemic at hand; and more negligently by the Townsmen, who reposed themselves vpon their Garrison. Hercof Claudius having advertisement, sailed thither by night for feare of being discried; and, arriving therea little before breake of day, tookeit 50 by Scalado. He vsed no mercie, but slue all that came in his way : and wanting men to keepe it, (vnlesse hee should have left the heartlesse Athenians to their owne desence) Hee set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all prouisions for Warre, which were plenteously filled. Neither were Hee and his Associats

contented with the great abundance of spoyle which they carried about their ships, and with inlarging all those, whom Philip, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despight and hatred vnto the King, they overthrew and brake in pieces the Statuas vnto him there erected. This done, they hafted away towards Athens: where the newes of their exploit were like to bee joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at Demetrias about some twenty miles thence; whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet hee made all haste to take reuenge. Hee thought to haue taken the Athenians, with their trustic Friends, busie at worke in ransaking the Towne, and loading themselves with spoyle: but they were gone before his comming. Five thousand light-armed-foote hee had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leaving at Chalcis onely a few to burie the dead, Hee marched thence away speedily toward Athens: thinking it not ynpossible to take his enemies, in the toy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chalcis. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-Post that stood Scout for the Citie vpon the borders, had not descried him afarre off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to Athens. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Towne afleepe, as feareleffe of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a Trumpet out of their Citadell to sound the Alarme; and 20 with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few houres Philip was there; who feeing the many lights, and other figures of buffe preparation viuall in fuch a cafe, understood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though Glaudius were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compasse about by Sea, and had no cause of haste) yet having in the Towne some mercinarie Souldiers. which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they aduentured to iffue forth at a gate, whereto they faw Philip make approch. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. He therfore 30 onely willed his men to follow his example, and prefently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight he gaue fingular proofe of his valour; and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great flaughter backe into the Citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would have allowed even to the very gate. But he retired without harme taken; for that they which were vponthe Towres ouer the gate, could not vie their calling weapons against him, without indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the Citie. There was a Temple of Hercules, a place of exercise, with a Groue, and many goodly Monuments belides, neere adioyning vnto Athens: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even vnto the 40 sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some Companies of Attalus his men from Agina; too late in regard of what was already paft: but in good time, to preuent him of fatisfying his anger to the full, which as yet hee had not done. So he departed thence to Corinth: and hearing that the Acheans held a Parliament at Argos, He came thither to them vnexpected.

The Acheans were denising upon warre: which they intended to make against Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon: who being flarted up in the roome of Machanidas, did greater mischiese then any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly vpon his Mercinaries; and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; agreedy extortioner vpon those that lived vnder him; and one that in his naturall so condition smeltrankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife Apega was very fitly matched with him, since his dexteritie was no greater in spoyling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives; whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their iewels and apparell. Her husband was so delighted Liu. lib 32, with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to bee made linely representing her; Ffffff 3

Excerpt. è Po-

and apparrelled it with such costly garments as sheevsed to weare. But it was indeede an Engine, seruing to torment men. Hereof he made vse, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose monie hee was desirous; Hee would bring him into the roome where this Counterfait Apega flood, and there vse allhis Art of perswasion, to get what hee desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speede, but was answered with excuses; then tooke he the refractorie denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife Apega (who fate by in a Chaire) could perswade more effectually. So heeled him to the Image, that role vp and opened the armes, asit were for imbracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nayles, the like whereof were also shicking in the 10 brefts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith the griped the poore wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was Nabis in his Gouernment. In his dealings abroad he combined with the Atolians, as Machanidas and Lycurgus haddone before him. By these hegrew into acquaintance with the Romanes; and was comprehended in the League which they made with Philip, at the end of their former Warre. Of Philopamens vertue hee itood in feare; and therefore durst not prouoke the Achaans, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when Cycliades, a farre worse Captaine, was their Prætor; and all, or the greatest part of their Mercinaries were discharged; Philopamen being also gone into Crete, to follow his 20 beloued Occupation of Warre: then did Nabis fall vpon their Territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their owne safetie in the Townes.

Against this T yeart the Acheans were preparing for warre, when Philip came among them; and had fet downe, what proportion of Souldioursenery Citie of their Corporation should furnish out. But Philip willed them, not to trouble themselues with the care of this businesse; for a smuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding joy and thankes they accepted of this kinde offer. But then hee told them, That, whilest he made warre vpon Lacedamon, Hee ought not to leave his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to Corinth, and some 30 Companies into the Ile of Eubera; that so he might securely pursue the warre against 2Vabis. Immediatly they found out his deuice; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre against the Romans: Wherefore their Pretor Cycliades made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was affembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre against 27 abis; hee brake vp the Affemblie, with enery mans good liking; whereas in former times, Hee had been thought no better than one of the Kings Paralites.

It grieued the King to haue thus failed in his purpose with the Achaens. Neuerthelesse, he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by Co- 40 rinth backe into Attica. There he met with Philocles one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had been doing what harme he might vnto the Countrie. With this addition of ftrength, he attempted the Caftle of Eleusine, the Hauen of Pyraus, and even the Citic of Athens. But the Romans made such haste after him by Sea, thrushing themselves into every of these places; that hee could no more then wreak his anger vpon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of Attica was at that time lingularly beautified. So Hee destroyed all the workes of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, hauing long agoe been masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did hee onely pull all downe: but caused his men to 50 breake the very stones, that they might be unseruiceable to the reparation. His losse at Chalcis being thus reuenged vpon Athens, Hee went home into Macedon: and there made prouision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about Apollonia; and against the Dardanians, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infest him. Among his other cares he forgot not the Atolians : to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at Naupacins, he sent an Embassage; requesting them to continue

in his friendship. Thus was Phelip occupied. Sulpicius the Roman Consul encamped upon the River of Apfus. Thence he sent forth Apullius, his Lieutenant, with part of the Armie to walte the borders of Macedon. Apustius tooke fundrie Castles and Townes; vsing such extremitie of sword and fire at Antipatria, the first good Towns which he wanne by force, that none durst afterwards makeresistance, vnlesse they knew themselves able to holde our. Returning towards the Conful with his spoile, He was charged in Rete, vpon the 10 paffage of a Brooke, by Athenagor as a Macedonian Captaine: but the Romans had the better; and killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their bootie, with which they arrived in safetie at their Campe. The fuccesse of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet served to draw into the Roman friendship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were Pleuratus, the sonne of Scerdilaidas the Illyrian; Aminander King of the

Athamanians; and Bato, the sonne of Longarus, a Prince of the Dardanians. They offered their affiftance ynto the Conful, who thanked them : and faid, That hee would shortly make vse of Pleuratus and Bato, when hee entred into Macedon: but that the friendship of Aminander, whose Countrie lay betweene the Atolians and

20 Thessale, might bee perhaps availeable with the Atolians, to stirre them vp against So the present care was wholy set vpon the Atolian Parliament at hand. This ther came Embassadours from the Macedonian, Romans, and Athenians. Of which. the Macedonian spake first : and saide, That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betweene his Master and the Atolians: fo was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves without good cause, to be caried away after other mens fancies. Hee prayed them to confider, how the Romans heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in Greece tended onely to defence of the \*Atoliens: and yet notwithstanding had beene angrie, that the Atolians, by making 30 peace with Philip, had no longer neede of fuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busic, in obtruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the generall hatred, which these Barbarians bore vnto the Greekes. For euen after the same fort had they lent their helpe to the Mamertines: and afterwards delivered Syracuse, when it was oppressed by Carthaginian Tyrants: but now both Syracuse and Messana, were subject vnto the Rods and Axes of the Romans. To the same effect he alleadged many examples, adding, That in like fort it would happen to the Etolians: who, if they drew fuch Masters into Greece, must not looke hereaster to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to consult about Warre and Peace: the Romans would ease them of this care, and 40 fend them fuch a Moderator, as went cuery yeere from Rome to Syracuse. Whereforche concluded, That it was best for them, whilest as yet they might, and whilest one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with Philip: with whom if at any time, vpon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they

might as lightly bee reconciled : and with whom they had three yeeres agoe made the peace which stil continued; although the same Romans were then against it, who It would have troubled the Romans, to frame fought to breake it now. a good answere to these obiections. For the Macedonian had spoken the very truth. in the wing whereto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunitie, did tend. Wherefore the Athenians were let on by them to speake next: who had

50 store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make Philip odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embassadour, to call the Romans by the name of Barbarians; knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few dayes past, made war vpon the gods themselues, by desiroving all their Temples in Astica. Herewithall they made a pitifull rehearfall of their owne calamities; and faid, that if Philip might have his will, Atolia, and all the rest of Greece, should feele the same that Attica had felt; yea that Athens it selfe, together with Minerua, Iupiter, Ceres, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the wals and the Roman armes had not defended them. Then spake the Romans: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whole defence they had heretofore taken armes, went roundly to the point in hand. They fayd, that they had of late made warre in the Atolians behalfe, and that the Ætolians had without their consent made peace; whereof since the Ætolians must excuse themselues, by alleaging that the Romans, being busied with Carthage, wanted leifure to give them aid convenient: fo this excuse being now taken away, and 10 the Romans wholly bent against their common Enemie, it concerned the £tolians to take part with them in their warre and victorie, vnlesse they had rather perish with Philip.

It might eafily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their helpe ere it was desired, were themselves carried vnto the war by more earnest motiues, than a simple desire to helpe those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause, why Dorymachus the Etolian Prator shifted them off awhile with a dilatorie answere: though hee told his Countrymen. That by referring themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answere 20 was, first, in generall termes; That ouer-much haste was an enemie to good counsell: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But comming necrer to the matter in hand, He passed a Decree, That the Prator might at any time call an Assemblie of the States, and therein conclude upon this businesse; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas otherwise it was valuately to treat of such affaires, except in two of their great Parliaments, that were held at fet times.

#### d. XI.

The meeting of PHILIP with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætolians inuade bis dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of ATTALVS and the Roman Fleet.



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M HILLE was glad to heare, that the Romans had sped no better in their follicitation of the Atelians. He thought them hereby disappointed, in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to dif-appoint them of another. His sonne Perseus, a very boy, was sent to keepe the Streights of Pelagonia against the Dardanians; having with

him some of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his armie. It was jud- 40 ged, as may feeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how young soener, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies; by making them at least belecue, that he was not weakely attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same Perseus, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of Ætolia by his father; whom earnest businesse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand : it was thought, that the Macedonian Fleet under Heraclides, would serve to keepe Attalus, with the Rhodians and Romans, from doing harme by sea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his journic Westward against Sulpicius the Consul.

The Armies met in the countrey of the Dassareti, a people in the vtmost bor- 50 ders of Macedon towards Illyria, about the mountaines of Candania; that running along from Hemus in the North vntill they joyne in the South with Pindus, inclose the Westerne parts of Macedon. Two or three dayes they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued forth

CHAP.4. S.H. of the Historie of the World. of his Campe into the open field. But Philip was not confident in the Brength which he had then about him and therefore thought it better to fend fourth some of his light-armed Mercinaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driven backe into their Campe. Now although it was fo, that the King was vinwilling to hazard all at first vpon a Cast, and therefore sent for Perseus with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no leffe vn willing to lofe too much in reputation; He made shew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers : and to fo gaue charge to Athenagoras, one of his Captaines, to prouoke out the Romans to fight; instructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behave themselves respe-Riucly, as opportunitie should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any ambulh, having fought vpon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had beene well followed. For when Athenagoras began to fall backe, they charged him fo hotly, that they draue him to an hastie slight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not flaying to let them runne into the

danger, disconered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Conful heereby gathered, that the 20 King had some desire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which hee therefore presented the second time; leading forth his Armic, and setting it in order, with Elephants in front : a kind of helpe which the Romans had never vied before, but had taken thefe of late from the Carthaginians. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce about four electes ere this, that Pyrrhes carried Elephants out of Greece into Italie, to affright the Romans, who had never seene any of those beafts before. But now the same Romans (whilest possibly some were yet aline, which had knowne that Expedition of Pyrrhus) come into Macedon, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the Macedonians and Greekes have none. Philip had patience to let the Conful braue him at his Trenches: wherein hee did wifely: for the Roman had 20 greater neede to fight, than Hec. Sulpicius was vnwilling to lose time: neither

could hee without great danger, lying fo neere the Enemie, that was firong in horse, fend his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off: prefuming that Philip would not aduenture to meete him on even ground; and fo the more boldly he suffered his Forragers to ouer-runne the Countrie. The King was nothing forry of this; but permitted the Romans to take their good pleasure: euen till their prefumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them careleffe, When this was come to passe, hee tooke all his horse, and light-armed-foote, with which hee occupied a place in the midway, betweene the Forragers and their Campe. There he flayed in Couert with part of his forces; to keepe the passages 40 that none should escape. The rest hee sent abroad the Countrie, to fall voon the

straglers: willing them to put all to the sword, and let nonerun home with newes to the Campe. The flaughter was great : and those which escaped the handes of them that were fent abroad to fcowre the fields, lighted all or most of them vpon the King and his companies in their flight: fo as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. Salpicius hereupon sends foorth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they saw it needfull: He himselse with the Legions sollowed. The companies of Horse divi-50 ded themselues, accordingly as they met with advertisements vpon the way, into

many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon Philips Troupes, that were canuaffing the field, tooke their taske where thev found it. But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himselfe. They had the disduantage: ascomming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was readie for them.

So they were beaten away: as their fellowes also might have beene, if the King had well bethought himselfe, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an haruest, he was too greedie about a poore gleaning: the Roman Legions appeared in fight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the Macedonians to looke to their owne fafety. They ranne which way they could: and (as men that lie in waite for others, are seldome heedfull of that which may befall themselues) to escape the Enemie, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were loft. The Kings horse was slaine under him: and there had hee beene cast away, if a louing subject of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his owne 10 horse; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foote was ouertaken and killed.

In the common opinion Philip was charged with improvident rashnesse; and the Consul, with as much dulnesse, for his dayes service. A little longer stay would have delivered the King from these enemies without any blowe: since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needes have retired backe to the Sea. On the other fide it was not thought vnlikely, That if the Romans following the King, had set upon his Campe, at such time as he fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either slaine or taken, they might have vonne it. But that noble Historian, Liuie, (as is commonly his maner) hath indiciously observed, That neither the one, 20 nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Armie lay safe in his Campe; and could not bee so assonished with the losse of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the desence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselse; He was advertised, that Pleuratus the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were tallen upon his Countrey; when they found the passage thereinto open, after Perseus was called away from custodie of the Streights. This was it which made him aduenture to doe somewhat betimes; that he might let the Romans going the sooner, and afterwards looke vnto histroublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, Philip was desirous to cleere himselfe of the Romans, as soone as he might. And to that purpose he sent vnto the Consul; re- 30 questing a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, hee marched away by night; and left fires in his Campe to beguile the Enemie, as if hee had not stirred out of the place. Sulpicius, when hee heard of the Kings departure, was not flow to follow him. He ouertooke the Macedonians in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a wooddie ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the Macedonian Phalanx was of little vie; being a square battaile of pikes, not fit for euerie ground. The Archers of Crete were judged, and were indeed, more serviceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrowes were of small force against the Roman shield. The Macedonians therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But 40 to no purpose. For the Romans got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) layd open vnto the Consul some poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yeelded for searc. But the spoyle of these, and of the fields adioyning, was not sufficient to maintaine his Armie; and therefore he returned backe to Apollonia.

The Dardanians, hearing that Philip was come backe, withdrew themselves apace out of the Countrey. The King fent Athenagoras to vvaite vpon them home; whilest he himselfe vvent against the Ætolians. For Damocritus the Prætor of the Ætolians, who had reserved himselfe and his Nation vnto the cuent of things, hearing report, that Philip was beaten once and againe: as also that Pleuratus and the Dardanians 50 were fallen voon Macedon; grew no leffe busie on the sudden, than before hee had beene vvise. He perswaded his Nation to take their time : and so, not staying to proclaime warre, joyned his forces with Aminander the Athamanian; and made invafion vpon Thessalie. They tooke and cruelly sacked a few Townes: whereby they

grew confident; asif, without any danger, they might doe what they lifted. But Philip came voon them erethey looked for him; and killing them as they lay difperfed was like to have taken their Campe; if Aminander, more warie than the tolians had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountaynous Countrie.

About the same time; the Roman Fleet, affished by Attalus and the Rhodians, had taken some small Islands in the Agean Sea. They tooke likewise the Towne of Oreum in the Ile of Eubaa; and some other places thereabout. The Townes were ginen to Attalus, after the fame Compact that had formerly beene made with the Atolians: the goods therein found were given to the Romans; and the people, for flaues. Other attempts on that fide were hindred; either by foule weather at Seas or by want of daring, and of meanes.

#### d. XII.

VILLIVS the Roman Conful wastes a veere to no effect. Warre of the Gaules in Italie. An Embassie of the Romans to Carthage, MASANISSA, and VER-MINA. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and T. QVINTIVS FLAMINIVS is fent againft him:

Hus the time ranne away : and P. Villew, a new Conful, tooke charge of the warre in Macedon. Hee was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiors: whereof two thousand, having ferued long in Sicil and Africk, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home.

They were (belike) of the Legions that had ferued at Canna: as may feeme by their complaint, of having beene long absent from Italie; whither faine they would 20 hauereturned, when by their Colonelsthey were shipped for Macedon. How Villius dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the Historie of his yeere is lost : whereof the misse is not great; since hee did nothing memorable. Valerius Antias, as we find in Linie, hath adorned this Villius with a great exploit against Philip. Yet since Linie Lini. Liga. himselfe, an Historian to whom sew of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Authour; we may reasonably believe, that Villius his

yeere was idle. In the beginning of this Macedonian Warre, the Romans found more trouble than could have bin expected with the Gaules. Their Colonie of Placentia, a goodly and strong Towne, which neither Hannibal, nor after him Afdrubel, had beene able 40 to force; was taken by these Barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like fort Cremona was attempted, but faued her felfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamities Amilear a Carthaginian, that stated behind Afdrubal, or Mago, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the Gaules, in these their enterprises. This when the Romans heard, they fent Embassadours to the Carthaginians: giving them to vnderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behoued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen Amilear, who made warre in Italie. Hereunto it was added (perhaps left the message might seeme otherwise to have sauoured a little of some scare) That of the Fugitive slaves belonging vnto the Romans, there were some reported to walke vp and down in Carthage: which if it were so, then To ought they to bee restored backe to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadours that were sent on this errand; had further charge to treat with Masanisa, as also with Verminathe sonne of Syphax. Vnto Masanisa, befides matter of complement, they were to fignific what pleasure Hee might doe them, by lending them some of his Numidian Horse, to serue in their Warre

against the Macedonian. Vermina had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of King: and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said. That having beene, and being still (asthey tooke it) their Enemie, He ought first of all to delire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they vied not to conferre vpon any, faue onely vpon fuch as had royally deferred it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadours voon such termes as they should thinke sit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answere, That they wholly disclaimed Amilear: bani- 10 thing him; and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had reftored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requilite, give fatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent agreat proportion of Corne to Rome; and the like vnto the Armie that was in Macedon. King Masanissa would haue lent vnto the Romans two thousand of his Numidian Horse : but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. Vermina met with the Embassadours, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and, without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the Romans bulled in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for Amilear and his 20 Gaules: they laid siege vnto Cremona; where L. Furius a Roman Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. Amilear the Carthaginian died in this battaile : and the fruit of the Victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwardes should have the managing of warre among those Gaules. So was there good leifure to thinke vpon the bulinesse of Macedon: where Philip was carefully prouiding to give congenement vnto his subjects, by punishing a bad Counsailour whom they hated; as also to assure vnto himselse the Acheans, by rendring vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of E- 20 pirus. This was in doing, when Villius, hauing vnprofitably laboured to find was into Macedon, taking a journie (as Sulpicius had done before him ) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that T. Quintius Flaminius was chosen Conful, and had Macedon allotted him for his Prouince; whose comming was expected; and he very shorely arriued at the Armie.

#### d. XIII.

The Romans beginne to make warre by negotiation. T. QUINTIVS winnes a passage against Philip. Thessales wasted by Philip, the Romans, and Atolians. The Acheans for sking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine. Philip delivers Argos to NA
Bis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

He Romans had not beene wont in former times, to make Warreafter fuch a trifling manner. It was their vie, to give battaile to the Enemie, as soone as they met with him. If hee refused it, they besieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his different advantage in reputation, when hee had long forborne it (asiz would bee interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with Philip, they beganne to learne of the subtle Greekes, the arte of Negotiation:

wherein

wherein hitherto they were not growne so fine, as within a little while they proued. Their Treasury was poore, and stood indebted, \* many yeeres after this, vnto pri- \* Lin.L.34. nate men, for part of those monies that had been borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonalty auerse from the Macedonian Warre; and had thereby driven the Senators greedy of the enterprize, to make vie of their cunning. Yet beeing weary of the flow pace where with their businesse went forward. they determined to increase their Armie, that they might have the lesse neede to relie vpontheir Confederats. So they leavied eight thousand foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the Latines) which they sent with T. Quintins Flaminius, the new Conful into Macedon. Their Nauie, and other meanes could well haue serued, for the setting foorth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by ftraining themselves to the most of their abilitie, they should (besides other difficulties, incident vnto the sustenance of those that are too many and too farre from home ) have bred some icalousie in their friends of Greece, and thereby have lost some friends, yea, perhaps have increased the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiours. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that Attalus, about the same time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his Embassadours; requesting that either they would vidertake the defence of his Kingdome against Antiochus, who inuaded it; or elle that they would not take it 20 vncourtcously, that he quitted the Warre with Philip, and returned home, to looke vnto that which more concerned him. Their answere was remarkable. They said, That it was not their manner to vie the aid of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also be well contented to affoord it; That they could not honeftly take part with Attalus, their good friend though he were, against Antiochus, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with Antiochus by Embassadours, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an atonement betweene them. In such louing fashion did they now carrie themselves, towards their good friend the King Antiochus: who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Armie from the Kingdome of Attalus. 30 But how little they regarded these tearmes of friendship, after that once they had

made an end with Philip; it will very soone appeare. T Quintius hasting away from Rome, came betimes into his Province, with the supplie decreed vnto him; which consisted, for the most part, of olde Souldiours, that had served in Spaine and Africk. He found Villius the old Censul, (whom at his comming he presently discharged) and King Philip of Macedon, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of Epirus; by the River of Apfus or Aous. It was manifest, that either the Romans must fetch a compasse about, and seeke their way into Macedon, through the poore Countrey of the Daffaretians; or else winne, by force, that passage, which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had al-40 ready two yeeres together mil-spent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of Victuals: whereof they could neither carrie with them store sufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get over these Mountaines, which divided the South of Epirus from Thessalie: then should they enter into a plentiful Countrey; and which by long dependance on the Macedonian, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuerthelesse, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelyhood. For the River of Apfus, running along through that Valley which alone wasopen betweene the Mountains, made it all a deep Marish and vnpassable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rocke by mans hand. 50 Wherefore Quintius affailed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himfelfe difappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemie, who neglected not the gard of them that was very easie; Hee was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing for the space of fortie dayes.

Thislong time of rest gaue hope vnto Philip, that the Warre might be ended by

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against the Macedonian. Vermina had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of King: and promifed thereafter to deserue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That having beene, and being still (asthey tooke it) their Enemic, Heought first of all to delire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they vied not to conferre vpon any, saue onely vpon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authoritic to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadours vpon such termes as they should thinke sit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answere, That they wholly disclaimed Amilear: bani- 10 thing him; and conficating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had reftored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requifite, give fatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent agreat proportion of Corne to Rome; and the like vnto the Armie that was in Macedon. King Malanisla would haue lent unto the Romans two thousand of his Numidian Horse: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. Vermina met with the Embassadours, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the Romans bulied in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for Amilear and his 20 Gaules: they laid liege vnto Cremona; where L. Furius a Roman Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. Amilear the Carthaginian died in this battaile : and the fruit of the Victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwardes should have the managing of warre among those Gaules. So was there good leifure to thinke vpon the bulinesse of Macedon: where Philip was carefully prouiding to give congentment vnto his subjects, by punishing a bad Counsailour whom they hated; as alfo to affure vnto himselfe the Acheans, by rendring vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to ftrengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercifing and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of E- 20 pirus. This was in doing, when Villius, having vnprofitably laboured to find way into Macedon, taking a journie (as Sulpicius had done before him ) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came advertisement, that T. Quintius Flaminius was chosen Conful, and had Macedon allotted him for his Prouince; whose comming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Armie.

#### d. XIII.

The Romans beginne to make warre by negotiation. T. QUINTIVS winnes a passage against Phillip. Thessales wastedby Phillip, the Romans, and Ætolians. The Acheans for sking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. At reatie of peace, that was vaine. Phillp delivers Argosto NABIS the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

He Romans had not been ewont in former times, to make Warreafter fuch a trifling manner. It was their vie, to give battaile to the Enemie, as soone as they met with him. If hee refused it, they besieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when hee had long forborne it (as it would bee interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with Philip, they beganne to learne of the subtle Greekes, the arte of Negotiation: wherein

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T. Quintius hasting away from Rome, came betimes into his Prouince, with the supplie decreed vnto him; which consisted, for the most part, of olde Souldiours, that had served in Spaine and Africk. He found Villius the old Conful, (whom at his comming he presently discharged) and King Philip of Macedon, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of Epirus; by the River of Apfus or Aous. It was manifest, that either the Romans must fetch a compasse about, and seeke their way into Macedon, through the poore Countrey of the Daffaretians; or else winne, by force, that passage, which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had al-40 ready two yeeres together mil-spent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of Victuals: whereof they could neither carrie with them store sufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get ouer these Mountaines, which divided the South of Epirus from Thessalie: then should they enter into a plentiful Countrey; and which by long dependance on the Macedonian, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuerthelesse, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelyhood. For the River of Apfus, running along through that Valley which alone was open betweene the Mountains, made it all a deep Marish and unpassable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rocke by mans hand. 50 Wherefore Quintius affailed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himfelfe difappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemie, who neglected not the gard of them that was very easie; Hee was compelled to sit still, without doing

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composition, vpon some reasonable termes. He therefore so dealt with some of the Epirots, (among whom hee had many friends) that Hee and the Conful had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conful would have him to fet all Townes of Greece at libertie; and to make amends for the injuries, which hee had done to many people in his late Warres. Philip was contented to give libertieto those whom he had subdued of late : but vnto such, as had been long subiect vnto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claime and dominion over them. Hee also said, That as farre foorth as it should appeare that he had done wrong vnto any Towne or people what source, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seeme convenient in the 10 judgement of some free State, that had not been interessed in those quarrels. But herewithall Quintius was not fatisfied. There needed (hee fayd) no judgement or compromise; torasmuch as it was apparant, that Philip had alwaies beene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one pronoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Conful was required to name those Townes, that he would have to be fet at libertie; the first that hee named were the Thessalians. These had been Subjects (though conditionall) vnto the Macedonian Kings, ever fince the dayes of Alexander the Great, and of Philip his Father. Wherefore, as soone as Flaminius had named the Thessalians; the King in a rage demanded, what sharper Condition Hee would have layd vpon him, 20 had he been but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly he flang away; refusing to heare any more of such discourse.

After this the Conful stroue in vaine two or three dayes together, to have prevai-

led against the difficulties of that passage which Philip kept. When he had well wearied himselse, and could not resolve what course to take: there came to him an Heardsman, sent from Charopus a Prince of the Epirots that favoured the Romans, who having long kept beafts in those Mountaines, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertooke to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place wherethey should have advantage of the Enemie. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was fast bound : and, being promised great reward, in case he 20 made good his word, had fuch Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travailed by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for seare of being discouered. When they had recoueted the hill-toppes, and were about the Macedonians, (though vndiscoursed by them, because at their backs) they raised a great smoke; whereby they gave notice of their successe vnto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilest these were on their journie, T. Quintius had held with the Macedonian, thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning hee faw the smoke arise more and more plainely, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were fent: He pressed as necre as he could vnto the Enemics Campe; 40 and assailed them in their strength. Hee prevailed as little as in former times; vntill the shoutings of those that ranne downe the Hill, and charged Philip on the backe, aftonished so the Macedonians, that they betooke themselnes to flight. The King, vpon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to sauchimself. Yet anon confidering, that the difficulty of the paffage must needes hinder the somans from pursuing him: He made a stand at the end of five miles; and gathered there together his broken troupes, of whom hee found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and prouisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the Macedonians beganne to stand in seare, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their partie against 50

the Enemie, vpon equall ground. Neither was Philip himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the Theffalians, as many of them as in his hastie retrait he

could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countrie; carrying away with them as

much as they were able, and spoyling all the rest. But all of them could not be per-

fwaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had goren. Some there were that forcibly resifled him; which they might the better doe, for that hee could not itay to vie any great compulsion. He also himselfe tooke it very grieuously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, which had euer been well affected vnto him: fo that a little hinderance did ferue, to make him breake off his purpose; and withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome of Macedon.

The Atolians and Athamanians, when this fell out, were even in a readinesse to inuade Thessale; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their seuerall Coun-10 tries. When therefore they heard for certaintie, that Philip was beaten by the Romanes: they foreslowed not the occasion; but made all speede, each of them to lay hold vpon what they might. T. Quintizes followed them within a little while : but they had gotten so much before his comming, that He, in gleaning after their haruest, could not finde enough to maintaine his Armie. Thus were the poore Thef-Salians, of whose libertie the Romans a few daies since had made shew to bee very defirous, wasted by the same Romans and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to avoide. T. Quintius wan Phaleria by affault: Metropolis and Piera yeelded vnto him. Rhage he belieged : and having made a faire breach, vet was vnable to force it; fo floutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and 20 by a Macedonian Garrison therein. Philip also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, houered about Tempe with his Armie; thrusting men into all places, that were like to be diffrested. So the Conful, having wel-neere spent his vi-Etuals, and leeing no hope to prevaile at Rhage; brake up his fiege, and departed out of Thessale. Hee had appointed his shippes of burden to meete him at Anticyra, an Hauen towne of Phocis, on the Gulfe of Corinth: which Countrie being friend to the Macedonian, he presently inuaded; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated betweene Thessale and other Regions, wherein he had businesse, or was shortly like to have. Many Townes in Phocis he wan by asfault: many were yeelded vp vnto him for feare; and within short space he had (in 30 effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time L. Quintius the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the Romans in this warre, joyned with King Attalus and the Rhodian Fleet. They wan two Cities in Eubaa; and afterward layd fiege vnto Cenchree, an Hauen and Arcenal of the Corinthians on their Easterne Sea. This enterprise did somewhat helpe forward the Acheans, in their defire to leave the part of Philip: fince it might come to passe, that Corinth it selfe, ere long time were spent; and that Cenchree, with other places appertaining to Corinth, now very shortly should be rendred vnto their Nation by fauour of the Romans.

But there were other Motiues, inducing the Achaans to preferre the friendship of 40 the Romans, before the patronage of Philip; whereto they had beene long accustomed. For this King had so many wayes offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilest being intangled in a dangerous warre, he wanted meanes to hinder the execution of such counsaile, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practices to make himselfe their absolute Lord: His poyloning of Aratus their old Gouernour: His falledealing with the Messenians, Epirots, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long fince to hold him as a neceffary enil, even whileft they were vnable to bee without his affiftance. But fince by the vertue of Philopæmen, they were growne fomewhat so confident in their owne firength, fo as without the Macedonians beloe they could as well fublift, as having him to friend: then did they onely thinke how evill he was: and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessary. It angred him to perceive how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers, to "Plat.invita take away the life of \* Philopamen. But failing in this enterprise, and being detected, flin.l.2).

he did thereby onely fet fire to the Wood, which was throughly drie before, and prepared to burne. Philopamen wrought so with the Achaans, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to with-draw themfelues from the Macedonian. Cycliades, a principall man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of Philip; and Aristanus chosen Prætor, who laboured to joyne them in societie with the

These newes were very welcome to T. Quintius. Embassadours were sent from the Romans, and their Confederates, King Attalus, the Rhodians, and Athenians, to treat with the Acheans; making promise, that they should have Corinth restored to vnto them, if they would for sake the Macedonian. A Parliament of the Acheans washeld at Siegon, to deliberate and resolue in this weighty case. Therein the Romans and their adherents defired the Acheans, to ioyne with them in making warre vpon Philip. Contrariwise, the Embassadours of Philip, whom he had also sent for this busines, admonishing the Acheans of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of Philips Embassadour, did no way advance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the Acheans to vnderstand, That hee, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himselfe vnable to gratifie them in a. ny reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel; who remem- 20 bring the benefits of Philip and Antigonus, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sence of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; prevailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which he, (and Antigonus before him) had partly fold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baites, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the Romans were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much altercation the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the Macedonian, and take part with his enemies in this war. With Attalus and the Rhodians, they forthwith entred into fociety: with the Romans (because no League would be of force, vntill the Senate and People had approved 20 it ) they forbore to decree any fociety at the present, vntill the returne of those Embassadours from Rome, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The Miegalopolitans, Dymaans, and Argines, having done their best for the Macedonian, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honestie thereto giue affent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the Argines had so little thanke; that all the rest of the Achaans may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a folemne day at Argos, the affection of the Citizens difcouered it selfe so plainely, in the behalfe of Philip, that they which were his Parti- 40 fans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might have any small affistance. Philocles, a Lieurenant of the Kings, lay then in Corinth, which he had manfully defended against the Romans and Attalus. Him the Conspirators drew to Argos; whither comming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude readic to ioyne with him, Hee easily compelled the Achean Garrison to quit

This getting of Argos, together with the good defence of Corinth and some other Townes, as it helped Philip a little in his reputation, for they gave him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie, whilest as yet with his honour he might seeke it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conful would shortly bee cho- 50 sen; who should take the worke out of Titus his hands, if it were not concluded the fooner. Titus had the like respect vnto himselse; and therefore thought it best, fince more could not be done, to prædispose things vnto a Conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay

then called the Malian, or Lamian Bay, now (as is supposed) the Gulfe of Ziton, in the Agean Sea, or Archipelago. Thither came Titus, with Aminander the Athamanian: an Embassadour of Attalus, the Admirall of Rhodes, and some Agents for the Etolians and Acheans. Philip had with him some few of his owne Captaines, and Cycliadus lately banished for his sake out of Achaia. He resuled to come on shore: though fearing (as he faid) none but the immortal Gods: yet mildoubting some treachery in the Atolians. The demands of Titus in behalfe of the Romans were, That he should fetall Cities of Greece at liberty; deliner vp to the Romans and their Confederates. all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegado's; likewise what soeuer hee held of theirs in Illyria; and what focuer about Greece or Asia he had gotten from Ptolemie then King of Agypt, after his fathers death. Attalus demanded restitution to be made entire, of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and spoyled in the late warre betweene them. The Rhodians would have against the Countrie of Per Ra. lving ouer against their Iland; as also that he should withdraw his Garrisons, out of divers Townes about the Hellesport, and other Hauens of their friends. The Achaans defired restitution of Argos and Corinth: about the one of which they might, not vniustly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their consent. The Atolians tooke upon them angerly, as Patrons of Greece: willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Countrie, leaving it free; and withall to deli-20 uer vp vnto them, what soeuer hee held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they here-withall content: but infolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in Theffalie; corrupting (as they faid) the rewards of the Victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten. To answer these malapert Atolians, Philip commanded his Gallie to row neerer the shore. But they began to plie him afresh: telling him, that he must obey his betters; vnlesse he were able to defend himselfe by force of Armes.

pecially with one, which made the Roman Conful vnderstand, what manner of companions these Atolians were. For hee said, That he had often dealt with them; as 30 likewise the best of the Greekes; desiring them to abrogate a vvicked Lavy, vvhich permitted them to take spoile from spoile: yet could be get no better an answere, than Excerpt. epo. that they would sooner take Ætolia out of Ætolia. Titus wondred what might bee the 196,16.17. meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as warre happened betweene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by fending voluntaries to serue on both sides, that should spoyle both the one and the other. As for the libertie of Greece, He said it was strange that the Atolians should be so carefull thereof, fince divers Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeede no Grecians: werefore hee would faine know, whether the Romanes would give him leave to make flaves of those Atolians, which were no 40 Greekes. Titus hereat smiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the Etolians well

He answered them, (as he was much given to gybing) with fundry scoffes; and es-

rattled vp; touching whom he began to understand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that generall demand of fetting all Greece at libertic, Philip acknowledged, that it might well beseeme the greatnesse of the Romans; though hee would also consider, what might beseeme his owne dignitie. But that the Ætolians, Rhodians, and other pettie Estates, should thus presume, vnder countenance of the Romans, to take vpon them, as if by their great might he should be hereunto compelled: it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The Acheans he charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them some Decrees of their owne. vvherein they had loaden both Antigonus and him, vvith more then humane honors. 50 Neuertheleffe he faid, that he would render Argos vnto them : but , as touching Co-

rinth, that he would further deliberate with Titus himselfe. Thus he addressed himfelfe vvholly to the Roman Generall; vnco vvhom if he could give fatisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With Attalus and the Rhodians, his late warre, (he said) was onely defensive; they having been the offerers: or if he gave them any occasion,

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it was onely in helping Prusias, his sonne-in-law; neither did hee see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than hee at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyling a Temple of Venus, hee had cut downe the Grouc, and pleafant walkes thereabouts: what could hee doe more, than fend Gardiners thither with yong plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence? Thus heiested the matter out : but offered neuerthelesse, in honour of the Romans, to give backe the Region of Peraa to the Rhodians; as likewise to Attalus, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: Philip requiring a nights leifure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counsaile, wherewith to adulse a- 10 bout them. For your being foill provided of Counsaile, said TITVs, you may even thanke your selfe; as baning murdered all your friends, that were wont to aduise you faithfully. The next day Philip came not, vntill it was late at night; excusing his long stay by the waightinesse of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolue. But it was beleeued, that he thereby sought to abbridge the £10lians of leifure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that hee defired conference in private with the Roman Generall. The summe of his discourse, as Titus afterward related it, was, That hee would give the Acheans both Argos and Corinth; as also that he would render vnto Attalus and the Rhodians, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the Atolians, that hee would grant some part of their de-20 mands; and to the Romans, what societ they did challenge. This when Titus his affociats heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the King were suffered to retaine any thing in Greece, he would shortly get possession of all which bee now rendred vp. The noise that they made came to Philips eare: who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protefted, that if he could not perswade them, hee would fuffer himselfe to be perswaded by them. So the third day they mette early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with fincere affection harken unto good offers of peace; and immediatly conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had already tendred; or otherwife, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send 30 Embassadours to Rome, where hee would referre himselfe to the courteste of the

This was cuen as Quintius would have it: who stood in doubt, less a new Conful might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the warre. So he easily prevailed with the rest, to assent hereunto: for as it was Winter, a time vnsit for service in the warre; and since, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resolvedly either in Warre or peace. Further, he willed them to send their severall Embassadours to Rome: which intimating vnto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder Philip, from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest hee perswaded King. Ami-40 mander, to make a journey to Rome in person: knowing wel, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadours, would serve to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citic. All this tended to procure, that his owne Command of the Armie in Greece might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at Rome: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons which they alleaged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadours of the Greek, when they had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; vyhich was more desirous of victorie, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the Romans, 50 in vndertaking to set Greece at libertie. But this (they said) could neuer be effected; vnlesse especiall care were taken, that the King should bee dispossed of Corinth, Chalcia, and Demetrias. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrey, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in sersitions.

litie: that the Senate agreed to have it even so as they desired. When therfore the Embaffadours of Philip were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middest of their Preface, with this one demand: whether their Master would yeeld up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias: Hecreto they made answere, That, concerning those places, the King had given them no direction or Commission what to say, or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer harken to Philips defire of peace; wherein they faid hee did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadours haue truely saide, That neither the Ætolians. Acheans, nor any of their tellowes, had in the late T treatie required by name, that Chalcis and Demetrias should be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any Claime to either of these Townes? As for corinth, whereto the Acheans had fome right; (though their right were no better, than that, having stolne it from One Macedonian King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargaine vnto an Other) Philip had alreadic condescended to give it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would have been alleadged, even against the Greekes in excuse of the King, by some of T. Quintius his friends; that so hee might have had the honour to conclude the warre, it a Successor had beene decreed vnto him. But fince Hee was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at Rome, nor Hee himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadours into Greece, cared to give eare vnto

20 any talke of peace. Philip, seeing that his Acheans had for saken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himfelfevnto Nabis, whom they hated most. There were not many yeeres past, since the Lacedamonians under Cleomenes, with little other helpe than their owne ftrength, had been calmost strong enough both for the Macedonians and Acheans together. But now the condition of things was altered. Nabis his force consisted in a manner wholly in his Mercinaries: for he was a Tyrant; though stiling himselfe King. Yet he forely vexed the Achaans: and therefore seemed vnto Philip one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that 30 the Towne of Argos, which could not otherwise be casily defended, should bee configned ouer into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serue to tie him fast vnto the Macedonian. Philocles the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with Nabis, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a streight alliance with the Lace demonian, by giving some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto 2 abis his sonnes. This could not but be well taken. Yet Nabis made some scruple in accepting the Towne of Argos; vnlesse by decree of the citizens themselues He might be called into it. Hereabout Philocles dealt with the Argines: but found them so auerie; that, in open assemblie of the people, they detested the verie name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. Nabis hearing of this, thought hee had 40 thereby agood occasion to rob and fleece them. So hee willed Philocles, without more adoe, to make ouer the Towne which he was readic to receive. Philocles accordingly did let him with his Armic into it by night; and gaue him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt Philip with the Argines: who for very loue had for saken the Acheans, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himselse Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, understanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that staved behinde, were commanded to bring foorth, out of hand, all their Gold and Siluer. Also agreat imposition of money was laid vpon all those, that were thought able to so pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were difmissed without more adoc. But if any flood long vpon the matter: or played the theeues, in purloyning

their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and, besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes; namely such, as might serue to make him gracious with the rascall multitude; abro-

gating

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gating all debts, and dividing the Lands of the rich among the poore. By fuch art of oppressing the great ones, it hath beene an olde custome of Tyrants, to assure themselues of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as Nabis had gotten Argos, Hee sent the newes to T. Quintius; and offered to joyne with him against Philip. Titus was glad of it: so as he tooke the paines to crosse over the Streights into Peloponnesus, there to meet with Nabis. They had soone agreed (though King Attalus, who was present with the Consul, made some cauill touching Argos ) and the Tyrant lent vnto the Romans fixe hundred of his Mercinaries of Greee: as also hee agreed with the Achaans, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, referring the finall conclusion of peace between them vntill the Warre 10 of Philip should be ended; which after this continued not long.

#### à. XIIII.

The batteile at Cynoscephala, wherein PHILIP was vangui-Redby T. QVINTIVS.



ITVS QVINTIVS, as soone as he understood that he was appointed to have Command of the Armie, without any other limitation of 20 time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things readie for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did Philip: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no leffe failed in his hopes of

getting Nabis to friend in that Warre; meant afterwardes wholly to relie vpon

Plut in vita T. Q. Flans.

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Titus had in his Armic about fixe and twentie thousand: and Philip a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemie intended to doe. Onely Titus heard that Philip was in Thessalie; and thereupon addressed himselfe to seeke him out. They had like to have met vnawares, neere vnto the Citic of Phera: where the vant-courriers on both sides discouered each other; 30 and sent word thereof vnto their seuerall Captaines. But neither of them were overhastie, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their seuerall Campes, with little advantage vnto either side. The Countrie about Phera was thicke fet with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it unproper for service of the Macedonian Phalanx. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remoue back vnto Scotusa in the Frontier of Macedon: where he might be plentifully served with all necessaries. Titus conceived a right his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it only to waste the 40 Countrie. There lay betweene them agreat ledge of hils, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neuerthelesse they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where he found it, by chance. Then fent they forth discouerers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the Macedonians had the worse. But Philip anon fent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the Atolians had not beene desperate, the Romans their fellowes had beene driven backe into their Campe. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the Macedonians prevailed: so that Titus himselfe was 50 faine to bring foorth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the descat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was alrogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the newes

came to him thicke and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own if he could vie an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose: insomuch as he embattailed his men; and climbed vp those hils, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word fignifying as much, Cynoscephale. As soone as hee was on the hil-top; it did him good to fee that they of his owne light armature were busie in fight, almost at the verie Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. He had also libertie to choose his ground, as might serve best his advantage: foralmuch as the Romans were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commoditie he could make no great vse: the roughnesse of the place among those Dogs heads, as they were called, feruing nothing aptly for his Phalanx. Neuertheleffe hee found convenient roome, wherein to marshall the one part of his Armie: and gaue order vnto his Captaines, to follow with the rest; embattailing them as they might. Whileft hee was doing this: Hee perceived that his Horsemen and light armature beganne to shrinke; as being falne vpon the Roman Legions, by force whereof they were driuen to recoyle. He fets forward to helpe them : and they no lesse hastily draw vnto him for succour; having the Romans not farre behinde

As the Legions beganne to climbe the Hill; Philip commanded those of his Pha-20 lanx to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Heere Titus found an extreme difficult piece of worke. For this Phalanx, being a great square battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now vsed in our moderne Warres; and being in like manner ysed, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the Roman Targettiers, as long as the Phalanx it felfe held together vndiifolued. The Macedonians were embattailed in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherfore it is no maruel, if the Romans gaue backe: euery one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come neerer vnto the next of them, than the length of a doozen foot or thereabout. Titus 30 finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that still the Phalanx bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee observed. That they which were appointed by Philip to make his left wing, were not able through the much vneuennesse of the ground, to put themselves in order: fo as either they kept their places on the Hil-tops; or elie (which was worse) vpon defire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to bee partakers in the worke, ranne foolishly along by the side of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder Hee made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, against these ill ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The Macedonians were readier to 40 dispute what should bee done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as having no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeede if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they flood, made their weapons vnulefull. For let it be supposed, that Philip hauing fixe and twentie thousand in his Armie (as he is faid to have beene equall to the Enemic in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and foure thousand light-armed: so shall there remaine fourteene thousand Pikes: whereof hee himselse had embattailed the one halfe in a Phalanx; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom Quintius is readie now to charge. The Phalanx having vsually sixeteene in File, must, when it consisted of seuen thousand, have welso neere foure hundred and fortie in ranke: but foure hundred would serue, to make

a Front long enough; the other fortie or seuen and thirtie Files might bee cut off and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as Polybius doth, to every man of them three foote of ground: this Lib.17. Front must have occupied twelve hundred Foote, or two hundred and forty paces;

d. XV.

T. QVINTIVS falleth out with the Atolians; and grantes truce water PHILIP, with conditions, upon which the peace is ratefied. Libertie proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Remans quarrell with ANTIOCH VS.

He Etolians wonderfully vanted themselues; and desired to have it noised through all Greece, That the victorie at Cynoscephale was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie; by sacking the Macedonian Campe, whilest the Romans were busied in the chace. Time therefore being offended both at their vaine glory, and at their ranenous condition; purposed to reach them better maners, by regarding them as flightly, as they thought highly of themselues. He also well perceived, That by vling them with any extraordinarie favor, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in Greece; who detested the Atolians much more vehemently, than ever they had done the Macedonisms. But

20 this displeasure brake not foorth yet awhile.

After the battaile Titus made hafte vnto Lariffa,a Citic of Theffalie: which he prefently tooke. Before his comming, Philip had fent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages what socuer in writing, betwist him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aduersitie, he forgot not to provide for the safetic of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of Lariffa might well perceive, that hee gave them as alreadie loft. Wherefore wee finde not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to Titus. At the fame time, the Towne of Leucas bordering vpon Acarnania, was taken by the Roman Fleete: and verie soone after, all the 30 Acarnanians, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the Etolians ever true to Philip; gaue vp themselues vnto the Romans, hearing of the victorie at Cynoscephale. The Rhodians also were then in hand with the conquest of Persa, a Region of the Continent ouer against their Iland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treatic of peace with Philip. They did herein more manly, than any other of the Greekes: for a smuch as they awaited not the good leifure of the Romans; but with an Armie of their owne, and some helpe which they borrowed of the Acheans and other their friends, gaue battaile to Dinocrates the Kings Leintenant, wherein they had the victorie, and confequently recovered the whole Province. It angred Philip worse than all this, that the Dardanians gathered courage out of his affliction, to in-40 uade his Kingdome; wasting and spoyling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie in all haste, of fixe thousand foot and fine hundred horse: wherewith comming vpon them, he draue them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to Thessalonica.

In this one enterprise Hee had successe answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the fame time, he thought it wisedome to yeeld vnto necessitie; and therefore sent in all haste Limneus and Demolthenes, with Creliadas the banished Achaan, in whom hee reposed much confidence, Embassadours vnto Titus. These had conference a long while in prinate, 50 with Titus and some of his Roman Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wife dismissed. It seemes that they had Commission, to referre all vnto Titus his owne differetion; as Philip himfelfe in few dayes after did. There was granted vnto them a Truce for fifteene dayes; in which time, the King himselfemight come and speake with the Roman General. In the meane season ma-

that is, very neere a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champaine, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessitie disionne this close battaile of the Phalanx; was not every where to be found. Here at Cynoscephala Philip had so much roome, as would onely suffice for the one halfe of his men: the rest were faine to stand still and looke about them: being hindred from putting themselves in order, by the roughnesse of the Dogges heads. But the Romans, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from comming vp vnto them; nor found any difficultie in mastring those enemies. whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommoditie of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give backe; and the comming on 10 of the Legions, to betake themselues vnto flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell. feeing the victoric on that part assured, left the prosequution of it vnto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainely helpfull to making of the Victorie complete. Hee confidered that Philip, in pursuing the right wing of the Romans, was runne on fo farre; as that him felfe with his fellowes, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the Macedonians, was already gotten about the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand; and making downe the Hill after the Kings Phalanx, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindmost rankes of the Phalanx, all of them indeed saue the first five, were accustomed, 20 when the battailes came to joyning, to carrie their Pikes vpright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their foremen; and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the Macedonian Phalanx. That it ferued neither for offence nor defence, except onely in Front. For though it were so, that Alexander, when he was to fight with Darius in Melopotamia, arranged his Phalanx in such order, that all the foure sides of it were as so many Fronts looking fundry waves, because hee expected that he should be encompassed round: yet it is to be evnderstood, that herein he altered the vsuall forme; as also at the same time he embattailed his men in loofe order, that fo with eafe they might turne their weapons, which way need should require. Like wife it is to be considered, That Alex- 20 anders men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keep their owne ground; not being able to follow vpon the Enemie, vnleffe their hindmost rankes could have marched backwards. But in this present case of Philip, there was no such provision for resiflance. Therefore his men, being otherwise vnable to helpe themselues, threw downetheir weapons, and fled. The King him selfe had thought vnrill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euery where alike, and the day his owne. But hearing the noyle behind him, and turning a little alide with a troupe of Horse, to see how all went: when he beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the Romans at his backe on the higher ground; Hee presently betooke himselfe to flight. Neither staid hee afterwards in any place (except onely a small while about Temps, 40 thereto collect fuch as were dispersed in this overthrow) vntill hee was gotten into his owne Kingdome of Macedon.

There died of the Roman Armie in this battaile, about seven hundred: of the Macedonians about eight thousand were slaine; and fine thousand taken Prisoners.

nie suspitious rumors went of Titus; as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the Greekes his Confederates. Of these bruits the Atolians were chiefe authors: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honeitie, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men elle. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and Philip, Titus had fent letters vnto his Affociates; willing them to have their Agents readie by a time appointed, at the entrance of Tempe, where the Treatie should be held. There when they were all affembled, they entred into confultation before the Kings arrivall, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every Estate in particular. The poore King Aminander befought them all, and especially the Romans, that 10 they would think vpon him; and confidering his weaknes which he confessed, make fuch prouision, that after the Romanes had turned their backs, and were gone home. Philip might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to relift. Then foake Alexander one of the Etolians: who commending Titus for so much as he had thus affembled the Confederates to adulfe vpon their ownegood, and had willed them to deliver their mindes freely: added, That in the maine of the purpose which hee had in hand, hee was vtterly deceived: for that by making peace with Philip, hee could neither assure the Romans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their libertie. There was, he faid, none other end to be made of the warre, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and People of Rome, or with the faire promises made by 20 Titus himselfe vnto the Greeks, than the chacing of Philip quite out of his Kingdome. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But Titue answered, That this Aetolian was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and People of Rame, or with the laudable cuftomes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the Romans, to seeke the vtter destruction of any King or Nation at fuch time as they first made warre with them; vntill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessitie, to take such a rigorous course. And heereof he alleaged the Carthaginians as a notable example: adding, That victorie, to generous mindes, was one! van inducement vnto moderation. As concerning the publike benefit of Greece: it was (he faid) expedient, that the Kingdome of Macedon should be greatly weake- 20 ned and brought low; not that it should be vtterly destroyed for a much as it ferued as a barre, to the Thracians, Gaules, and a multitude of other fauage Nations, which would soone ouer-flow the whole Continent of Greece, if this kingdome were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if Philip would yeeld vnto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treatie; then was there no reason to denie him peace. As for the Aetolians: if they thought other wise, it should bee at their owne pleasure, to take counsaile apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began Phaneas, another of the Aetolians, to fay, That all was come to nothing; for that ere long, Philip would trouble all the Greekes, no leffe than hee had done in time before. But Titus interrupted him, and bad him leaue his babling; 40 faying. That himselfe would take such order, as that Philip, were he neuer so desirous, should thence foorth not have it in his power to molest the Greekes.

The next day King Philip came thither: whom Titus vsed friendly: and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had beene required at his hands; offering yet further to fland to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. Phane.us the Atolian, infulting over him, faid it was to bee hoped, that he would then at length give vp to the Atolians a many of townes (which he there named) bidding him speake, whether he would, or not. His answere was, that they might take them all. But Titus interpoling himselfe, said it should be otherwise; 50 These were Thessalan Townes, and should all bee free: one of them onely excepted. which not long agoe had refused to commit it selfe to the faith of the Romans, and therefore should now bee given to the Atolians. Heerest Phaneas cried out that it was too great an injurie, thus to defraud them of the Townes that had fometime belonged

belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed Titiss to confider that by an arcient Couenant betweene them and the Romans, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the Romans to have nothing faue the pillage and captines. It is true, that there had beene such a Condition in the former warre: but it ceased to be of any validitie, as soone as the Atolians made peace with Philip. And thus much Titus gaue them to vinderstand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable. that all the Townes in Greece, which had let in the Romans by composition should be deliuered into subjection of the Atolians. The rest of the Confederates were verie much delighted, with these angry passages betweene the Roman and the Atolians: neither had they great reason to feare any hard measure; since Titus was so carnest in behalfe of those Thessalians, to give them libertie, though they had flood out against him, even till very feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they cpposed not themselves; but gave their consent willingly vnto a Truce for source

CHAP.4. S.15. of the Historie of the World.

The chiefe cause that mooned Titus to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian, besides that laudable custome by him before alleaded; was, the same of Antiochus his comming with an Armie from Syria, and drawing neere toward Europe. Hee had also perhaps yet a greater motive; even the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be pro-20 tracted. And hee was in the right: For when his letters, together with Embassadours from the Macedonian, and fundry States of Greece, came vnto Rome, new Confuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly againft the peace; alleadging friuolous matter of their owne suspition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected. between the Embassadors of Philip, offering to stand to what some was demanded, and the letters of Trus pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side; and the importunitie of the Conful on the other; who faid, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as soone as the Armie was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the Senatours hands by two of the 30 Tribunes, that referred it to an Assemblie of the People; by whose soucreigne authoritie it was concluded. That Peace should be granted vnto the King. So tenne Embaffadors were fent from Rome ouer into Greece; in which number were they, that had beene Confuls before Titus; and it was ordained by their aduice, That Titus should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would very faine have retained those three important Cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, vntill the state of Greece were somewhat better settled. But finally Titus prevailed so, that Corinth was (though not immediately) rendered vnto the Acheens; and all the o-

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto Philip, were, That before the celebration of the next \* Ishmian Games. He should withdraw his Garrisons out of all the \*èPolyb. ex-Greeke Townes which he held, and configne them oner to the Romans: That hee cerpt, Legat, 9. should deliuer up vnto them all Captiues that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's : Likewise all his shippes of warre, reserving to himselfe onely flue of the lesser fort, and one of extraordinarie greatnesse, wherein sixteene men laboured at enery oare: Further, that hee would pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres next following, by euen portions. Hereto \*Liuie addes, That he was for- \*Liu.1.33. bidden to make warre out of Macedon, without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he observed this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it.

ther Greeke Townes which Philip held, as well in Asia as in Greece, restored vnto

50 Foure hundred talents hee had alreadic delivered vnto Titus, together with his yonger fonne Demetrius, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as hee lately sent his Embassadours to Rome: when it was promiled, that the money, and his sonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as Hhhhhh

part of the thousand talents, I cannot finde : and it seemeth otherwise, for asmuch as yong Demetrius, who together with those foure hundred Talents was given for hostage, remained still in custodic of the Romans, as a part of the bargaine which Titus formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by Titus vnto Prusies King of Bithynia: giving him to understand what agreement was made with Philip in behalfe of the Greekes; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the Ciani, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by Philip to gratifie this Bithynian his sonne-in-law, should be restored to libertic, and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the Romans, which other of their Nation did. What effect these letters wrought it was not greatly materiall; fince the Romans were shortly busied with Antiochus, in such wise that they 10 had not leifure to examine the conformitie of Prusias to their will.

All Greece rejoyced at the good bargaine which Titus had made with Philip. Onely the Etolians found themselves agricued that they were veterly neglected; which was to the rest no smal part of their contentment. The Bactians continued to fauour the Macedonian, and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselves. There were some among them wel-affected to the Romans: who seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto Titus; faying, that they were no better than loft, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnlesse at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor which was head of the opposite Faction might be made away. Titus refuled to have an hand in the execution, yet 20 neuertheleffedid animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves vndiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the Romans; in such wise, that howsoener they durst not take armes against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrie. This was detected within awhile, and many of the dead bodies found. Herevpon Titus requires of the Beotians, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred fouldiers, which he had loft by them, to have paid vnto him five hundred Talents. In flead of making any fuch amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not 20 take as good fatisfaction. Hee fends Embassadours to the Acheans and Athenians, informing them what had happened: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithall he fals to wasting their Countrie; and beliegeth two fuch Townes of theirs, as did feeme to bee most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadours of the Acheans and Athenians, (especially of the schaans who offered, if he needed them, to helpe him in this warre; yet befought him rather to grant peace vnto the Beotians) prevailed fo farre with him; that he was pacified with thirtie Talents, and the punishment of fuch as were knowne offendors.

In like fort, though not so violently, were many States of Greece distracted : some 40 among them rejoycing that they were free from the Macedonian; others greatly doubting, that the Roman would proue a worse neighbour. The Ætolians would haue beene glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumors abroad, That it was the purpose of the Romans, to keepe in their owne handes all those places. wherein Philip lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the Greekes, conceine, that this Macedonian Warre ferued as an introduction to the Warre to bee made in Alia against King Antiochus; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to flay the progresse of bad rumors when the Isthmian games were held, which in time of peace vvere never without great folemnitic and concourse: Titus in that great assembly of all Greece, cau- 50 fed proclamation to be made by found of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius the Generall, having vanquished King Philip and the Macedonians, did wil to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and living at their owne Lawes, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Eubæans,

Eubwans, Acheans of Phthiotis, Magnetians, Theffalians, and Perrhebians. The Juddenness of this Proclamation aftonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durit scarce credit their owne cares. The Greeks were Crafts-mafters in the Art of giving thanks; which they rendred now to T. Quintius with so great affection, as that they had welneere fmothered him, by thronging officioully about him.

CHAP.4. S.15. of the Historie of the World.

This good will of all the Greekes, was like to bee much more availeable vnto the Romans in their warre against Antio hus, than could have beene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Provinces which were named in their Proclamati-10 on. Vpon confidence hecreof, no fooner were these Islamian games at an end.than Titus, with the Romans that were of his Councell, gaue audience to Hagelianax and Lyfigs King Antiochus his Embassadours : whom they willed to signific vnto their Lord. That he should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in Asia, and not vexe them with warre: as also to restore what socuer he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, Ptolomie or Philip. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadours. that he should not passe over his Armie into Europe; adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the Greekes: to the rest they gaue what they had promised. But the Phocians and Locrians they 20 gaue ynto the Atolians; whom they thought it no wisedome to offend ouer-much. being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The Acheans of Phthiotis they annexed vnto the Thessalians; all saue the Towne of Thebes in Phthiotis, the same which had beene abandoned by T. Quintius to the Atolians in the last Treatie with Philips The Atolians contended very carnefly about Phar falus and Leucas. But they were put off with a dilatorie answere, and rejected vnto the Senate: for how socuer somewhat the Councell might favour them; yet was it not meet that they should have their will, as it were in despight of Titus. So the Acheans were restored Corinth. Triphylia, and Herea. So the Corinthians were made free indeede (though the Romans yet awhile kept the Acrocorinthus) for that all which were partakers of the 30 Achean Commonwealth, enjoyed their libertie in as absolute manner, as they could desire. To Pleuratus the Illyrian were given one or two places, taken by the Romans from Philip; and vpon Aminander were bestowed those Castles, which hee had gotten from Philip during this Warre; to reigne in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Athamanians. The Rhodians had been their owne Caruers. Attalus was dead a little before the Victorie; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with Titus in Councell, would have given the Townes of Oreum and Eretria, in the Ile of Eubæa, to his sonne and successionr King Eumenes. But finally it was concluded, that there as well as the rest of the Eubwans, should be suffered to enjoy their libertie. Oresis, a little Prouince of the Kingdome of Macedon, 40 bordering on Epirus, and lying towards the Ionian Sea, had yeelded vnto the Romans long ere this, and fince continued true to them; for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free estate by it selfe.

These businesses being dispatcht: it remained, that all care should be vsed, not how to avoid the war with King Antiochus, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadours were sent both to Antiochus himselfe, to picke matter of quarrell; and about vnto others, to prædispose them vnto the affisting of the Romans therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this King the Romans now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadours and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

Hhhhhh 2

## CHAP. V.

# The Warres of the Romans with ANTIOCHVS the great, and his adherents.

What Kings, of the races of SELEVCVS and PTOLEMIE, raigned in Alia and Agypt before Antiochus the great.

Polyb.lib.2.



ELEVO VS NICATOR, the first of his race, King of Asia and Syria, died in the end of the hundred twentie and fourth Olympiad. Hee was trecherously flaine by Ptolemie Ceraumus, at an Altar called Argos; hauing (as is faide) beene warned before by an Ora-20 cle, to beware of Argos, as the fatall place of his death. But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath beene preserued, or any mischance avoided, by the predictions of such Deuilish Oracles. Rather I beleeue, That many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, haue beene ante-dated by their Priests or by

others; which deuised them after the euent.

Antiochis Soter, the sonne and heire of this Seleucus, was dearely beloued of his Father: who furrendred vp vnto him his owne wife Stratonica, when hee vnderflood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore Ptolemie Ce- 20 rannus had great cause to feare, that the death of Selencus would not bee vnreuenged by this his Successor. But Antiochus was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps onely with faire words; containing himselfe within Asia, and letting Cerauniss enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the bloud of Seleueus. It is faid of this Antiochus, that although he married with the Queen Stratonica in his Fathers life; yet out of modeslie he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous lone was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not profecuting that revenge; whereunto Nature should have viged him. Afterwards he had warres with Antigonus Gonatas, and with Nicomedes King of Bithynia. Alfo Lutarius and Leonorius, Kings or Captaines of the Gaules, were fet vpon him by 40 the same Nicomedes. With these he sought a great battaile : wherein though otherwise the Enemies had all advantage against him; yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their Horses and them, he wonne the Victorie. Hee tooke in hand an enterprise against Ptolemie Philadelphia: but finding ill successe in the beginning, he soone gaueit ouer. To this King Antiochus Soter it was, that Berofus the Genebrard.lib.: Chaldean dedicated his Historic of the Kings of Affyria; the same, which hath since beene excellently falsified by the Frier Annius. He left behind him one sonne, called Antiockus Theos; and one daughter, called Apame, that was married unto the King of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentic and ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth 50 yeere of the Kingdome of the Greekes; when he had raigned nineteene yeeres.

Antiochus, surnamed Theos or the god, had this vaine and impious title given vnto him, by flatteric of the Milesians; whom hee delivered from Timarchus, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with Ptolemie CHAP.5. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Philadelphus King of Ægypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife Berenice the daughter of Ptolemie.

Of these two Kings, and of this Ladie Berenice, Saint Hierome and other Interpreters have vnderstood that Prophecie of DANIEL: The Kings daughter of the Danestines South, shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement; and that which fol-

Ptolemie Philadelphus was a great louer of Peace and Learning; and (fetting apart his incestuous marriage with his owne sister Arsinoe) a very excellent Prince: howsoeuer, the worthiest of all that race. It was Hee, that built and furnished with Bookes, that famous Librarie in Alexandria: which to adorne, and to honour the more, Hee sent unto Eleazar then high Priest of the Iewes, for the Bookes of Moses and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the lewes, had formerly bin very great: for He had fet at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in slauerie throughout all Agypt; and hee had fent vnto the \*Temple of God in Hierusalem \* Aug. de Ciu. very rich Presents. Wherefore Eleazar yeelding to the Kings desire, presented him with an Hebrew coppie: which Ptolemie caused to be translated into Greeke, by seuentie two of the most graue and learned persons, that could bee found among all the Tribes. In this number of the feuentietwo Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the Seventie; lefus the sonne of Sirach, is thought by Genebrard to have beene 20 one: who that he lived in this Age, it seemes to me very sufficiently prooved by Jan-Jenius, in his Preface vnto Ecclesiasticus. The whole of flage of this businesse between Philadelphus and the High Prieft, was written (as h 10/cpius affirmes) by Ariff. aus that h 10/an.l.12.c.2 was employed therein. Fortie yeeres Ptolemie Philadelphus was King; reckoning the Concerning that Booke time wherein hee iountly reigned with his Father. Hee was exceedingly beloned which now of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his goes under the name of th end hee grew more voluptuous, than hee had beene in his former yeeres: in which riflam; many time he boasted, that hee alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this learned men, had beene referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue flood with reason: o- and among the reft Lodonicus therwise, the Gowt, with which hee was often troubled, was enough to teach him vines, hold suf-30 his owne errour. He was the first of the Kings, deriued from Alexanders Successors, pition that it is that entred into League with the Romans: as also his Off-spring was the last among counteries,

those Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp. Antiochus Theos had another wife, called Laodice, at such time as he married with Berenice the daughter of this Ptolemie. After his second marriage, hee vied his first were to befufwife with no better regard, than if shee had beene his Concubine. Laodice hated petted in the him for this: yet aduentured not to seekerenenge; vntill her own some Seleneus Cality may be now linicus was of abilitie to bee King. This was two or three yeeres after the death much more of Ptolemie Philadelphus: at what time shee poysoned her husband Theos; and by inflysuspected fine anew permission of Seleucus her sonne, murdered Berenice, together with a sonne that she Edition of its 40 had borne to Antioches. Justine reports, that Berenice faued herselfe, together with the comeloorth, yong Prince her child, awhile in the Sanctuarie at Daphne; and that not only fome faults (as the Cities of Afia prepared to succour her, but her brother Ptolemie Euergetes, King of Papilisterme Agypt, came to rescue her with an Armie; though too late, for she was slaine be. wherein they

With such cruelties Seleucus Callinicus, succeeding vnto his Father that had fif. what they leafe, and teene yeeres beene King, beganne his Reigne. His subjects were highly offended at let foorthby his wicked nature; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was Middendorpius like, that his Estate would have beene much endangered, if Ptolemie Euergetes, who at Colen. An. came against him, had not beene drawne backe into his owne Countrie, by some Iust. 27. 50 Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes against Ptolemie, in defence of their owneKing: but rather they fided with the Agyptian;

who tooke Landice the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as shee had well descrued. Wherefore Seleucus, being freed from this invalion, by occasion of those domesticall troubles which recalled Euergetes home into Agret; went about a dan-Hhhhhhh 3

gerous piece of worke, euen to make Warre vpon his owne subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had beene much better, by well deferuing, to have changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet hee prepared in furnithing and manning whereof hee was at fuch charges, that hee scarce left himselfe any other hope, if that should miscarrie. Heerein hee embarqued himselfe; and, putting to Sca, met with such a tempest, as denoured all saue himselfe, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned neuerthelesse to his great good; as anon after it feemed. For when his Subjects understood, in what fort the Gods (as they conceived it ) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, 10 presuming that hee would thencefoorth become a new man, offered him their seruice with great alacritie. This reuined him, and filled him with such spirit; as thinking himselfe well enough able to deale with the Agyptian, he made ready a mightie Armie for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had beene at Sea. He was vanquished by Ptolemie in a great battaile: whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late shipwracke. Hasting therefore backe to Antioch, and fearing that the Enemie would soone beeat his heeles; He wrote vnto his brother Antiochus Hierax, who lay then in Asia, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of Asia. Antiochius was then but fourteene yeeres olde, yet ex- 20 tremely ambitious; and therefore glad of fuch an occasion to make himselfe great. He levied a mighty Armie of the Gaules; where with he let forwards to helpe his brother; or rather to get what hee could for himselfe. Hereof Ptolemie being aduertised; and having no desire to put himselfe in danger more than needed; tooke Truce with Seleucus for tenne yeeres. No sooner was Seleucus freed from this care of the Egyptian warre, but his brother Antiochus came vpon him; and needs would fight with him, as knowing himselfe to have the better Armie. So Seleucus was vanquished againe; and saued himselfe, with so few about him, that he was verily suppofed to have perisht in the battaile. Thus did Gods justice take revenge of those murders, by which the Crowne was purchased; and settled (as might have beene 30 thought) on the head of this bloudic King. Antiochus was glad to heare of his brothere death; as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts desire. But the Gaules, his Mercinaries, were gladder than He. For when he led them against Eumenes King of Pergamus, in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reigne: these perfidious Barbarians tooke counsaile against him; and denised how to strippe him of all that hee had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to doe what should best bee pleasing to themselves, in the lower Asia. Wherefore they laide hands on Antiochus; and enforced him to ransome himselfe with money, asif hee had beene their lawfull Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but 40 made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended little to his honour. In the meane while Seleucus had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to trie his fortune against his brother. . Eumenes hearing of this, thought the scason fit for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. Antiochus fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great maruaile; since he had great reason to stand in no lesse feare of the Gaules his owne fouldiers, than of the enemie with whom hee had to deale. After this, Eumenes wanne much in Asia; whilest Antiochus went against his brother. In the second battaile, fought betweene the brethren, Seleucus had the vpper hand: and Antiochus Hierax or the Hawke, (which furname was given him, because he sought his prey vpon euery one, without care whether hee were prouoked 50 or not) foared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne Gau'es. Having fetcht agreat compasse through Mesopotamia and Armenia, He fell at length in Cappadocia; where his father-in-law King Artamenes tooke him vp. Hee was entertained very louingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him.

This hee soone perceived: and therefore betooke him to his wings againe a though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length heerefolued to bestowe himselfe vpon Ptolemie; his owne conscience telling him, what enil hee had meant vnto Seleucus his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelitie can find no sure harbour. Ptolemie well vnderstood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this Hierax. Wherefore hee laydhim vp in close prison: whence, though by meanes of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of theeues, by whom he was murdered. Neareabout the same time died Seleucus. The Parthians and Bactrians had rebelled against 10 him, during his warres with his brother. He therefore made a journey against Arfaces founder of the Parthian kingdome: wherein his cuill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered to closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. Ar laces dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his necke by a fall from his horse, and so ended his vnhappie reigne of twenty yeeres. Hee had to wife Laodice, the fifter of Andromachis, one of his most trustic Captaines: which was father vnto that Achaes, who making his advantage of this affinitic, became shortly after (as he stilled himselfe) a king: though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By Landice hee had two fonnes; Seleucus the third, furnamed Ceraunus; and Antiochus the third, 20 called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned onely three yeeres: in which time he made warre vpon Attalus the first, that was King of Pergamus. Being weake of bodie through lickneffe, and in want of monie, He could not keepe his men of warre in good order: and finally he was staine by treason of Nicanor, and Apaturius a Gaule. Hisdeath was reuenged by Acheus, who flue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armic: which he ruled very wifely, and faithfully awhile; Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, be-

ing then a Childe.

ò. I I.

The beginning of the Great ANTIOCHVS his reigne. Of PTOLEMIE EVER-GETES, and PHILOPATOR, Kings of Agypt. Warrebetweene Antiochus and PHILOPATOR. The rebellion of Molo: an Expedition of ANTIOCHVS against him. The recontinuance of ANTIOCHV shis Agyptian warre: with the passages betweene the two Kings: the victory of PTOLEMIE, and Peace concluded. Of ACH ALVS, and his rebellion; his greatneffe, an i his fall. ANTIOCHVS his Expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great ALEXANDER.

NTIOCHVS was fearcely fifteene yeeres olde, when hee began his reigne, which lasted fixe and thirty yeeres. In his Minoritie, Hee was wholly gouerned by one Hermias, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful feruants.

This vilde qualitie in a Counsailour of such great place, how harmefull it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himselfe; the successe of things will

fhortly discouer.

Sooneafter the beginning of Antioches his reigne, Ptolemie Euergetes King of Ægypt died; and left his heire Ptolemie Philopator, a yong Boy likewise, as hath elf-50 where beene remembred. This was that Euergetes, who relieued Aratus and the Acheans: who afterwards tooke part with Cleomenes; and louingly entertained him, when he was chaced out of Greece by Antigonus Gonatas. Hee annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdome of Cyrene; by taking to wife Berenice, the daughter of King Magas. He was the third of the Ptolemies ; and the last good King of the race.

CHAP.5. \$.2.

The name of Energetes, or the doer of good, was given him by the Agyptians not fo much for the great spoiles which hee brought home, after his victories in Syria; as for that he recourred some of those Images or Idols, which Cambyles, when hee conquered Egypt, 'had carried into Persia. He was ready to have made war vpon the lewes, for that Onias their high Priest, out of meere couetousnesse of mony, refufed to pay vnto him his yeerely tribute of twenty talents: but hee was pacified by the wisedome of losephus a Iew, vnto whom afterwards he let in farmethe Tributes and Customes that belonged vnto him, in those parts of Syria which hee held. For Calofyria, with Palastina and all those parts of the Countrie that lay necessity unto Leypt, were held by the Agyptian; either as having fallen to the share of Ptole- 10 mie the first, at such time as the great Antigonus was vanquished and slaine in the battaile at Ipfus; or as being won by this Energetes, in the troublesome and vnhappie reigne of Seleucus Callinicas. The victories of this Energetes in Syria, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betweene the Ptolemies and the Seleucide: were all foretold by Daniel in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded be S. Hierome. This Ptolemie Euergetes reigned fix and twentie yeeres; and died towards the end of the hundred thirtie and ninth Olympiad. It may seeme by that, which we find in the Prologue vnto Iesus the sonne of Sirach his booke, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For Siracides there faith, that he came into Agypt in the eight and thirtieth yeere, when Euergetes was King. It may there- 20 fore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirtie yeeres, were the yeeres of Iesus his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the Iewes did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had

Not long after the death of Euergetes, Hermias the Counsailer, and in a manner the Protectour of King Antiochus, incited his Lord vnto warre against the Aevotian; for the recovery of Calofyria and the Countries adioyning. This counsaile was verie vnseasonably given; when Molo, the Kings Lieutenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and fought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Countrie. Neuerthelesse Hermids, being more froward than wise, maintained stifly, that 30 it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain, other Captaines that were faithful; whileft He in person made warre vpon one, that was like himselse, a King. No man durst gainsay the resolution of Hermias; who therfore sent Xenatas an Achean, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebell; whilest in the meane season an Armie was preparing for the Kings Expedition into Calosyria. The King having marched from Apamea to Laodicea, and so ouer the Desarts into the Vallie of Marsyas, betweene the Mountaines of Libanus and Anti-libanus; found his way there stopped by Theodotus an Atolian, that ferued vnder Ptolemie. So hee confumed the time there awhile to none effect: and then came newes, that Xenetas, his Captaine, was destroyed with his 40 whole Armie; and Molo thereby become Lord of all the Countrie, as farre as vnto

Xenatas, whilest he was yet on his journey, and drew neere to the River of Tyeris; received many advertisements, by such as fledde over vnto him from the Enemie, That the followers of Molo were, for the most part, against their wills, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against the King. This report was not altogether falle; but Molo himselfe stood in some doubt lest his followers would leave him in time of necessitie. Xenætas therefore making shew, as if hee had prepared to passe the River by Boats in face of his Enemie; left in the night time such as he thought meete to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer Tygris, 50 in a place ten miles lower than Molo his Campe. Molo heard of this, and fent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that Xenætas could not so bee stopped, He himselfe dislodged, and tooke his journey towards Media; leaving all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his owne

fouldiours: or whether thereby to deceive his Enemic; the greatfolly of Kenatas made his stratageme prosperous. For Xenatas, having borne himselfe proudly before, voon the countenance of Hermias by whom he was advanced vnto this charge; did now prefume, that all should give way to his authoritie, without putting him to much trouble of vling the fword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast, with the provisions which they found ready in the forfaken Campe: or rather hee commanded them so doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish vo themselues against the journey, which hee intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting 10 the remainder of his Armie, which he had left on the other fide of Tygris. But Malo went no further that day, than he could easily returne the same night. Wherefore vnderstanding what good rule the Kings men kept: hee made such haste backe vnto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whileft they were yet heavie with the wine and other good cheare, that they had spent at supper. So Xee nætas and a very few about him, died fighting in defence of the Campe; the rest were flaughtered, without making relifiance; and many of them, ere they were perfeetly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of Tygris, was easily taken by Molo: the Captaines flying thence, to faue their owne lives. In the heat of this victorie. the Rebell marched vnto Selencis, which he presently tooke: and, maste-20 ring within a little while the Province of Babylonia, and all the Countrie downe to the Red-Sea, or Bay of Persia, He hasted vnto Susa; whereat his first comming hee wan the Citie: but failing to take the Caffle that was exceeding firong, returned backe to Seleucia, there to give order concerning this bufinesse.

The report of these things comming to Antiochus, whilest he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of Marly as; filled him with great forrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counfaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduised by Epigenes the best man of warre hee had about him, to let alone this Enterprise of Calolyria; and bend his forces thither, where more neede required them. This counfaile was put in execution with all convenient hafte. Yet was Epigenes dismissed

30 by the way, and soone after slaine, by the practice of Hermias; who could not ondure to heare good counfaile given, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the journey against Malo, the name and presence of the King was more amailable, than any oddes which hee had of the Rebel in strength. Molo distrusted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good successe, nor any other confideration, would ferue to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience ; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him, to affaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discouered by some that fled ouer from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by some errour, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly 40 quieted, when Antiochus appeared in fight. The King was thus forward in gining

battaile to Molo, your confidence which hee had that many would revolt ynto him. Neither was he deceived in this his beliefe. For not a few men, or Enfignes; but all the left wing of the Enemie, which was opposite vnto the King, changed side forthwith as soone as euer they had sight of the Kings person; and were ready to doe him sernice against Molo. This was enough to have wonne the Victorie: but Molo shortned the worke, by killing himselfe; as did also divers of his friends, who for scare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne fwords.

After this Victorie came joyfull newes, that the Queene Landice, daughter of Mithridates King of Pontus, which was married vnto Intiochus awhile before, had 50 brought foortha fonne. Fortune seemed bountifull vnto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what vie hee could, of her friendly disposition while it lasted: Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, Hee judged it convenient to visit his Frontiers, were it onely to terrifie the Barbarians, that bordered vpon him. Hereunto his Counfailer Hermins gaue affent : not fo much respecting the Kings honour;

as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe, For if it should come to passe, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualtie: then made hee no doubt of becomming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Gouernment. Antiochus therefore went against Artabazanes, who reigned among the Atropatians, having the greatest part of his kingdome, situate betweene the Cashian and the Euxine Sca. This barbarous King was very old and fearefull; and therfore yeelded vnto whatfoeuer Conditions it pleased Antiochus to lay vpon him. So in this journey Antiochus got honour, fuch as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning Hermias sinforming him truely, how odious hee was vnto the people; and how 10 dangerous he would be shortly vnto the Kings owne life. Antiochus beleeued this, having long suspected the same Hermias; but not daring, for feare of him, to vtter his suspitions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a fleight a good way out of the Campe. and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to have vsed fo much Art, in ridding his hands of a man fo much detelled. For how focuer hee feemed gracious whilest hee was aline: yet they that for feare had been most obsequious to him, whilest hee was in case to doe them burt, were as ready as the foremost, to speake of him as hee had descrued, when once they were secure of him: Yea, his wife and children lying then at Apamea, were stoned to death by the wives 20 and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outragiously, thelonger that it had been concealed.

About these times, Acheus (of whom we spake before) thinking that Antiochus might happen to perish in some of those Expeditions which hee tooke in hand; was bold to fet a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a King. His purpose was to haue inuaded Syria: but the fame of Antiochus his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and fludie to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that Antiochus neither went against Acheus; nor yet diffembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote vnto him, signifying that he knew all; and vpbraiding him with 30 fuch infidelitic, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these meanes he emboldened the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to mointaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. Antiochus had at that time a vehement desire to recouer Calosyria, or what else he could, of the Dominions of Ptolemie Philopater in those parts. He began with Seleucia, a very strong Citie neere vnto the mouth of the River Orontes; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with brybes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that Seleucia, whereto Intigonus the great who founded it, gaue the name of Antigonia: but Seleucus getting it shortly after, called it Seleucia; and Ptolemie Euergetes having lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, 40 haue changed the name into Ptolemais. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endlesse memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the same greatnesse hath continuance. Theodorus the Atolian, he that before had opposed himselfe to Antiochus, and desended Carlospria in the behalfe of Ptolemie; was now growne forrie, that he had vsed so much faith and diligence, in sernice of an unthankfull and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercinarie, he began to have regard vnto his owne profit: which thinking to findegreater, by applying himselfevnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthic of these two Kings; He offered to deliver up vnto Antiochus, the Cities of Tyrus and Ptolemais. Whilest 50 he was deuising about this treason, and had already fent messengers to King Antiochus: his practice was detected, and he belieged in Ptolemais by one of Ptolemies Captaines, that was more faithfull then himselfe. But Antiochus hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession,

not onely of Tyrus and Ptolemais, with a good fleete of the Egyptian Kingsthat was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Countrie, as emboldned him to thinke vpon making a journey into Egypt it (elfe. Agathocles and Sosibius boreall the fway in Egypt at that time: Ptolemie himselfe being loth to have his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safetie of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hashily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the warre: and neverthelesse, at the same time, to presse Antiochus with daily Embassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this businesse, Embassadours from Rhodes, Byzantium, and Cyzicus, 10 as likewise from the Esolians; according to the viuall courteste of the Greekes, desiring to take up the quarrell. These were all entertained in Memphis, by agathocks and Sofibius: who intreated them to deale effectually with Antiochus, But whilest this Treatic lasted, great preparations were made at Alexandris for the warre: wherein these two Counsailours perswaded themselues reasonably, that the victory would bee their owne; if they could get, for monie, a sufficient number of the Greekes to take their parts. Antiochus heard onely what was done at Memphis, and how desirous the Gouernours of Agypt were to be at quiet: whereunto he gaue the readier beliefe, not onely for that he knew the dispolition of Ptolemie, but because the Rhodians, and other Embassadours, comming from 20 Memphis, discoursed vnto him all after one manner; as being all deceived, by the cunning of Agashocles and his fellow. Antiochus therefore having wearied himfelfe, at the long siege of a Towne called Dura, which he could not winne : and being desirous to refresh himselfe and his Armie in Seleucia, during the Winter which then came on; granted vnto the Egyptian a Truce for foure moneths, with promife that he would be ready to hearken unto equall Conditions, when they should bee offered. It was not his meaning to bee fo courteous, as he would faine have seemed, but onely to lull his enemies afleepe, whilest he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring Acheus to some good order, whose treason dayly grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the Aegyptian would have vsed, Hee 30 vsed himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the yeare better served, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeelde vnto him, fince Ptolemie provided not for their desence. Neuerthelesse, he gave audience to the Embassadours, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Aegypt: pleafing himselfe well, to dispute about the instice of his quarrell; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were instorno. He said, that it was agreed betweene Selencus his Ancestor, and Ptolemie the sonne of Lagi, That all Syria, if they could win it from Antigonus, should be given in possession to Selencus: and that this bargaine was afterwards ratified, by generall confent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at Ipsus. But Ptolemies men would acknowledge no such 40 bargaine. They faid, that Piolemie the sonne of Lagi, had wonne Caelosyria, and the Provinces adioyning for himselfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified Seleucus, by lending him forces to recouer his Province of Babylon, and the Countries about the River of Euphrates. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. Ptolemie demanded restitution; Antiochus thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also Ptolemie would needes haue Achaus comprehended in the League betweene them, as one of their Confederates; But Antiochus would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shamefull thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and seeke to to ioyne him in Confederacie with his owne Souereigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and Antiochus prepared to take the field againe: contrary to his expectation hee was informed, That Ptolemie, with a very puissant Armic, was comming vp against him out of Agypt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemie, he was encountred on the way by those Captaines of Ptolemie, that had resisted him

Acham was not comprised in the League betweene these two Kings: or if hee had beene included therein; yet would not the Azyptian have taken the paines. of making a second Expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, it fortune were not too much against him, to deale with Antiochus. Neither was hee confident without great reason: For besides his many victories, whereby hee had gotten all that belonged vnto Antiochus on this side of Taurus, Hee had also good successe against Attalus King of Pergamus; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was hee, as Molo the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwise, and carryed beyond himselfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie: but Cousin german to the King, as hath 40 beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a yonger daughter of the same Mithridates King of Pontus, which was also called Laodice, as was her fifter the Queene, Antiochus his wife. These things had added maieflie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whome a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King Ptolemie of Agypt held him in the nature of a friend: and that King Antiochus was now lately vanquished in the battaile at Raphia; and had thereby lost all his gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: For the King of Pontus, if he would meddle in that quarrei betweene his sonnes-in-law, had no reafonto take part against the more honourable. As for the Agyptian: Hee was not 50 onely flothfull; but hindred by a rebellion of his owne subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of £gypt, of whom Ptolemie, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serue in the late Expedition; began to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferiour

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.5. S.2. to the Macedonian. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: fince they leffe effeemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercinarie Greekes; which had hitherto kept them in streight subjection. Thus brake out a warre betweene the King and his subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King Ptolemie thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have beene spent, as hee thought, much better in reuelling; or, as others thought, in succouring Acheus. As for Antiochus, He had no sooner made his peace with the Agyptian, than hee turned all his care to the preparation of warre against Achaus. To this purpose he entred into 10 League with Attalus; that so hee might distract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within awhile he had pent up Acheus into the Citic of Sardes; where he held him about two veeres belieged. The Citic was very strong, and well victualled: fo as there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres siege. In the end, one Lagoras a Cretan found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Cassle it selfe was vpon a very high Rocke, and in a manner ima pregnable, as also the Towne-wall adioyning to the Cassle, in that part which was called the Sawe, was in like manner fituated vpon steepe Rocks, and hardly accessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carkafes of Horses, and 20 other beafts, yea, and sometimes of men, yeed to be throwne. Now it was observed by Lagoras, that the Rauens and other birds of prey, which hanted that place by reason of their food which was there never wanting, vsed to flie vp vnto the top of the Rockes, and to pitch vpon the walls; where they rested without any disturbance. Obseruing this often, he reasoned with himselfe, and concluded, that those parts of the Wall were left vnguarded, as beeing thought vnapproachable. Heereof hee informed the King: who approoued his iudgement, and gaue vnto him the leading of fuch men, as hee defired for the accomplishing of the enterprize. The successe was agreeable to that which Lagoras had afore conceined: and, though with much labour, yet without refistance, he scaled those Rockes, and 30 (whilest a general affault was made) entred the Towne in that part; which was at other times vngarded, then vnthought vpon. In the same place had the Persians, under Cyrus, gotten into Sardes; when Crafus thought himselfe secure on that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a losse many ages past; and therefore out of memorie. Acheus held still the Castle: which not onely seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries; and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. Antiechus therefore was constrained to waste much time about it; having none other hope to prevaile, than by familhing the inclosed. Besides the vsuall tediousnesse of expectation; his businesse called him thence away into the higher Asia, where the Bactrians, and Parthi-49 ans with the Hyrcanians, had erected Kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they still incroched. But hee thought it not safe, to let Achaus breake loose againe. On the other fide there were some Agents of Ptolemie the Agyptian, and good friends vnto Achaus; that made it their whole studie, how to deliver this befieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed, that when he should appeare in the Countries vnder Taurus, he would soone have an Armie at commaund, and be strong enough to hold Antiochus as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one Bolis a Cretan, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countrie, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rockes, whereon the Castle 50 of Sardes flood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of Ptolemie, as well as of Acheus; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He undertooke the businesse: and gaue such likely reasons of bringing

all to good effect, that they wrote vnto Achaus, by one Arianus, a trustic messenger,

whom Bolis found meanes to conucigh into the Castle. The faith of these Nego-

few I doe not felte Eudæinon John Andrew a he traduceth ligion, and Lvers.euill beafts, and k à Polyo.bift

tiators Achaus held most assured. They also wrote vnto him in privile characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none faue he and they were acquainted: whereby hee knew. that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the mossenger; he was a trustic fellow, and one whom Achaus found, by examination. heartily affected vnto the fide. But the Contents of the Epiftle, which were, That hee should bee confident in the faith of Bolis, and of one Cambylus whom Bolis had wonne vnto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne: and Cambylus was a follower of Antiochus; under whom he had the commaund of those Cretans, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of Sardes. Neuertheleffe other way to escape hee saw none, than by putting himselfe 10 to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro: it was at length concluded, That Bolis himselfe should come speake with Achaus, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, faue onely by Bolis and Cambylus; which were Cretans, and (as all their Countrimen, \*Among these \* some sew excepted, have beene, and still are) false knaues. These two held a confultation together, that was, as & Polybius observes it, rightly Cretical: neither concerning the lafetic of him whose deliuerance they vndertooke, nor touching the discharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get most with least adoe and dan-Cretan: who in ger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally Thare betweene them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and 20 then, That they would reueale the matter to Antiochus; offering to deliner Achaus vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present monic, and with premise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a service, when it should Countrey, with be dispatched. Antiochus hearing this promise of Cambylus, was no lesse glad; than all the good & were the friends of Achaus well pleased with the comfortable promises of Bolis. At whomhe could length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that Bolis with Arianus was to get up into the Castle, and conneigh Acheus thence: Hee first went with was to get vp into the Came, and conname, twice firmed vnto him by word of mouth the affurance of his liberall promifes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faith- 30 Puritan, & one full vnto Ptolemie whom he had long served; He accompanied Arianus vp into the that have been Castle. At his comming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet questioned at dangerous vn- large by Acheus, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But he discoursed raigne. It is an fo well, and with such grauitie; that there appeared no reason of distrusting either honour to bee his faith or judgement. Hee was an old Souldiour, had long been a Captaine under ill poken of by for dilineata Ptolemie, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was innited by honoufodiligeara Ptolemie, and did not thruit miniment into consonned, of winning (as it feemed) fupporter of rable and faithfull men. He had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countriman of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and there-Lies: in regard by had already fundry times giuen safe passage and repassage vnto Arianus. But awhereof I may gainst all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred 40 the commen. vp some diffidence. Acheus therefore dealt wisely, and said, That hee would yet dation of Cre- stay in the Castle a little longer: but that he meant to send away with Bolis three or ticifine no lefte fourc of his friends; from whom when hee received better advertisement, concerthan be in mul- ning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would hee issue forth himselfe. Hereby he tooke order, not to commit himselse wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But, as Polybius well notes, he did not consider that he playd the Cretian with a man of Crete: which is to fay, That hee had to doe with one, whose knauery could not der times, that be avoided by circumspection. Bolis and Cambylus had layd their plots thus, That if Achaus came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should Arianus be ap. 50 pointed to leade the way, as one that of late had troden it oft; and Eolis following behinde, should have an eye vpon Acheus, to prevent him not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that beeing taken aliue, Hee might bee to Antiochus the more welcome Pre-

fent. And in such order came they now forth: Arianus going before as Guide: the rest following, as the way serued, and Bolis in the Rere. Achaus made none acquainted with his purpole, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified hee the matter to his wife Laodice; and comforting her with hope as well as hee could, appointed foure of his especiall friends to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke vpon him to have knowledge of the Greeke tongue; speaking and answering, as neede should require, for all, as if the rest had been Barbarians. Bolis followed them, craftily deutling upon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (faith Polybius) Though he were of Crete, and prone to surmise any thing to the mischiefe of another: yet could hee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was Achaus, or whether Achaus himselfe were there. The way was very vneasie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to stay in divers places, and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon enery occasion, they were all of them very officious toward Acheus; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gaue Bolis to vnderstand, that hee was the man: and so by their vnseasonable dutie, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where Cambylus lay in waite; Bolis whiftled, and presently clasped Achaus about the middle, holding him fast that hee should not stirre. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to 20 Antiochus: who sate vp watching in his Pauilion, expecting the euent. The sight of Acheus, brought in bound vnto him, did so assonish the King, that he was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was hee before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes affembling his friends together, Hee condemned Acheus to a cruell death: which argues, that hee was not mooued with pittie towards this vnhappie man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes. that wrung from him these teares: as also the raritie of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it bee so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischieuous knaues against one Traitour, doth not rarely succeed 30 well; according to that Spanish Prouerbe, A un traydor dos alleussos. The death of Acheus brought such astonishment vpon those which held the Castle, that after a-

while they gaue up the place and themselves vnto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser Asia.

Some yeeres passed after this, ere Antiochus was ready for his Expedition against the Parthians, and Hyrcanians. The Parthians were a little Nation of obscure beginnings and commonly subject vnto those that ruled in Media. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of Alexander, the Government over them was committed by Antipater to one Philip, a man of small regard; shortly they fell to Eumenes; then to Antigonus; and from him, together with the Medes, to Seleucus : vnder whose po-40 fleritie they continued until the Reigne of Seleucus Callinious, being ruled by Lieutenants of the Syrian Kings. The luftfull insolencie of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of Callinicus, that was vanquilhed and thought to bee flaine by the Gaules; did flirre up Arfaces, a Noble man of the Countrie, to feeke reuenge of injuries done, and animate him to rebell. So he flue the Kings Licutenant; made himselfe King of the Parthians, and Lord of Hyrcania; fought prosperously with those that diffurbed him in his beginnings; and tooke Seleucus Callinicus prisoner in battaile, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed, Hereby he wanne reputation as a lawfull King; and by good government of his Countrie, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his subjects, that his name was continued vnto his Successors; solike as that of the Ptolemies in Agypt, and that of the Cafars afterwards in Rome.

Much about the same time the Bachrians rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging vnto the Seleucida beyond Euphrates, increased the Parthians Dominion. Now Antiochus went against them with so strong an Armie, that they durst not meet him in plaine field; but kept themselves in Woods, or places of strength, and de-

fended the Streights and paffages of Mountaines. The relistances they made availed them not. For Antiochus had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted. as hee needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him. in Woods and Streights betweene their Mountaines; it being case to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compasse about, might either get aboue the Enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did he often imploy against them his light armature: wherewith hee caused them to dislodge, and give way vnto his Phalanx; vpon which they durft not adventure themselues in open ground. Arsaces, the second of the name, (for his Father was dead before this) was then King of Parthia; who though hee was confident in the fideli- 10 tie of his owne subjects; yet feared to encounter with so mighty an inuader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and Defarts, would have caused Antiochus, when he was at Echatane in Media, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out; He caused the Wels and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his Enemie must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoyled. By which meanes, and theresistance before spoken of, when he could no preuaile, Hee withdrew himselfe out of the way; suffering the Enemie to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrie: wherein, without some victory obtained, hee could make no long abode. Antiochus hereby found, That Arfaces was nothing strongly prouided for the warre. Whereforehee marched through the heart of Parthia: and then 20 forward into Hyreania; where hee wanne Tambrace, the chiefe Citie of that Prouince. This indignitie, and many other losses, caused Arsaces at length, when he had gathered an Armie that seemed strong enough, to aduenture a battaile. The issue thereof was such, as gaue to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his delires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore Arsaes craued Peace, and at length obtained it: Antiochus thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subject.

The next Expedition of Antiochus, was against Euthydemus King of the Bactrians one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors : but having gotten the Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With Enthy- 20 demus he fought a battaile by the River Arius, where he had the victory. But the vistoric was not so greatly to his honour; as was the testimonic which he gaue of his owne private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more couragiously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His Horse was flaine vinder him; and he himselse received a wound in his mouth, whereby hee loft some of his teeth. As for Euthydemus, He withdrew himselfe backe into the further parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protracted the Warre, feeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadours passed betweene the Kings: Antiochus complaining, That a Countrie of his was vniuftly vsurped from him: Euthy demus answering, That he had wonne it from the children of the Vsurpers: and further, 40 That the Bactrians, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, faue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered upon the Scothians, with whom if they should joyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified Antiochus, and made him willing to grant Peace, vpon reasonable Conditions. Demetrius, the sonne of Euthydemns, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his Father as Embassadour in this Treatie of Peace, was not a little anaileable vnto a good Conclusion: For Antiochus liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage one of his owne daughters: and there withall permitted Euthydemus to retaine the Kingdome; caufing him neuerthelesse to deliver up all his Elephants; as also to binde himselse by 50 oath, to such Couenants as he thought requisite.

So Antiochus leauing the Bactrian in quiet, madea jonrney ouer Caucalus, and came to the borders of India, where he renewed with Sophagalenus, King of the Indians, the societie that had been betweene their Ancestors. The Indians had re-

mained subject vnto the Macedonians, for a little while, after Alexanders death. Eumenes in his Warre against Antigonus, rayled part of his forces out of their Countric. But when Antigonus after his victorie turned Westward, and was ouer-bufied in a great civill Warre: then did one Sandrocottus, an Indian, stirre vo his Countrimento Rebellion; making himselfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him as Protector of their libertie. This Office and Title he soone changed, though nor without some contention, into the Name and Maiettie of a King. Finally hee got vnto himselse, (hauing an Armic of sixe hundred thousand men) if not all India, yet as much of it as had beene Alexanders. In this Estate he had well confirmed himselfe, 10 ere Seleucus Nicator could find leifure to call him to account. Neither did He faint, or humble himselfe, at the comming of Seleucus: but met him in field, as readic to defend his owne; fo strongly and well appointed, that the Macedonian was contented, to make both peace and affinitie with him, taking only a reward of fiftie Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the Indian and Syrian kingdomes, was continued by some Offices of loue between their children, and now renewed by Antiochus: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the Indian King, to an hundred and fittie : as also he was promised, to have some treasure sent after him; which hee left one to receive. Thus parted these two great Kings. Neither had the Indians, from this time forwards, in many generations, any buli-20 nesse worthie of remembrance with the Westerne Countries. The posteritie of Sandrocottus, is thought to have retained that kingdome vnto the dayes of Augustus Cafar: to whom Porus, then reigning in India, fent Embassadours with Presents, and an Epistle written in Greeke: wherein, among other things, Hee saide, That He had command ouer fixe hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundrie Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome, in diners Ages, even vnto the time of Constantine the great: being all peraduenture of the same race. But Antiochus, who in this Treatie with Sophagasenus carried himselfe as the worthier person, receiving Presents; and after marched home through Drangiana and Carmania, with fuch reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher Asia, but on the hi-30 ther side of Taurus, humbled themselves vnto him, and called him The Great: saw an end of his owne Greatneffe within few yeeres enfuing, by prefuming to stand vpon points with the Romans; whose Greatnesse was the same in deed, that his was onely in sceming.

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CHAP.5. \$ . 3.

#### d. III.

Thelewd Reigne of PTOLEMIE PHILOPATOR in Agypt: with the tragical ende of his favourites, when hee was dead. ANTIOCHVS prepares towarre on the young child PTOLEMIE EPIPHANES, the sonne of PHILOPATOR. His irresolution in preparing for divers warres at once. His Voyage toward the Hellespont. Hee seekes to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him; intending neverthelesse to have warre with him. His doings about the Helle front; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrell to him.

His Expedition being finished; Antiochus had leisure to repose himselfe awhile, and studie which way to convert the terror of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeeres Ptolemie Philopator died: leaving his sonne Ptolemie Epiphanes, a young Boy, his successor in the kingdome; unlikely by him to bee

well defended, against a neighbour so mightie and ambitious. This Ptolemic surnamed Philopator, that is to fay, alouer of bis Father, is thought to have had that furname given him in meere derifion; as having made away both his Father and Mo- Iuflind 30. ther. His yong yeeres, being newly past his childhood when he beganne to reigne,

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may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death; yet the beattlinesse of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to have done any mischiefe, whereof he could be accused. Having wonne the battaile at Raphia, He gave himselfe over to sensuality; & was wholy governed by a Strumpet called agatheelea. At her instigation Hee murdered his owne wife and fifter; which had adventured herselfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him undertaken and performed with honor. The Lieutenant-ships of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatfocuer: were wholly referred vnto the difoolition of this Agathoclea, and her brother Agathocles, and of Ocuanthe a filthie Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to to the great griefe of all the Countrie, till Philopator died: who having reigned feuenteene yeeres, left none other sonne than Ptolemie Epiphanes a childe of fine yeeres old, begotten on Arlinoe that was his fifter and wife. After the Kings death: Agathocles beganne to take upon him, as Protector of young Epiphanes, and Governour of the Land. He assembled the Macedons (which were the Kings ordinarie forces in pay, not all borne in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with Ptolemie the first, and would not bee accounted Egyptians; as neither would the Kings themselues) and bringing foorth vnto them his sister Agathoclea, with the yong King in her armes; beganne a solemne Oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the child into the armes of his fifter, but ynto the 20 faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole flate of the Kingdome did now relie. He befought them therefore that they would bee faithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King against the treason of one Tlepolemus, an ambitious man, who traiterously went about to set the Diademe vpon his owne head, being a meere stranger to the Royall bloud. Herewithall hee produced before them a witnesse. that should justifie his accusation against Tlepolemus. Now though it were so, that he deliuered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterseiting of teares: yet the Macedons that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but flood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as if he knew not how greatly hee was hated. And so brake vp the 20 Affembly: Hee that had called it, being scarce aware how. Agathoeles therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mighty, but neither wife nor well qualified; thought to goe to worke, as had formerly beene his manner, by ving his authoritie, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. Hee haled out of a Temple the mother-in-law of Tlepolemus; & cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumors. and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and vtter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceived extreme hate, against these three pernicious misgouernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the prefentinjurie done to Tlepolemus, they were somewhat also mooued with seare of 40 harme; which, in way of requitall, Tlepolemus was likely to doe vnto the Citic. For He was, though a man most vnapt for Gouernment, as afterwards hee proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armic. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motimes wrought with the people: so by the remedie which Agathoeles vsed, were the Macedons more hastily, and more violently stirred vato vprore. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracie against him; and deliuered him vnto a follower of his owne, to be examined by torture. This poore fouldior was carried into an inner roome of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparrell to be tormented. But whilest the whippes were brought foorth, and 50 all things cuen in a readinesse for that purpose, there was brought vnto the Minister of Agathocles, a sad report of Tlepolemus his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leaving Moeragenes the Souldior alone by himselfe, and the dores open. Hee perceining this, naked as

he was , conneighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the Macedonians; of whom hee found fome in a Temple thereby at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the Turkes lanizars. Being affured therefore that one of their fellowes had thus been vsed; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would fee the King, and not leave him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no leffe adoc than the Souldrours, though to lesse effect. So the old Bawd Oenanthe fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter staid in the Court, vntill the King was taken from them; and they, 10 by his permission which hee easily gaue, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliucred up to the furie of the people. Agathecles himselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His fifter was dragged naked up and downe the firectes; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of justice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

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CHAP.5. S.2.

These troubles in Agypt, served well to stirre vp King Amiochus; who had very good leifure, though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon young Ptolemie. Philip of Macedon had the same delire, to get what part he could of the childes 20 estate. But it happened well, that Ptolemie Philopator in the Punick Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the Romans. Vnto them therefore the Agyptians addressed themselves, and craved helpe against these two Kings: who though they fecretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into couenant to divide betweene them, all that belonged vnto this Orphan; whose Father had beene Confederate with them both. So \* M. Lepidus was sent from Rome, to protect from all violence the King of Egypt; especially against Antiochus. As for the Macedonian; Hee was very soone found bulled, with warre at his owne doores. Also Scopas the Atolian, being a Pensioner to the Agyptian, was fent into Greece to rayle an Armie of Mercinaries. What Lepidus did in Agypt, I doe not find: and 20 therefore thinke it not improbable, that Hee was sent thither onely one of the three Embassadours, o in the beginning of the Warre with Philip, as hath beene o Lindib.31.

shewed before. As for Scopas; He shortly after went up into Syria with his Armie: where winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, He subdued the Jewes; who feeme to have yeelded themselves a little before vnto antiochis, at such time as they faw him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of receiving helpe from Egypt. But Vid.10seph.aut. it was not long, ere all these Victories of Scopas came to nothing. For the very next Ind. (12.6.3) yeere following, which was (according to Eufebius) the same yeere that Philip was beaten at Cynoscephala; Antiochus vanquished Scopas in battaile, and recoucred all that had beene loft. Among the reft, the Iewes with great willing neffe returned vn-

49 derhis obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated. The Land of Egypt this great King did forbeare to inuade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon Ptolemie: either hoping, as may seeme, that the Countrie would willingly submit it selfe voto him, if this yong child should happen to miscarrie; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Westerne parts of Asia, whilest Philip was held over-laboured by the Romans. It appeares that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene Attalus, Philip, and the Greekes, promifed to affoord him great advantage, if he should bring his Armie to the Hellespont. On the other fide, the state of Egypt being such as hath beene deso clared, seemed easie to be swallowed vp at once. One while therefore hee tooke what hee could get in Spria: where all were willing (and the Iewes among the rest, though hithertothey had kept faith with the Egyptian) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting Leypt alone, He was about to make invalion your Atalus his Kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to be perswaded by the Roman Embas-

fadours, and delitted from that enterprise. Having thus farre gratified the Romans: He fends Embaffadours to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amitte betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be ouerpassed, That these his Embassadours were louingly entertained at Rome; and dismissed, with a Decree and answere of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King Antiochus. But this answere of the Romans was not fincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not as yet made an end with Philip: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not standing much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour, they were content to give good words for the present. In the meane time Antiochus fights 10 with Scopas in Syria, and shortly prepares to winne some Towneselsewhere, belonging vnto Ptolemie, yet withall hee fends an Armie Westward, intending to make what profit hee can of the diffractions in Greece. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irrefolution, How not with standing his attempts you both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to Ptolemie, and another to Eumenes the sonne of Attalus, newly King of Pergamus: seeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when he sought to make each of them a spoile. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable defire of repugnancies; which is a disease of great, and ouer-swelling for unes. How-Soeuer it was, He sent an Armie to Sardes by Land, vnder two of his owne sonnes: 20 willing them there to flay for him; whileft he himfelfe with a Fleete of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other veffels, intended to passe along by the Coass of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such places as held for the Agyptian. It was a notable Ast of the Rhodians, that, whilest the war of Philip lay yet you their hands, they aduentured voon this great Antiochus. They sent vnto him a proud Embassage: wherby they gave him to understand. That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in Cilicia, they would meete him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but because hee should not joyne with Philip their enemie. and helpe him against the Romans. It was infolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits vnto the King; yet he tempered himselfe, and 20 without any shew of indignation gaue a gentle answere; partly himselfe to their Embaffadours; partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embaffadours which he thither fent. He hewed his defire, to renew the ancient Confederacies betweene his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, left his comming should tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the Romans whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his verie good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proofe, than the entertainement and answer by them newly given to his Embassadours.

The Rhodians appeare to have been a cunning people, and fuch as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what 40 had passed betweene his Embassadours and the Senate, mooued them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the Macedonian warre was ended at the battaile of Cynoscephala. They knew that Antiochus his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not bee conrented to fit still; vnlesse the Townes on the South Coast of Asia, belonging to Ptolemie their friend and Confederate, were suffered to bee at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the race of the Ptolemies. They therefore, in this time of necessitie, gaue what aid they could vnto all the subjects of the Aegyptian in those parts. In like manner did King Eumenes, the fonne of Attalus, prognoficate as concerning the warre that followed, between An- 50 ziochus and the Romans. For when King Antiochus made a friendly offer, to bestow one of his daughters upon him in marriage: Hee excused himselfe, and would not have her. Attalus and Philetern, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, rhat the Romans would furely make warre vpon Antiochus; and therein finally preuaile. Wherefore he said, That by abstayning from this affinitie, it should be in his power to joyne with the Romans, and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendthip. Contrariwife, if hee leaned to Antiochus: as he must be partaker in his ouerthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an ouer-mightie neighbour, if

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he happened to win the victorie. Antiochus himselse wintered about Ephesus: where hee tooke such order as hee thought convenient, for the reducing of Smyrns and Lamp (acus to obedience; that had vsurped their libertie, and obstinately strone to maintaineir, in hopethat the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring hee failed vnto the 10 Hellespont: where having won some Townes that Philip had gotten not long before this, hee paffed ouer into Europe fide; and in short space mastered the Chersonelus. Thence went hee to Lysimachia: which the Thracians had gotten and destroyed, when Philip withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the Roman warre. The Atolians obiected as a crime vnto Philip, in the Conference before T. Quintius, that hee had oppressed Lysimachia, by thrusting thereinto a Garrison. Hereunto Philip made answere, that his Garrison did not oppresse the Towne, but saue it from the Barbarians: who tooke and fackt it, as soone as the Macedonians were gone. That this answere was good and substanciall, though it were not accepted as such; might appeare by the miserable case, in which Antiochus found Lysimachia at his comming 20 thither. For the Towne was utterly razed by the Barbarians; and the people, carried away into slauerie. Wherefore the King tooke order to haue it reedified : as also to redceme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Countrie thereabout. Likewise hee was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants; and to replenish the Citie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from comming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour Thracians; he tooke a iournie in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Armie; leauing the other halfe to repaire the Citie. These paines he tooke; partly in regard of the convenient lituation, and former glory of Lysimachia; partly for that he thought it 30 highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recover and establish the dominion in those parts, which his fore-father Selenew Nicator had won from Lysimachus, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition hee shall dearely pay : and as after that victoric against Lysimachus, the death of King Seleucus followed shortly; so shall adeadlie wound of

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the Kingdome founded by Seleneus enfue very speedily, after the reconquest of the

fame Countrie, which was the last of Seleucus his purchases.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with ANTIOCHYS, during their warre with PHILIP: after which they quarrell with him. The doings of HANNIBAL at Carthage: whence bee is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight unto the King ANTIOCHUS. The Actolians murmure against the Romans in Greece. The warre of the Romans and Acheans, with NABIS the Tyrant of Lacedamon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T.QVINTIVS his Triumph. Peace denied to ANTIO. CHVS by the Romans.



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Or the Romans, though they were vnable to smother their desire of war with antiochus, whereof notice was alreadie taken both by their was with answering, whereor notice was alreadic taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepethernmour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrel!; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about Lysimachia. It

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\* Ch.4. 6.0lt.

was not long, fince King Attalus, a friend and helper of the Romans in their war with Philip, could obtain of them none other help against Antiochus, than Embassadors to speake for him; because the one of these Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did thereafterwards passe between them any other offices, than very friendly. Antiochus, at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Invasion from the Kingdome of Pergamu: also verie shortly after he sent Embassadours to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them. This was whileft as yet they were busied with Philip; and therfore had reason to answere his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in Greece, were become little better than Cli- 10 ents vnto the Romans: then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worle, but more plaine, meaning. For T. Quintius, with histen Counsailors sent from Rome, requited (as hath beene \* shewed before) with a commination of warre, this kings gratulation of their victorie; as also his long-professed amitie, and desire

These ten Counsailors were able to informe T. Quintius, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before; fince, in regard of Antiochus, hee was the more inclinable vnto peace with Philip. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progresse through diners quarters of Greece for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them 20 should visit King Antiochus; and the rest, where occasion served, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at Rome vinnindfull of the busines: wherein lest T. Quintius, with his ten Assistants, should happen to forget anything to their parts belonging; L. Cornelius was sent from Rome of purpose, to deale with the King about those controuersies, that were betweene him and Ptolemie. What other private instructions Cornelius had; wee may coniecture by the mannaging of this his Embassage. For comming to Selymbria: and there vnderstanding that P. Villius and L. Terentius, having beene fent by Titus, were at Lysimachia, He hastned thither; whither also came P. Lentulus (another of the ten Counfailours) from Bargilla, to be prefent at the Conference. Hegesianax and Lysias were 30 also there; the same, who had lately brought from Titus those peremptoric Conditions, which the Embassadours present shall expound vnto their Master. After a few dayes Antiochus returned from his Thracian Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betweene Him and these Romans, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the businesse in hand; this good mood was quite altered. L. Cornelius, in two or three words, briefly deliucred his errand from Rome: which was, That Antiochus had reason to deliuer backe vnto Ptolemie those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That hee must also give vp the Townes of late belonging vuto Philip; and by him newly occupied. For what could bee more abfurd, than fuch folly in the 40 Romans; as to let Antiochus enioy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured so much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that hee should not molest those Cities that were free and finally Hee demanded of him, vpon what reason hee was come ouer with so great an Armie into Europe; for that other cause of his journie there was none probable, than a purpose to make war upon the Romans. To this the King made answere, That hee wondered why the Romans should so trouble themselves, with thinking vpon the matters of Asia: wherewith He praied them to let him alone; euen as He, without such curiositic, suffered them to doe in Italie what they thought good. As for his comming ouer into Europe: they saw well enough what busines had drawne him thither; namely, the warre a- 50 gainst the barbarous Thracians: the rebuilding of Lysimachia, and the recourse of Townes to him belonging, in Thrace and Cherfone fus. Now concerning his title vnto that Countrie, He derived it from Seleucus: who made conquest thereof, by his victorie against Lysimachus. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversie

betweene him and the other Kings, had beene still of old belonging to the Macedonians or £gyptians; but had beene seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindred by multiplicitie of busines, from looking vnto all that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to fland in feare of him, as if hee intended ought against them from Lysimachia; since it was his purpose to bestow this Citie vponone of his fonnes, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be gricued with his proceedings in Alia: either against the tree Cities, or against the King of Agypt: since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himfelte, and to joyne ere long 10 with Ptolemie, not onely in friendship, but in a bond of neere affinitie. Cornelius hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refute it; would needes heare further, what the Embassadours of Smyrna and of Lampsacus, whom he had there with him, could fay for themselves. The Embassadors of Lampfacus being called in began a tale; wherein they feemed to accuse the King before the Romans, as it were before competent ludges. Antiochus therefore interrupted them, and bade them holde their peace; for a fmuch as he had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the Citizens of Rhodes, to be Arbitrators betweene Him and them.

Thus the Treatie held some few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The Romans, having not laide their complaints in such fort, as they might be a conucni-20 ent foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart wel fatisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace; were doubtfull how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous Gallo-Greekes, pretend only the goodnesse of their swordes; nor yet ouer-modeltly, to retaine among the Greekes an opinion of their iuftice, forbeare the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was wearie of these redions ghests; that would take none answere, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That Ptolemie was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the Romans, would take notice, though each of them were defirous to haflen into Agypt: Antiochus, to take possession of the Kingdome; and L. Corner 30 lius, to preuent him thereof, and fet the Countrie in good order. Cornelius was fent from Rome Embaffadour, both to Antiochus and to Ptolemie: which gaue him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his Egyptian voyage. Both He, and his sellow Embassadors, had good leaue to depart all together; and the King foorthwith made readie, to be in Agypt with the first. To his sonne Seleucus hee committed his Armie; and left him to ouer-fee the building of Lysmachia; but all his Sea-forces Hee tooke along with him, and failed vnto Ephefus. Thence hee fent Embaffadours to T. Quintius: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of Peace, after such fort, as might fland with honestic and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage; He was perfectly informed that Ptolemie was aliue. This made him 40 beare another way from Agypt: and afterwards a tempest, with a grieuous shipwracke, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to have fafely recouered his Port of Seleucia. Thence went he to Antiochia, where he wintered : fecure, as might appeare, of the Roman warre.

But the Romans had not so done with him. During the Treatic at Lysimachia, (at leastwife not long before or after it) one of their Limbassadours that had beene fent vnto the Macedonian gaue him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; Notto rest contented with the Peace which was granted vinto him by the Romans, but to desire societie with them, whereby they should bee bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he aduised him to doe quickly, before the

50 Warre brake out with Antiochus; lest otherwise he might seeme, to have awaited fome fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainely, did not meane to be satisfied with weake excuses. In like manner some of the Greekes were follicited; and particularly the Atolians, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the People of Rome. It was needlesse to say plain-

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ly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward answere made by the Atolians, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the Romans after the Victorie, as they had beene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out, that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promifed vnto them: vpbrayding withall the Romans, as men to them beholding; not onely for their Victorie ouer Philip; but even for helping them to fet foot in Greece, which elfe they never could have done. Hereto the Roman gave gentle answeres: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to fend Embassadors to the Se-

nate, and ytter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the Romans in Greece, for their Warre intended against Antiochus. The fame hereof arriving at Carthage, gave matter vnto the enemies of Hanmibal, wherewith both to picke a thanke of the Roman Senate; and to chace out of their Citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. Hee had of late exercifed his vertue against them in the Civill administration; and given them an ouerthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the fway in Carthage: holding their places during life; and having subject vnto them, the lines. goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they vse this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that whose offended any one of them. should have them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to 20 be soone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the Civie, Hannibal was chosen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though hee was superiour vnto them during that yeere : yet had it not beene their manner to beare much regard vnto fuch an annual Magistrate, as at the yeeres end must be accomptable to them. if ought were laid vnto his charge. Hannibal therefore fending for one of the Ouxflors, or officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him; the prove Quefor fet lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the adverte Faction to Hannibal; and men of his place were to bee chosen into the Order of Judges; in contemplation whereof, hee was filled alreadic with the spirit of his future Greatnesse. But he had not to doe with such a tame Prætor, as were they that had occu- 20 pied the place before. Hannibal fent for him by a Pursiuant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique affemblie of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the vidutiful stubbornicise of this Quzfor had beene; but how vnfufferable the infolencie of all the Judges at the prefent was: whose vnbridled power made them to regard neither Lawes nor Magistrates. To this Oration when hee perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and fauourable; He foorthwith propounded a Law, which paffed with the generall good liking; That the Judges should be chosen from yeere to yeere, and no one man be continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had beene passed, before he passed ouer Iberus : it would not perhaps have beene in the power of Hanno, 40 to have brought him vnto necessitie of reforming another grievance, concerning the Roman Tribute. This Tribute the Carthaginians were faine to levie by Taxation layed vpon the whole Commonaltie; as wanting money in their publique Treasurie, wherewith to defray eyther that, or diuers other needefull charges. Hannibal confidering this, beganne to examine the publique Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and meanes what soeuer; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinarie charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasurie; but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vie, were thereby faine to load the people with needlesse burdens. -Hereof 50 he made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to reftore, with shame, what they had gotten by knauerie; and so the Carthaginians were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts, as formerly they had vsed, when they knew northe valew of their owne Estate. But as

the vertue of Hannibal, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the Roman Faction, which had, since the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him , beganne to rage excremely; as being by him thript of their idgotten goods, and ill-employed authoritie, both at once, even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished Carthage. Wherefore they fent letters to their friends at Rome: wherein they complained, as if the Barchine Faction grew strong againe, and Hannibal would shortly be in armes. Oneftionleffe, if oppreffing the Citic by iniuffice, and robbing the Treasurie, were the onely way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome: these enemies to the Burchines 10 might well crie out, That having done their best alreadic to keepe all in quiet they faw none other likelihood than of Warre. But having none other matter to alleadee, than their owne innentions: they faid. That Hannibal was like vnto a wilde beatt, which would neuer be tamed: That secret messages past betweene him, and King Antiochus: and that hee was wont to complaine of idlenesse, as if it were harmefull to Carebage; with what elfe to like effect they could imagine. The leaccusations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, cuery one to the best of his owne friends at Rome, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publike notice of their Conspiracie was taken at Carthage; nor the authoritie of the Roman Senate, wanting to the fortherance of their 20 malicious purpose. Onely P. Scipio is said to have admonished the Fathers, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusfers of Hannibal: as if they would oppreffe, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him, the Man, against whom in warre they had not of long time prevailed, nor vsed their Victorie in such base manner, when they obtained is. But the Romans were not all fo great-minded as Scipio: they wished for some such aduantage against Hannibal; and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadours they lent ouer to Carthage, C. Serulius, Q. Terentius, and M. Claudius Marcellus. whole very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to Hannibal. These hauing past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their commung; 30 and, being by them instructed how to carrie themselves, gave out, That they were fent to end some controuerlies, betweene the Carthaginians and Masanista. But Hannibal had kept fuch good espiall upon the Romans, that hee knew their meaning well enough: against which he was neuer unprepared. It were enough to fay, That hee escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so samous a man, I hold it not importinent to rehearfe the particularities. Having openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, Hee went foorth of the Towne when it beganne to wexe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though fuch as he might well trust. Hee had appointed Horses to be in a readinesse at a certaine place: whence riding all night, Hee came to a Towre 40 of his owne by the Sca-fide. There had been Ship furnished with all things needfull: as having long expected the necessitie of some such journey. So He hade Atrick farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrie, more than his owne. Pagfing ouer to the Ile of Cercina; he found there in the Hauen some Merchants ships of Carthage. They faluted him respectively: and the chiefe among them beganne to enquire, whither hee was bound. He find, Hee went Embaffadour to Tire: and that he intended there in the lland to make a facrifice; whereto Hee innited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Shippes. It was hote weather: and therefore Hee would needs hold his Feast vpon the shore; where, because there wanted couert, He made them bring thither all their failes and yards to be vsed in stead of Tents. 50 They did fo; and feasted with him till it was late at night; at which time hee left them there asseep; and putting to Sea, held on his course to Tyre. All that night, and the day following, Hee was fore not to bee purfued. For the Merchants did neither make hafte to fend any newes of him to Carthage, as thinking him to be gone Embassadour: neither could they, without some losse of time, such of them as

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made most speed homeward, get away from Cereina; being bussed awhile in sitting their tackle. At Carthage, the missed of so great a person was diversly construed. Some ghessed aright, That he was sled. But the more common opinion was, That the Romans had made him away. At length came newes where he had been seene: and then the Roman Embassadours, having none other errand thinter, accused him (with an evill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they onely discovered the mischiefe by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate; missing the while their purpose, and cauling men to understand, that Hee sled not thus without great reason.

Hamibal, comming to Tyre, the Mother-Citic of Carthage, was there entertained 10 Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the Tyrians, by reason of affinitie between their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went hee to Antioch; and, finding the King departed, visited his sonne in Daphne: who friendly welcommed him, and sent him vnto his Father at Ephelus, that exceedingly rejoy-

ced at his comming.

As Antiochus had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten Hannibal: so had the Romans no great cause to bee therefore sorrie; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselues, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chacing him thus out of his Countrie. For it would not prooue alike easie vnto this great Commander, to make flour Souldiours of base Assatiques; as it had been by his trayning and disci- 20 pline, to make very scruiceable and skilfull men of Warre of the Spaniards, Africans, Gaules, and other Natious, that were hardie though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall confiderable, that the vanities of Antiochus, the pride of his Court, the basenesse of his Flatterers, and a thoufand other fuch vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making unprofitable the vertue of Hannibal; now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villanie of Hanno and his Complices, hindering him in those Actions wherein hee had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great Carthaginian, would onely helpe to ennoble the Roman Victo- 30 rie: or if it further served to hearten Antiochus, and make him lesse carefull to anoid the warre; then should it surther serue, to justifie the Romans in their quarrell. And it seemes indeed, that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For Antiochus, as is said before, hauing newly sent Embassadours to T. Quintius, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Armes; vnleffe by meere violence hee were thereto enforced. Onely the Atolians were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, defirous of innouation, and therefore practifing with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard, and to appeale them; they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsailours, That the 40 Senate would grant them what focuer with reason they should aske. But this promile was too large, and vnaduifed. For when their Embaffadours came to Rome, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to T. Quintius, who fauoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselues: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the Romans out of Greece for very shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The dayly talke at Rome was of warre with Antiochus; but in Greece, when the Romans would leave the Countrey. For the Leolians were wont to vpbraid the rest of the Greekes, with the vaine libertie which the Romans had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliverers had layd heavier setters upon them, than formerly 50 they did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the Macedonian: likewise, That it was a gracious as of Titus, to take from the legs of the Greeks their chaine, & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, if the Romans had no other meaning than what they pretended. For Philip had made no de-

laie, in accomplishment of that which was laid vpon him: all the Townes of Greece were at libertie, and the whole Countrey at peace, both with the Romans, and withinit felfe. As for Antiochus; He made it his dayly fuit, That the Peace betweene him and Rome, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more affurance. Neuertheleffe T. Quintius would needs feare that Antiochu meant forthwith to seize vpon Greece, as soone as hee and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained still in his owne hands Chalcis, Demetrias, and the Aerocoriathus: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withit and the dangerous Inuasion like to be made by Antiochus. Suteable vnto the doings of Quin-10 tius were the reports of the tenne Embassadours, that had been sent oner to assist him; when they returned backe into the Citie. Antiochus, they faid, would quettionlesse fall upon Greece: wherein he should finde not onely the Etolians, but Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedemon, readicto giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against Nabis, who could worst make resistance; whilest Antiochus was farreaway in Syria, and not intentine to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the Vulgar; but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, against which time it was expected that Antiochus should be ready to take his great enterprite in hand; 20 P. Cornelius Scipio the African defired, and obtained, a second Consulfhip, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and his Hamibal. For the prefent, the businesse with Nabis was referred vnto Titus; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would bee a faire colour of his longer tarriance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also hee knew that many of the Greekes would not be forry; though for his owne part, hee wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For Nabis had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeeres before this, as is alreadic showed, whilest hee had Warre with Philip: and had further beene contented for the Romans fake to bee at peace with the Acheans; neither fince that time had hee done any thing, whereby hee should draw 20 vpon himselse this Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the Acheans; as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischiefe. Titus therefore had a plausible Theme, whereon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which hee caused to meete for that purpose at Corinth. He told them, That in the warre with Philip, not onely the Greekes, but the Romans themselves, had each their motives apart (which hee there briefly rehearfed) that should stirre them vp, and cause them to be carnest. But in this which hee now propounded to them concerning Nabu, the Romans had none other interest, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in setting all Greece at liberty: which noble Action was in fome fort maimed, or incompleat, 40 whilest the noble Citie of Arges was lett in subjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the Greekes, duly to confider, whether they thought the deliuerance of Argos a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether otherwise to auoid all further trouble, they could bee well contented to leave it as it was: This concerned them, and not the Romans: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greekes themselues. The Athenian Embassadour made answere hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as he could deuise. He gaue thankes to the Romans for what was past; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein vnrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the so vehement request of their poore Associates, they had already of late extended vnto the Greekes. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was to heare, such notable vertue and high deferts ill spoken of by some: which tooke vpon them, out of their owne imaginations to foretell, what harme these their Benefactors meant to

doe hereafter: when as Thankfulnes rather would have required an acknowledge-

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ment, of the benefits and pleasures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the Liolians. Wherefore Alexanger the Atolian role vp, and told the Athenians their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in those times when their Citie had beene the Leader of all Greece, for defence and recoucrie of the libertie generall: from which honour they were now so farre fallen, that they became Paralites vnto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would lead all the rest into seruitude. Then spake Hee against the Acheans, Clients that had been a long time vnto the Macedonian; and fouldiors of Philip, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These, Hee said, had gotten Corinth, and must now have warre be made 10 for their fakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of Argos: whereas the Atolians, that had first made warre with Philip, and alwayes been friends vnto the Romans, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did hee thus containe himselfe, but obiected unto the Romans traudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in Demetrias, Chaleis, and the Acrocorinth; having been alwayes wont to professe, That Greece could never bee at libertie, whilest those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with Nabis, than businesses wherewith to finde themfelues occupied, that fo they might haue some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Countrie? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carrie 20 their Legions home out of Greece: which could not indeed beefree, till their departure. As for Nabis; the Aetolians themselues did promise, and would vndertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish Argos freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all Greece, that was now at vnitie. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common libertie wrought fo much with these Actolians; as did their owne rauenous desire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themsclues, that worse would vie it, the whole Dominion in Greece, which Philip had lost. Neither could they well diffemble this; making it no small part of their grieuance, 30 That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been couenanted, That the Romans should enjoy the spoile of all, but leauethe Townes and Lands in possesfion of the Ætolians. This, and the remembrance of a thousand milchiefes by them done in former times, made the whole Affembly, especially the Acheans, crie out vpon them: entreating the Romans to take fuch order before they went, that not onely Nabis might be compelled to doe right; but the Atolian thecues be enforced to keepe home, and leave their neighbours in quier. All this was highly to the pleafure of Titus: who saw, that by discountenancing the Atolians, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well, that Antiochus his Embassadours did presently after lie hard vpon him, to drawe the peace to some 40 good conclusion, it may bee greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight anfwere: telling them, That the ten Émbassadors or Counsailours which had beene fent vnto him from Rome, to be his affiftants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon

Now concerning the Lacedemonian warre; it was very soone ended. For Titus vsed the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against Nabis, both by Land and Sea, as if he should have had to doe with Philip. Besides the Roman forces, King Eumenes with a Navie, and the Rhodian Fleet, were invited to the service: as also Philip of Mecedon sent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether 50 it were to get sauour of the Romans, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking revenge upon Nabis, that had done him invitie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the Acheans, who set out ten thousand Foote, and a thousand Horse. As sor the Etolians: rather to hold good fashion, and sound their disponance.

fitions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; whereof they excused themfelues as well as they thought best. Thus are the Achains now become the prime friends of the Romans in Greece; having removed the Atolians from that degree of fauour: like as they themselues hereatter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same Lacedemonians, against whom they are now marching.

CHAP.5. S.4. of the Historic of the World.

Some of the Argines more bold then wife, began a conspiracie against the Lacedemonians that held their Towne; meaning to open their gates vnto the Roman.
But ere Titus diew neare, they were all detected and slaine: excepting a very tew,
that escaped out of the Towne. The same of this Commotion, caused the Armie
to march apace toward Argos; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet.
But there was no stirre within the Walles: the execution done vpon the first mouers, having terrified all the rest of the Citizens. Titus then thought it better, to assaile Nabis in the bead of his strength at Lacedemon, than to consume time about o
ther places; especially at Argos: for the freedom wherof since the Warre was made,
pitte it were, that the calamities of the warre should thereon fall most beauily.

Naki had in readinesse an Armie of fifteene thousand, wherewith to defend himselfe against these Inuaders. Fine thousand of them were Mercinaties: the rest. of his owne Countrie; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumised slaues, malefactors and base peasants, vnto whom his Tyrannie was beneficiall. Of the 20 good and worthy Citizens hee flood in doubt, and fince he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an Affemblie: and compaffing them round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within them elues; they might, he faid, hope the better to withstand the common Enemie. But forasmuch as turbulentheads were inuited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and worke dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest beforehand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should be keepe them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not onely the Citie and his owne person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which 30 else they might have incurred. Hereupon heecites and apprehends about sourescore of them; whom hee leads away to prison, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet breakcloofe. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else doe than terrifie the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortall crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it selse vnto some poore wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemie. These were openly whipt through all the streetes, and slaine. Having thus affrighted the Citizens; He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that came on apace. Hee welcommed them with a fallie: wherein, as commonly hap-40 pens, the Souldiours of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repelled with losse. Titus abode not many dayes before Sparta: but ouer-ran the Countrey; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The Roman Fleet at the same time with King Eumenes and the Rhodians, layd siege vnto Gyttheum, the onely or principall Hauen-towne that Nabis had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Gouernours within the Towne equall in authoritic: whereof the one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, flue the Traitor; after whose death, he himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when T. Quintius 50 with part of his Armie came thither to Gyttheum: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the vttermost, and awaite what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to give vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to depart in safety to Sparta with his Garrison. Pythagoras, the sonne-in-law of Nabis,

and brother vnto his wife, was come from Arges, whereof he had the Government

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with a thousand Souldiours Mercenaries, and two thousand Argines: it beging (as may feeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue Gyttheum: which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to thinke upon finishing the warre, by some reasonable Composition. Pythagoras therefore was fent his Embassador to Titus: requesting only that he would appoint a time and place for Nabis to meet and speake with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonably for himselfe: proouing, that hee suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments; whereof the fumme was, That what societ they now did, or could object vito him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That nei- 10 ther for his keeping the Towne of Argos, nor for any other cause by them alleadged, they ought to make warre vpon him; fince Argos, and all other their allegations what soever, had not hindered them, in time of their more neede of him from entring into that League with him; which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But Quintius was not herewith satisfied. Hee charged him with Tyrannie; and gaue instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, for a funch as they knew this Nabis to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that fome other cause of this Inuasion should be alleadged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied Messene, a Towne Confederate with the Romans: 20 That he had bargained to joyne with Philip; when he was their enemic, not onely in League, but also in affinitie: and that his Fleete had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of Malea. Now touching this Piracie, fince in the Articles by Titus propounded vnto Nabis, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the Greekes his neighbours, with whom he had long held warre: it may feeme to have beene objected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very friuolous. As for Mesfene, and the bargaine of Alliance made with Philip: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the Romans and this Tyrant; and therefore not to have beene mentioned. All this it seemes that Aristanus, the Prætor of the 30 Achains, verie well perceived: who therefore doubting left the Romans, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne inflice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbeare to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was ver their Confederate; and had neuer done them wrong; framed his discourse to another end. He entreated Nabis to confider well of his owne effate; and to fettle his fortunes, whileshe might doe it without hazzard: alleadging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to furrender their Estates, and lived in great securitie, honour, and happines, as private men. Thus they discoursed untill night. The next day Nabis was contented to relinquish Argos; and requested them, to de- 40 liuer vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counfaile with his friends. The iffue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must bee, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the Citie of Sparta: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon fuch Conditions as Tilue should thinke meete. Besides the restitution of Argos, and all the places thereon depending; Titus propounded many other Conditions to Nabis, and some of them very gricuous. Hee would not suffer the Lacedemonian to have ought to doe in the Ile of Crete; no, nor to make any Confederacies; nor war, either in that Hand or elf-where; not to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne Lands; not to keepe any other 50 shipping, than two small Barkes; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in silver to be payd out of hand, and fiftie talents yearely, for eight yeares next enfuing. For observance of these Couenants he demanded five hostages, such as he himselfe should name; and one of them to be

CHAP.5. S.4. of the Historie of the World. the Tyrants owne fonne: If it had beene the meaning of Titus, to withdraw the war from Nabis, because it was not grounded vpon instice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take Argos from him; which hee himselfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the Roman faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the state of their best friends in Greece, by the extirpation of this Tyrannie: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, haue beene profecuted vnto the very vtmost. As for this middle course which the Romans held: as it was not honourable vnto them; to cmich themselues by the spoile to of one that had not offended them: nor pleasing to the Acheans, who judged it euer after a great blemish to the noble acts of Titus: so did it minister vnto the Atoleans. and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to bee Patrons of Greece, no barren Subiect of malicious discourse. For fince Philip, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not bee suffered by these Matterly Romans, to hold any one of those Countries or Townes in Greece, that had belonged vnto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that Lacedamon, once the most famous Citic among all the Greekes, was by the fame Romans left in possession of a Tyrant, that had vsurped it but yellerday: and Hee therein rooted by their authoritic, as their friend and Confederate. 2 Nabis on the other fide thought himselte vn-20 mercifully dealt withall, by the felfe-fame Romans, whose amitie he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the love and affinitie of the Macedonian King. that had committed the Citie of Argosinto his hands. But fally had he dealt with the Macedonian: and fallly was he dealt with by those, to whom he did betake himselfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him; saue onely that for the banished Lacedamonians, (of whom a great number werein the Roman Campe; having among them Agesipolis the naturall King of Sporta, that being a yong childe was driven out by Lyourgus, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to have them restored vnto their Citie and Estates; but onely Icaue required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad 30 with them in banishment. Wherefore hee forbore to give consent voto the'e demands: and fustained an affault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would foone be wearie. But his fearefull nature shortly ouercame the resolution, which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yeelding voto all that had beene propounded, Hee deliuered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at Rome by the Senate and People. From this time forward, Hee thought the Romans more wicked than himselfe; and was readic upon the first aduantage, to doe them all mischiese that he could.

The Argines had heard newes that Lacedemon was even at point of being taken: This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they 40 aduentured to set upon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remoone of the three thousand carried thence by Pythagoras, to helpe the Tyrant at Sparts. Thereneeded vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them joyntly should fet their handes to the getting of it; which no fooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came T. Quintius to Argos, where hee was joyfully welcommed. Hee was deserredly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laied hold without staying for him: and that hee might the better entitle himfelfe thereto, he caused the libertie of the Argines to be proclaimed at the Nemean games; as ratifying it by his authoritie. The Citie was annexed againe to the Councellof Achaia; whereby the Acheans were not more strengthened, than the Argines 50 themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same extremities out of

which they had newly escaped. Afterthis, Titus found little busines or none wherewith to set on worke his Armie in Greece. Antiochus was about to send another Embassage to Rome, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance who

ly disposed vnto quiet; Scipiothe African, that was chosen Consul at Rome, could not have his defire, of being fent Commander into Greece. The vnfincere meaning of Anticchus, and the tumultuous disposition of the Atolians, were held as considerations worthie of regard : yet not sufficient causes of making Warre. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the Atolians, and of throughly perfwading all the Greekes (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to affure vnto themselues the Patronage of Greece) that the good of the Countrie, was their fole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation vnto it selfe, til occasion should be ripe, and call them over againe. Wherfore after Titus had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at 10 any neere distance appearing; he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of Greece to Corinth: where hee meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted vnto them all that had passed since his comming into those parts; and willed them to value the Roman friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counfaile; touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably, and without faction. Lastly hee gaue vp Acrocorinthus to the Achaans; withdrawing thence the Roman Garrison, and promising to doe the like ( which verie soone hee did) at Chalcis and Demetrias; that so it might be knowne, what liers the Ætolians were, who had accused the Romans, of a purpose to retaine those pla- 20 ces. With joyfull acclamations did the Greekes testific their good liking of that which Titus had faid and done : asalfo (at his request) they agreed, to ransome and enlarge all Romans, that had bin fold into their Countrie by Hannibal.

Thus Titus crowned his actions in Greece with an happie end: and by leaving the Countrie before his departure was vrged, left therein behind him the memorie of his vertue and benefits, vintainted by jelousie and suspition of any enill meaning. At his comming to the Citie, Hee had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that Rome had untill that day beheld. Three dayes together the Thew of his pompe continued: as being fet out with the spoiles of a Countrie, more aboundant in things worthie of such a spectacle, than any wherein the Romans had 30 before made Warre. All forts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Brasse or Marble, taken from the Enemie, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Silver: some in the rude Masse vnwrought; some, in diuers forts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of fundrie kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workemanship. Among these were tenne shieldes, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day Titus himselfe entred the Citic in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and foureteene Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by divers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, Demetrius the sonne of King Philip, and Armenes the sonne of Nabis, were 40 principall. After him followed his Armie; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the Shew) the Roman Captines, by his procurement redeemed from

Notiong after his Triumph; He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of Greece and Asia. They had all very fauourable answers; excepting those of King Antiochus: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to T. Quintius, and the tenne that had beene his Counsailors; because their businesse was said to bee, somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadours wondred. They said vnto Tinus and his Associates, That they could not discerne wherein consisted any perplexitie of their message. For all Treaties of 50 peace and friendship, were either betweene the Victor and the vanquished; betweene those, that having warred together, were vpon equall termes of advantage; or betweene those that had lived alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor; they said, that the vanquished must yeeld; and pariently endure

the impolition of fome Couenants, that elfe might feeme vareasonable. Where Warre had been made, and no advantage gotten: there was it viuall to demaund and make reftitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or loft; accordingly as both parts could agree. But betweene those which had never failen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to bee proposed : since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their owne; and neyther carrie it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prescribing ought that might bee troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the League and friendihip that had beene fo long in conclution, betwixt Antioches and the Romans. Which being for they held it strange, that the Romans 10 should thus inlift on points no way concerning them, and take vpon them to prescribe vnto the King, what Cities of Alia he should set at libertie; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; eyther putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto Quintim answered. That fince they went so distinctly to worke, Hee would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to accept: Eyther that it should be lawfull for the Romans, to take part in Asia with any that would fecke their friendship; Or, if King Antiochus misliked this, and would have them for beare to meddle in Asia, that then Hee should abandon whatfocuer hee had gotten in Europe. This was plaine dealing; but 50 20 reasonable nor pertinent answere, to that which the Kings Embassadours had propounded. For if the Romans might be hired to abstaine from Asia, by the girt of all that Antiochus had lately wonne in Europe: then did not the affaires of Smyrna. Lampfacus, or any other Asiatiques, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make warre with a King that fought their love, and had never done them injurie. But they knew very well, that Antiochus could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of Lyfimachia, whereon of late he had bin at fo much cost; in building it vp euen from the foundations, and repeopling it withinhabitants, that had all beene dispersed, or captine to the Barbarians. And so much the Embassadours with great indignation 20 alleadged : faying, that Antiochus desired friendship of the Romans ; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the Romans tooke vpon them as if their cause were farre the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to fet at libertie those Townes, which the King would oppresse and hold in subje-Aion: especially since those Townes were of Greekish bloud and language; and fell in that regard under the patronage, which Reme had affoorded unto all Greece befides. By this colour they might foone have left Antiochus King of not many subjects on the hither side of Euphrates. Neyther did they forbeare to say, That, valeffebe would quit what hee held in Europe, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied vpon them in Asia, but therein to make new Alliances: 40 namely (as might be evnder flood) with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they vrged his Embassadours to come to a point, and tel them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleasing answere, which the Embassadours could not hereto make; little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to bee entreated, and were contented once againe to fend ouer P. Villius, and others that had beene alreadic with the King at Lysimachia; by whom they might receive a finall answere, whether these demands made by Quintius and his Affociates would bee accepted, yea, or no. By this refpite of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, Intiochus got the leisure of two yeeres, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the Romans, all that while, no

50 disposition to let him live in peace.

ch.2.5.8.of

Of the long Warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spamiards. Of M. PORCIVS CATO. Injuries done by MASA-NISSA to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for instice in vaine.

He Insubrians, Boijans, and other of the Cifalpine Gaules, together to with the Ligurians; made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the Romans in Italie, even from such time as Hannibal and his brother Mage departed thence, vntill such time as they themselves were vtterly subdued: which was not, before the Romans were al-

most at the height of their Empire. These Nations, having served vnder Mage for wages, and afterwards having gotten Amilear a Carthagiman, to be Leader vnto them all, as hath beene alreadie shewed; by this their fellowship in Armes, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the Gaules or Ligurians did stirre alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were readie to second them. How the Romans first prevailed, and got large possessions in 20 Gallia Cifalpina now called Lumbardie; it hath beene long fince rehearfed, betweene the first and second Punick Warres. As also it hath fince appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrie, by meanes of Hannibal his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the reconquest would have beene more difficult or tedious vnto the Romans, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armics abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre had not beene diftracted by the Ligurians; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backes. The Ligurians were a front Nation, light and swift of bodie; well practifed in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any ouerthrow, but foorthwith readie to fight againe, 20 Their Countrie was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: fo as without much labour, they could neither bee taken nor belieged. They were also very poore; and had little or nothing that might give contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that should spoile their Land. In these respects they ferued excellently well, to traine up the Roman Souldiors to hardnesse and militarie patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and line contented with a little. Their quarrell to Rome, grew partly from their loue vnto the Gaules, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territoric of their borderers, that were sub- 40 iect vnto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begunne, scemes to have beene grounded vpon the Condition of all Saluages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Iudgement; and to acknowledge no fuch vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vling their aduantage, or taking reuenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, vic commonly this answere, It hath still beene the custome for vs and them, to fight one against the other.

Divers overthrowes, though none that were great, these Ligurians gave vnto the 50 Romans; but many more, and greater, they received. Often they fought peace, when they found themselves in distresse; and brake it agains as often, when they thought it profitable fo to doe. The best was, that as their Countrie was a good place of exercise vnto the Romans, so out of their own Countrie they did little harme:

not fending any great Armies farre from home; perhaps, because they knew not

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how to make warre, faue on their owne ground. The Countrie of Spaine, as it was the first part of the Continent out of Italie that became subject vnto the Romans: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Oxe-hide: and the Romans found in it the propertie of that Oxe-hide, which Calanus the Indian thewed vnto the Great Alexander, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading youn any fide of it, the further parts would rife from the ground. And thus was it with Spaine. Seldome did it happen, that those To parts from which the Roman Armies lay furthest, were not vp in rebellion. The Spaniards were a very hardie Nation, and casily stirred up to armes; but had not

much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted also (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among them selues; and beeing divided into many small Signories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldome or neuer prouided in generall for the common good of their Countrie; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder; when many had vnited themselines together, for chacing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often ouerthrowes: as desire of libertie, rather than com-20 plaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking armes.

The Carthaginians had been accustomed, to make euacuation of this Chollerick Spanish humour; by employing, as Mercinaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to bee viquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrie, and vied them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which they rayled upon the whole Countrie; as being farre better husbands, and of more dexterititie than were the Romans, in that kind. But contrariwise the Romans, vsing the service of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the Latines, had little businesse for the Spaniards; and therefore were faine to have much businesse with them. Spaine was too farre distant, and withall too 30 great, for them to fend ouer Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they tooke in Italie. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwayes maintaine such Armies in the Countrie, as might scrue to hold it in obedience perforce; and fuch heedfull Captaines, as might bee still readie to oppose the Barbarians in their first Commotion. This they did: and thereby held

the Countrie; though seldome in peace. Very soone after the departure of Scipio, there was raised warre in Spaine against the Romans, euen vpon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the Spanish warres following. It was thought vnreasonable, that the Spaniards thould one while helpe the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the 40 Romans against the Carthaginians; basely forgetting to helpe themselues against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which Scipio had left behind him in that Countrie, being well acquainted with the manner of warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with subjection, brought peace vpon the Countrie; which lasted fine veeres. This Victorie of the Romans, though it happily ended the warre: yet left it still remaining the cause of the warre; which after five yeeres brake out againe. The Spaniards fought a battaile with the Roman Proconful, whom they flew; and had a great Victorie, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happie successe of their Warres in Greece, made the Romans thinke it enough to fend thither two

50 Prators, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that M. Porcius Cato, who was Consul the yeere following, and fent into that Province; found at his comming little leffe to doe, than the reconquering of all Spaine. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniar ds were not of one minde: some were faithfull to Rome and some were idle beholders of the paines

that others tooke. Yet when Cato had wonne a great Victorie vpon the chiefe of them; they role against him in many parts of the Countrie, and put him to much new trouble. Whilest hee was about to make a journie against those that were as yet vnsubdued; some of the lately vanquished, were even readie to rebell. Hee therefore disarmed them: which they tooke so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very gricfe. Hearing of this, and well understanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them; and commending vnto them peace and quietneffe, which they never had diflurbed but vnto their owne great losse, He praied them to deuise what course might betaken for holding them affured vnto Rome, without further trouble. None of 10 them could, or would give counsaile in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subiect; He gaue expresse charge, That vpon a day appointed they should throw downe the wals of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with singular industrie finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to Rome, in this time of danger, to imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an Armie of the Celtiberians, against other of their Countrimen : excuting the indignitie, such as it seemed, with a iest, That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victorie, hee could pay them with the Enemies monic. Finally Hee brought the Warre to so good end, 20 that in long time after, though Spaine were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being loft. He increased also the publike Revenues in that Province, by cauting fome Mynes of Iron and Siluer to be wrought, that had before laine vnregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agrecable to his owne

For this M. Cato was not onely very notable in the Art of War, which might well bee then termed The Occupation of the Romans; but so well furnished with all othery feful qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might feeme requifite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. Hee was very skilful in the Roman Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any businesse either private or 30 publike. Many Bookes he wrote: wherof the principal were, of the Roman antiquities, and of husbandrie. In matter of husbandrie he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his House. Strong of bodiehee was, and exceeding temperate: fo as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him vnto the better fort of the Romans, was his great finceritie of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein hee had merited fingular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble Scipio the African, and some other worthic men; that were no lesse honest than himselfe, though farre lesse rigid, and more gallant in behaui- 40 our. Otherwise, Hee was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that hee could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he neuer were out of his Element. He loued businesse so well, or rather hated vice so carnestly; that even vnto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himselse, or accusing others. For at the age of fourescore and sixe yeeres, He pleaded in his own defence : and foure yeeres after, he accused Sergius Galbavnto the People. So beganne the Nobilitic of Cato his family, which ended in his great grandchild M. Cato the Vican: one, that being of like vertue and feruencie had all his good purposes dasht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobilitie and greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The Spanish Warres, after Cato his departure out of the Countrie, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrie seldome free from insurrection, in one part or other. The Roman Prætors therefore, of which two enery yeere were sent ouer Commanunders into Spaine (that was divided into

two energy yeere were sent oner Commanders into Spaine (that was divided into two Governments) did rarely faile of such worke; as might assord the honour of Triumph. One slew thirteene thousand Spaniards in a battaile: another tooke siftie Town; and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to sue for Peace. Thus energy one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; yet so, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I have alreadic pointed; and therefore thinke it enough to say, That the businesse in Spaine required not the imployment of a Roman Consul, from such time as Caso thence departed, vntil the

10 Numantian Warre brake out; which was verie long after. In all other Countries to the West of the Ionian Seas, the Romans had peace; but so had not the Carthaginians. For when Hannibal was gone from them, and that the enemies of the Barchine House promised all felicitie which Rome could grant, voto themselves and their obedient Citie: Majaniffa fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with Emporia, a fruitfull Region about the leffer Syrtis: wherein among other Cities was that of Leptis, which daily paid a Talent vnto Carthage for Tribute. This countrie the Numidian challenged, and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime vnto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the Carthaginians might not make any Warre, 20 without leave obtained from their Mafters the Romans. They had none other way of redreffe, than by fending to Rametheir Complaint of his doings. And furely they wanted not good matter to alleadge, if the ludges had been unpartiall. For belides that Scipio, in limiting out vnto them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Countrie: Ma/anissa himselfe, now very lately, pursuing a Rebell that fled out of his Kingdome, defired leave of the Carthaginians, for him elfe to paffe through it in his way to Cyrene: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise beene questionable) that the Countrie was theirs. This not with flanding, Majaniffa had wherewith to iustifie his proceedings, especially vnto the Roman Senate. Hee gaue the Fathers to vinderstand by his Embassadors, what faithlesse people the Carthaginians were and 30 how il-affected to the State of Rome. There had lately been fent vnto them from Hannibal, one that should perswade them to take part with Antiochus. This man they had examined upon some suspition of his errand, yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby affoorded him meanes to escape. Hence the Numidian concluded. That certainly it was their purpose rorcbell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe. As for the Countrie of Emperia: it had alwayes, he faid, beene theirs, that were able to hold it by firong hand; and fo belonged fometimes vnto the Numidian Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the Carthaginians. But if trueth were knowne, the Citizens of Carthage had no very warrantable title vnto any more ground, than that whereon their Gitie stood; or scarcely to so much. 40 For they were no better than ftrangers in Africk, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground, as they could encompasse with an Oxe-hide cut into small thongs. What soeuer they held without such a compasse, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encrochments. This confidered, Majaniffa requested of the Senate, That they would not adjudge vnto fuch vsurpers, the Countrie sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The Romans having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the suddentell what to determine. Wherefore because they would doe nothing rashly; they sent ouer three Embassadours, of whom P. Scipio the African was one and the chiefe, to decide the controversie: yet secretly giving them

frican was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuerfic: yet feerely giving them
infructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embaffadours followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that Mafanifa with a firong Armie should quickly prevaile, against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By such Arts were the Carthaginians held, not oncly from stirring in fauour of King Antiochus,

Antiochus, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their finall destruction: that came vpon them , when the Romans had leifure to expresse the vtmost of their hatred.

## ٧I.

The Atolians labour to pronoke ANTIOCHYS, PHILIP, and NABIS, to warre woon the Romans; by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. NABIS besiegeth Gyttheum, and wasteth some part of Achaa. The exact skill of PHILOP @- 10 MEN, in aduantage of ground: whereby he wtterly vanquisheth NABIS. ANTI-OCHYS being denied Peace by the Romans, joynes with the Etolians. The Etolians (urprize DEMETRIAS; and by killing NABIS, their Confederate leize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at PHILOPOMEN his perswasions annex themselves to the Achaans.

LL Greece being at peace, and the Roman Armies thence departed: it grieued much the Ætolians to thinke, that they who had promised vnto themselues the whole spoile of Philip, and the highest reputative. on among the Greeker; were not onely disappointed of their couetous 20 hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all o-

ther the most vnregarded. Yet was there made a great accesse to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had beene taken from the Macedonian. This might have well sufficed them, if their desires had not beene immoderate: and their indignation, more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themselues to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had vnsufferable wrong. Wherefore they deuiled, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what meanes they best might right themselves; and give the Romans a for- 20 rowfull knowledge of the difference, betweene their enmitte and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affection, That they would not onely perswade Antiochus to make warre vpon the Romans, as one to whom the Romans had long refused Peace; but that they would deale with the King of Macedon their ancient Enemie, and with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon, to ioyne all together in a new Confederacie: whose joynt forces could not in all likelihood but farre furmount those of the Romans, Acheans, Rhodians, and King Eumenes, with all that were of their Faction. This was a greatenterprile, which the Atolians tooke in hand; and well befeeming them, for they were great darers. They fent Embaffadours to all these Kings, with perswasions as they thought most forcible. But Phi- 40 lip was irresolute; and Antiochus willing to trie sirst all other courses. Nabis the Lacedamonian, who neither (as Philip) had lost much, nor (as Antiochiu) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward; and not staying so much as to feeke any good pretence, beganne immediatly to lay fiege to Gyttheum, that had beene lately taken from him by the Romans. The Acheans, to whole care chiefly Titus at his departure had commended the affaires of Peloponnesus, were not flow to admonish Nabis of his ductie: neither would they have staied long from repressing his violence by open warre; had not some of them thought it wisedome to aske counsaile of the Romans, and particularly of T. Quintius, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilest thus they spent the time in 50 sending Embassadours, and were aduised by Quinting to let all alone, and to waite for the comming of the Roman forces that would shortly be amongst them: Nabis was bold to giue them iuster cause of complaint, by wasting their owne Territorie.

Philopamen was then Prætor of the Acheans, who had long been absent in Crete;

CHAP.5. S.6. of the Historie of the World. making war there for his mindes fake and recreation. Vnto him the Acheans referred themselues, giving him leave to order the warre at his pleasure; either staying untill the Formans came; or doing otherwise, as hee should thinke best. He made all haste to relieue Gyttheum, by Sea; fearing lest the Towne, and the Acham Garrison within it, should bee lost, if hee ysed any delay. But Philopamen was so bad a Seaman, that he knew not a ftrong Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrireme Gallie his Admirall, that had fourescore yeeres agoe been counted a gallant vessell, in the Nauic of Antigonus Gonatas. Neither was therest of his Fleete fo good, as might encounter with that of the Lacedamonian. Onely it fell out well, that he committed to himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, forang fo many leakes, and tooke in water fo fast, that the was faine to veeld without further relistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admirall, all were prefently discouraged, and saued themselves with what speede they could. But Philopamen was not herewith danted. If hee had tailed in Sea-fervice, which was none of his Occupation, Hee faid, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the fiege of Gyttheum to fron the Acheans if they should inuade his Countrie. But you these which were placed in guard of Laconia, Philopamen came inexpected; fired their Campe; 20 and put all, faue a very few of them, to the fword. Then marched he with all his Armie towards Lacedamon: within ten mile whereof he was, when the T yrant mer him that had already taken Gyttheum. It was not expected that Nahis would have been ready for them so soone. Or if hee should come from Gyttheum, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that hee must overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some five miles; having their Horse, & the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any sudden impression. But Nabis, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Armie; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custome 30 of Philopamen, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his friends, to marke the situation of the Countrie about him; and to discourse, what might befall an Armie marching the same way. Hee would suppose, That having with him there such a number of Souldiours, ordered and forted in fuch manner, and marching rowards fuch a place; he were vpon that ground encountered by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would be put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a fland? what piece of ground it were meete for him to feize vpon? and in what manner he might best doe it? in what fort he should order his men? where bestow his Carriages, and under what Gard? in what fort encampe himselfe? and which way march the day following? By such continuali 40 meditation Hee was growne so perfect, that hee neuer mette with any difficultie. whence he could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time hee made a stand: and having drawne up his Rere, Hee encamped neare unto the place where he was; within halfe a mile of the Enemie. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompassing them round with his Souldiours. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as Nabis could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke: whereto the Acheans lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. Philopamen understood this; and layd an ambush in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of Nabio fell, and were flaughtered 50 in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him , that the Acheans had a purpose to get betweene him and Lacedemon; wherby they would both debarre his returne into the

Citie, and withall encourage the people, to take armes for the recourry of their

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freedome.

freedome. The Tyranthearing this, marched haltily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would have been forced. Some Companies hee made to flay behinde, and shew themselves vpon the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But Philopamen was not so to be beguiled. He easily won the Campe; and gaue chace to Nabis: whose followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day; Philopæmen conceived aright, that their feare and necessitie would teach them to creepe homewards, and saue themselves, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when he had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chace whilest it was day, Hee led 10 forth the rest that had well refreshed themselues, and occupied the two most ordinarie passages vnto Lacedamon. So Nabis his men, when it was darke night, perceiuing in Philopamens Campegreat flore of lights; thought that all had been at rest: and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thirtie dayes together after this, did Philopamen waste the Countrey round about, whilest Nabis durst not issue foorth of his Towne; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The Roman Embassaddours were then in Greece, and T. Quintius among them; labouring to make their partie strong against Antiochus and Nabis, whom they knew 20 to be follicited by the Ætolians. Verie faire countenance they also made vnto Philip; and with comfortable promifes drew him to make shew, whatsocuer hee thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore vnto him his sonne: and were contented to let him hope, that hee should receive other fauours at their hands; and regaine poffession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for warre against Antiochus in Greece, whilest their Embassadours that were with him in Asia, denied otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would veeld vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long abfence of this King in Syria, where he had accomplished the marriage betweene Ptolemie and his daughter; together with the death of yong Antiochus the Kings sonne, 20 which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from gining audience in person to the Embassadours; caused them to returne home to Rome; as vncertaine of their answere as at their setting forth. One thing that might haue beene, and partly was, beneficiall vnto them, they brought to passe during their abode at Ephelus; either by cunning, or (as Linie rather thinkes) by chance. Finding Hannibal there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fied vnto Antiochus, vpon a causelesse suspition wherein hee held the Romans: that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many have affirmed that P. Scipio was one of these Embassadours; and that hee, among other discourses with Hannibal, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captaines that had lived , HAN-40 NIBALiudged the most worthy? So Hannibal gave to Alexander of Macedon the first place: to Pyrrhus the second: and the third he challenged vnto himselfe. But Scipio who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldest thou have said then, Hannibal, if thou hadst vanquished mee ? To whom the Carthaginian replied, Then would not I have given the first place to Alexander, but have claimed it as due vnto my selfe. Now whether this were fo, or otherwise: the often and friendly conference of Hannibal with the Roman Embassadours, made him suspected of Antiochus: who therefore did forbeare awhile to vie his counsell. Yet afterwards, when Hannibal perceived this change in the King : and plainely defiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He 50 casily recovered his former grace, and credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when hee was a little boy, That hee never should bee friend vnto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine furmises: but to know thus much, That as long as he thought vpon warre with Rome, folong would Hannibal doe him all good feruice: whereas contrariwife if he intended to make peace, then should it behoove him to vse the counsaile of some other

The Aetolians, and their friends, were no leffe bufie all this while, in making their partic strong against the Romans, than were the Romans, in mustering vp their friends in Greece. They had so often dealt with Antiochus, vanting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victoric against Philip; that finally they prevailed with him: especially when the Roman Embassadors had 10 left him without hope of peace, vnlesse hee would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like fort with the Macedonian. But in vaine. Hee vnderstood the Romans, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their owne forcesto the vtmost: asknowing, that all the burthen must lie vpon Antiochus and themselues, without helpe from any; sauc onely from some few that were discontented in Greece. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King Antiochus that animated them to resolution: the Athenian Embasfadors, whom Titus had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay necre at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were conten-20 ted to approue the motion. Titus hearing this, thought the bulines worthy of his presence. For since Antiochus had now declared himselte against the Romans: it would bee no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the aduenture. Wherefore hee came to their Panatolium, or great Assemblie of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might ferue to appeale them. Hee willed them to confider the weight of the enterprise which they tooke in hand; whereby Greece was like to become a Champaigne-field. on which, to the ruine of the Countrie, the Romans, and King Antiochius, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Masterie: the Etolians as Masters in that kinde of Fence, setting them on, and becomming \*the Sticklers. As \*Lin.L25.ad-30 for those grieuances which did thus exasperate them, and vrge them to such violent missis Actolisa courses, Hee willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better forte, lanisting they might doe to fend Embassadours to Rome, that should either pleade their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed , were not good) make request to have what they defined: than thus to fet the world in an vprore, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he sayd, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose helpe they had sought, waite so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to Rome, they might happen to 40 obtains what they defired either as their right, or elfe by way of fauour. For with fuch Termes had they beene feafted once already: and were by the Senate reie-Red vnto Titus: who, having it in his owne power, gaue them no fatisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were onely loffe of time, and might abate their credit with Antiochus. Wherefore without more adoethey made a Decree, That King Antiochus the Great should be entreated to come ouer into Greece, as well to fet the Countrie at libertie, as also to decide the controversies depending betweene the Romans and Atolians. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderstood the Kings minde before. Hauing made it; they forgot no point of brauerie, wher by to yount themselves to the Kings Embasso sadours, and against the Romans. Titus desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copie of this nevy Decree. The Prætor answered, That then hee had other things to do: but that this Decree, & their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their camp in Italy vpon the river of Tibris. Gentler words would have

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done better, as the Etolians are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the warre they referred vnto the more private Councel of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authoritic of a generall Assembly. The Apolleti (so were the Prinic Councell of £tolia called) went as hotly to worke as any of the yongest heads could have done. They lay da plotte, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta: to each of which they fent men for the purpole. Demetrias they tooke vpon the sudden; entring, some of them as friends to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for speaking words against T. Quinting, had been driven to flee thence, but was, by interceffion of those that lo- 10 ued him againe recalled. His Ætolian companions, that were not many, seized vpon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not far behind them: and so fell to murdering the chiefe of the Roman Faction. At Chaleis they foed not fo well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so firong, that their purpose was discouered, and the Towne prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentleanswer, saying, That they came not thither as enemics, but onely to deliuer the Towne from the Romans; who more infolently dominered ouer it, than ener the Macedonians had done. By which Rhethoricke they prevailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force. For the Townes-men replied, That they neither 20 found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keepe them from the Romans; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injurie. So this busines was dasht. The attempt vpon Sparta was more strange and desperate. Nabis their good friend, was Lord of the Towne; styling himselfe King: but, more truely by all men called Tyrant. He had wel-neare lost all, by meanes of the ouerthrow which Philopamen had lately given him: fince, he durft not flirre abroad, and dayly expected the mischiefe, that on all sides threatned him. Wherfore he lent mellengers, one after another, to the Atolians; requesting them, That as He had not been flow to firre in their behalfe, but aduentured himselfe your the vtmost of danger, when all others were backward; so They would be pleased to 20 fend him what helpe they might, fince his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often fayd, That the raucnous Atolians were onely true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since Nabis his mercinarie forces, which vpheld his Tyrannie, were in a manner confumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to affure Lacedamon vnto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither Alexamenus, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gaue a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by Damocritus the Prætor brought into the Councell of the Apocleti, where they were comman- 40 ded to be no wifer than they should bee, nor to thinke that they were fent to make warre with the Achaans, or to doe ought elfe, fauc onely what Alexamenus should command them; which, were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reafon; yet must they understand, that unlesse they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So Alexamenus came to the Tyrant, whom hee encouraged with braue words: telling him that Antiochus was already in Europe, and would be anon in Greece, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the Romans were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with Philip: fince the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would fuffice to tread them downe. As for the Ltolians, Hee said, that if need should so re- 50 quire, they would presently send away to Lacedamon all the forces that they could raife: But that they were very defirous at the prefent, to make as goodly a muster as they could before the great King; which caused them to fend him thither afore

with no greater companie. Hereupon he willed Nabis to take heart; bring forth his men, that had beene long pent vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in worke of conquest, rather than defence. Nabis was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field; riding vp and downe with his Alexamenus, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, Alexamenus made it his fashion to step aside alone to his Atolians, and say somewhat as he thought fit : which done, he ftill returned againe to Nabis. But when he faw time for the great worke that he had in hand : Hee then went alide to his thirtie Horseno men, and bade them remember the taske enjoyned them at their fetting foorth; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, valesse they would anon come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithallthe Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and Alexamenus making towards him, charged him on the fudden; and struck him downe. The thirtie Ætolians neuer stood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched Nabis. Presently vpon the fact committed, the T yrant his Mercinaries ranne vnto the dead bodie: where in stead of seeking revenge, they stood soolishly gazing as beholders. Alexamenus with his Ætolians hasted into the Citie, and seized on the Palace: where hee fell 20 to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were alreadic done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens : who seeing themfelues free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to fee those that had flaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Towne was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall flocke, that had beene brought vp with Nabis his children; whom they mounted vpon a Good Horse, and made him their chiese. So they fell vpon the Atolians that were idely stragling about; and put them all to the sword. Alexamenus with not many of his Companie, were flaine in keeping the Citadell; and 20 those few that escaped thence into Arcadia, were taken by the Magistrates; who folde them all as bond-flaucs. In this doubtfull Estate of things at Lacedamon. Philopæmen came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such wordes vnto them, as Alexamenus should have done after hee had slaine the Tvrant: easily perswaded them for their owne good and safetie, to incorporate themfelues with the Acheans. Thus by the enterprise, no leffe dishonourable than difficult, of the Atolians, and the small, but effectuall, travaile of Philopærsen; the Achaans made a notable purchase : and Lacedamon, that had hitherto bingouerned eyther by Kings, or by T yrants that called themselues Kings,

CHAP.5. S.6. of the Historie of the World,

became the member of a Common-wealth; whereof the name had scarce any reputation,

when Sparta ruled oner all Greece.

VII.

ANTIOCHUS, per/waded by THOAS the Etolian, comes ouer into Greece, ill attended. Sundric passages betweene him, the Etolians, Chalcidians and others. Hee winnes Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Eubaa. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadors and the Atolians, with the Civil answere of TITVS to their discourse, before the Acheans. That it concerned the Greekes to have defired peace, betweene the Romans and ANTIOCHUS; as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many pettie Estates that fell to the King. Of AMINANDER; and an idle vanitie, by which 10 King PHILIP was loft. HANNIBAL gives good counsaile in vaine, Some Townes wonne in The (alie). The King retires to Chalcis; Where hee marrieth a young Wife, and reucls away the rest of Winter. Vpon the comming of the Roman Conful all for fake ANTIOCHUS. Hee with two thousand Atolians keepes the Streights of Thermopyla. Hee is beaten, and flies into Asia: leaving all in Greece vnto the Victors.



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NTIOCHUS was troubled much in Alia with Smyrna and Lamplacus, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him; and to 20 winne them by force, was more than hitherto hee was able. Yet was hee desirous with all speed convenient to shew himselfe in Greece;

where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countric there was a very small number, which bore heartie affection vnto the Romans: That Nabis was alreadie up in Armes: That Philip was like a Bandog in a chaine, desiring nothing more than to breake loose; and that the Atolians, without whom the Romans had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were readie to conferre vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon insolent Barbarians. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made fuch a noise, as added credit vnto all the rest. Whilest therefore the King 30 was thinking to fend Hannibal into Africk, there to molest the Romans, and so give him the better leisure of vsing his owne opportunities in Greece: Thoas the Ætolian came ouer to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his Countreymen had alreadic taken Demetrias; a Towne of maine importance, that should give him entertaiment, whence hee might proceed as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did ferue to cut off all deliberation. As for Hannibal: Theas was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to divide his forcesat fuch a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece. might serue to lay open vnto him all places, without need of vsing violence : and fecondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not bee chosen a more vnst 40 man to be employed in the Kings service, than was that famous Hannibal the Carthaginian. For he said, That the King should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet or Armie, perishing under such a notable Commaunder is his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuerthelesse if Hannibal prevailed; Hannibal alone should have all the honour, and not Antiochus. In this regard hee was of opinion, That fuch a renowned Warriour should bee alwayes neere vnto the Kings person, to give aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good fuccesse would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the fourraigne Command; even of the King himfelfe. Antiochus gladly hearkned vnto this admonition; being icalous of the vertue, that shi- 50 ned brighter than the Maiestie of his owne fortune. And thereupon hee laid aside the determination; which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought voon.

Presently after this He made readie for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a friuo-

lous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-fide to Ilium; there to do facrifice to Minerua of Troy. Thence paffing ouer the Aegean Sea, Hee came to Demetrias. Eurylochus the Magnetian, the same whome the Atolians had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they wanne Demetrias; was now the chiefe man and Ruler of his Nation. Heetherefore with his Countreymen, in great frequencie. came to doe their duties to the King Antiochus, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a figne of good lucke, to bee fo entertained at the beginning. But it may bee suspected, that the Magnetians found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie somewhat like to that to of Xerkes: they faw three hundred ihips, of which no more than fortie were feruiceable for the Warres; with an Armie of tenne thousand Foot, fine hundred Horse, and fixe Elephants. The Aetolians no fooner heard of his comming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they inuited him into their Countrie. Heknew before that they would fo doe; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to Lamia, the Aetolians gave him as joyfull entertainment as they could deuise. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration : wherein hee defired them to hold him excused, that hee came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he faid, in true estimation a signe of his good will : in that hee said not to 20 make all things readie; but hasted vnto their aid, euen whilest the scason was vnfit for nauigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neyther would hee spare for any charge, trauaile, or danger, to follow the businesse which hee had undertaken: even to drive the Romans and their authoritie out of Grecce; leaving the Countrie free indeed, and the Actolians therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great: so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because hee would not becany way burdensome vnto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs entreat them, ha-20 uing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aide, vnprouided of many necessaries: that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he stood in need. So be left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vaine motion was made by some, that the differences betweene the Romans and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of Antiochus ) That they would yeeld vnto the Kings desire, and ashit him with all their forces. Here we may obserue, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did Antiechus, in a businesse of dangerous importance, vpon the promised assurance of a State that is meerely popular. For if the vehemencie of Thoas, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Councell : the Actolians, for gaine of two 40 or three Townes, yea for hope of such gaine that might have deceived them; were like to have abandoned this King their friend, vnto the discretion of the Romans. And whatremedie had there beene, if this had so fallen out? He could haue bemoaned himselfe to Thous, and complained of the wrong: but he must have been contented with this answere, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom Those would therefore have pronounced to bee very wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it prooued much worse, both for him, and for the Aetolians. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirtie Commissioners were appointed to bee about him, as a Councell of Warre

CHAP.5. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute 50 where they should beginne the Warre. Chaleis was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whither if they came suddenly, they should not peraduenture need to vse much force. The King had brought with him into Actolia but a thoufand Foot; leaving the rest behind him at Demetrias. With these hee hasted away directly toward Chalcis; being ouertaken by no great number of the Aetolians,

which accompanied him thither. At his comming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the Ætolzans beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the Romans had onely in words and false semblance, set Greece at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and vsefull, they faid would never be obtained; untill by remooning the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euerie seuerall Etiate had where to find redresse of any pressure. And to this end was the great Antiochus come thither; a King well able to counterpoise, yea to ouerweigh the Romans : who neverthelesse desired them onely, so to joyne with him in League, as that if either the Romans or Hee should offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to seeke redresse at 10 the other hands. The Chalcidians made hereto the same answere, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but absolute; for which they were to thanke the Romans; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they spake of themselues, they could likewise affirme of all the Greekes: forasmuch as none of them payed any Tribute; was kept vnder, by any Garrison; or lived otherwise than by their owne Lawes, and without being tied vnto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King should thus trouble himselse, to deliuer Cities that were alreadic free. But since hee, and the Atolians, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the Atolians, to doe a 20 friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answere the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soone after, hee brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yeeld: before all the succours could arrive, which Titus had fent for their defence.

The chiefe Citic of Eubea being thus gotten; all the rest of the Iland shortly yeelded to Antiochus. Foure or fine hundred Roman Souldiers, that came oner late so have defended Chalcin, reposed themselves at Delium, a little Towne of Baotia, lying oner against the Iland; where was a Temple and Grone, consecrated vnto Spollo, that had the priviledge of an inviolable Sanctuarie. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seene, whilest others were busied as they found cause: without feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But Menippus, one of Antiochus his Captaines, that had wearied himselse in many vaine Treaties of peace; tooke advantage of their carelessenselse, and see their carelessenselse, and the rest slaine. Hereat Quintius was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his Romans had now more just cause than

before, to make warre vpon the King.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadours into all quarters of Greece, in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his 40 part. The wifer fort returned such answere, as the Chalcidians had done. Some referued themselues until hee should come among them: knowing that eyther, if hee came not, Hee must holde them excused for not daring to stirre; or, if hee came, the Romans must pardon their just feare, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, joyned with him in true meaning; sauc the Eleans, that alwayes favoured the Atolians, and now feared the Atheans. Little reason there was, that hee should thinke to draw the Acheans to his partie. Neuerthelesse hee assayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuic, which Titus was faid to beare vnto Philopamens vertue, had bred a secret dislike betweene that Nation and the Romans. Wherefore both Hee and the Atolians fent 50 Embatladours to the Councell at Agium; that spared not brave wordes, if the Acheans would have so beene taken. The Kings Embassadour told of great Armies and Fleets that were comming: reckoning up the Dahans, Medians, Elimeans and Cadufians; names that were not enery day heard of, and therefore as hee thought,

the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the Sydonians, Tyrians, Aradians, and Pamphylians were; such indeed as could not be relisted. Now concerning monie and all warlike furniture: it was, he faid, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of Afia had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceiued: who confidering the late warre made against Philip, did thinke that this with Antiochus would prooue the like: the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the libertie of Greece was come from the vimoli parts of the East; requested no more of the Acheans, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whilest He tooke order with the Romans. To the 10 same effect spake the Atolian Embassadour: and further added, That in the battell at Cynoscephale, neither Titus had done the part of a Generall, nor the Romans of good Souldiers: but that both Hee and his Armie had beene there destroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the Atolians, which carried the day. Titus was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answere, as could haue beene defired. He told the Acheans, That neither the Kings Embassadour, nor the Etolian, did so greatly labour to perswade those vnto whom they addressed their Orations; as to vant themselves the one vnto the other. So as a man might well discerne, what good correspondence in vanitie it was, that had thus lineked the King and the Atolians together. For even fuch bragges as herethey made, be-20 fore the Acheans who knew them to beliers, had the Atolians also made unto King Antiochus: proclayming the victorie ouer Philip to bee meerely their Act: and the whole Countrie of Greece to bee dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassadour told even now; of Dahans, and Aradians, and Elimeans, and a many others: that were all but a companie of Syrians, fuch as were wont to be fold about for bondflaues, and good for little else. These divers names of rascall people were, he said, like to the diversitie of Venison, wherewith a friend of his at Chaleis (no such vanter as were these Embasfadours) had fometime feasted him. For all that varietie, whereat hee wondred, was none other, as his Host then merrily tolde him; than so many pieces of one 30 tame fwine, dreft after severall fashions with varietie of sawces. Setting therefore afide this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make judgement of the great King, by his present doings. He had, not with standing all this great noyse, no more than ten thousand men about him: for which little Armie he was faine in a manner, to begge victualles of the Aetolians; and take vp monie at viurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ran vp and downe the Countrie: from Demetrics to Lamia; thence backe to Chalcis; and being there shut out, to Demetrias againe. These were the fruits of lies: wherewith fince both Antiochus and the Aetolians had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps alreadic they did, repent, whilest wifer men tooke beed by their example. To a fauourable Auditorie much perswasion is needlesse. 40 The Acheans did not love so well the Aetolians, as to desire that they should become Princes of Greece: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abiects. Wherefore they flood not to hearken after newes, what Antiochus did, how he fped in Eubera, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaymed war

against him, and against the Aetolians.

How the hatred betweene these two Nations grew inveterate: sufficiently appears in the storie foregoing. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the Romans; the other, King Antiochus. Herein did each of them vnwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid, on the turbulent spirits of the Aetolians. For when the Romans departed out of Greece, and lest the Countrie at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have beenedesired, than that they might never finde occasion to returne with an Armie thither againe. And in this respect ought the Greekes to have sought, not how Smyrns and Lampsacus might recover their libertie (which had never beene held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept as sunder by their Countrie, as two

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Seas by an Islamus or necke of land, might be kept from overflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the Romans any better pretence for their leeking to make free those base Assatigues, which originally were Greekiss; than the generall applause, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were Lysimalizand the Townes in Thrace, lately gotten by Antiochus, pretended as a very great cause of seare, that should move them to take armes even in their owne desence. But if all Greece would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promissing joyntly to affish the Romans, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, when soe were sing Antiochus should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the Roman Patronage over the Countrie, had been far from growing, as soone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The Acheans were at this time, in a manner, the onely Nation of Greece, that freely and generously declared themselues altogether for the Romans, their friends and benefactours. All the rest gaue doubtfull answeres of hope vnto both sides : or if some few, as did the The flatians, were firme against Antiochus; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselucs his enemies, till hee pressed them with open force. The Bastians willingly received him, as foone as hec entered vpon their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in hatred of Titus and the Romans, by whom they had beene somewhat hardly vsed. Aminander the Athamanian, 20 besides his old friendship with the Ætolians, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or Antiochus cast out. He had married the daughter of an Arcadian, that was an idle-headed man, and vanted himselse to be descended from Alexander the Great: naming his two sonnes, in that regard, Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his fifter to the poore Court of Athamania: where having made his follie knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was judged by Antiochus and the Etolians, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleeue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memorie of Alexander his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of Macedon to his behoofe: since no man had thereto so good title 20 as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto sit behoued him to draw Aminander to their partie, that so they might the sooner haue done with the Romans. Philip was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himselfe, or of his sister, effe-Red as much as they defired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginarie King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get love of the Macedonians that should be his subjects; or whether from some vanitie in King Antiochus that employed him ) wrought more harme to his friends, than he and Aminander were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto Cynoscephale, there to gather vp the bones of the flaughtered Macedonians; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie vnburi- 40 ed. The Macedons troubled not themselves to thinke on this charitable act as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King Philip tooke it in high indignation; as intended meerely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto the Romans; and gaue them to understand, that hee was readie with all his power to aid them wherein soeuer they should be pleased to vie him.

The Etolians, Magnetians, Eubwans, Bwotians, and Athamanians, having now all ioyned with him; Antiochus tooke counfaile of them about the profecution of the warrein hand. The chiefe quefition was, Whether it were meet for him to inuade Thessale, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, 50
and some another: confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons
which he could alleadge; as in a matter of great importance. Hamibal was at this
meeting: who had long beene cast aside, as a vessell of no vse; but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now vt-

CHAP.5. S.7. of the Historie of the World. ter, was even the same which hee would have spoken, had his counsaile at any time before been asked fince their comming into Greece. For the Magnetians . Bastians . and other their good friends, which now so willingly tooke their parts: what were they elfe than so many poore Estates, that, wanting force of their owne, did adjoyne themselves for searcy onto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they faw it expedient, be as readie to fall to the contrary fide, alleadging the same feare for their exerse? wherefore hee thought most behoovefull, to win King Philip of Macedon vnto their partie: who (belides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to recoyle and for fake them at his plea-10 fure) was a mighty Prince, and one that had meanes to sustaine the Roman Warre with his proper forces. Now that Philip might be easily perswaded to joyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a very firong Argument: though indeed what neede was there, of prooning by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, faid Hee, Thefe Etolians bere prefent; and namely, this T no A s, being lately Embassador from them into Asia, among other Motives which he then veed to excite the King unto this Expedition, infisted mainly on the same point. He told us that PHILIP was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly in colonce of the Romans: likening that King to some wild beast, that was chained or lockt up within some grate, and would faine breake loofe. If this be for let vs breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, 20 that he may regaine his libertie, and fatisfic his angry stomacke, upon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it prooue otherwise, and that his feare be greater than bis indignation : then shall it behove vs to looke unto him, that hee may not seeke to please his good masters the Romans, by offending vs. Your some SELEVCV s is now at Lysimachia, with part of your Armie: if PHILIP will not hearken to your Embaffage; let SELEVCVS be in readines, to fall upon Macedon, and finde him worke to defend his owne on the other fide, without putting vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning PHILIPs and the present War in Greece. But more generally for the mannaging of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarqued against the Romans, I told you my opinion at the beginning: Whereto had you then given eare, the Romans by this time should have heard other newes, than that Chal-20 cis in Eubamas become ours. Italie and Gaule should have beene on fire with warre: and. little to their comfort, they (hould have under stood, that HANNIBAL was againe come into Italie. Neither doe I fee what should hinder vs even now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleete and Armie hither (but in any case let Shippes of burden come along with them, loaden with store of victuals: For as the case now stands, we have here too few hands, and too many mouthes.) Whereof let the one halfe be employed against Italie; whilest you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the Ionian Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were even readie to follow vs into Italie: yea, and be ready to follow vs indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my aduice: who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all forts of warre: yet how to warre with 40 the Romans . I have been instructed by long experience, both to their coft and mine owne. Of this counsaile which I give, I promise you my faithfull and diligent service for the execution: but what counfaile foeuer you shall please to follow, I wish it may bec prosperous. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said hee had spoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; faue onely that one was lent into Alia, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with Theffalie, about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne firength, were glad to make submission. But Lariss, that was chiefe of the Countrey, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King that lay before the wals with his whole Armie. This their faith 50 and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For M.Babiue, a Roman Proprætor did send helpe thither. Likewise Philip of Macedon professed himselse Enemie vnto Antiochus: where by the fame of the succour comming to Larissa grew fuch, as wrought more than the fuccour could have done, had it arrived. For Antiochus perceiuing many fires on the Mountaines toppes afarre off; thought that

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a great Armie of Romans and Macedonians had beene comming upon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the yeere; Hee brake up his siege, and marched away to Chalcis. At Chalcis he fell in loue with a yong Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne: whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betweene them, both in yeeres and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the fouldiors as readily imitated their Captaines: in such wise that when he tooke the field, he might euidently perceiue in what loofe manner of discipline his Armie had passed the Winter. But M. Acilius Glabrio, the Roman Consul, shall meet him very shortly, 10 and helpe him to reclaime them from this loofenesse of nuptiall Reuels; by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The warre against Antiochus fell to him by lot , whereas otherwise He was no way so honourable, as Nafica his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of farre leffe credit and importance. Nasica, besides the great Nobilitie of his Familie, had beene long since, in time of the Punicke Warre, crowned with the title of The best man in Rome: when the Senate, for very feare and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the verie best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuell then taught 20 them to call The Mother of the gods. But no prærogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Province; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should affoord him. This vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. P. Scipio therefore was appointed to make warre against the Bouans: wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder service, requiring the more abilitie in matter of warre. But M. Acilius went ouer into Greece, with ten thousand Foot two thoufand Horse, and fisteene Elephants. Ptolemie King of Agypt, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King Antiochin : and Philip King of Micedon; had lately fent Em- 30 bassadours to Rome, making offer to come each of them in person with all his sorces into Ætolia, there to affist the Consul in this warre. Ptolemie sent also gold and siluer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good carnest. But hee was too yong, and dwelt too farre off. So his monie was returned vnto him with thankes; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto Philips Embassadors answere was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of Rome would thinke themselves beholding to him, for the affistance that Hee should give to Acilius the Consul. Masanissa likewise, and the Carthaginians, did striue, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promised a great quantitie of graine; which they 40 would fend partly to Rome, partly to the Armie in Greece. And herein Masanissa farre out-went the poore Citie of Carthage: as also, in that he offered to lend the Conful fine hundred Horse, and twentie Elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians vndertooke to fet out a Fleet at their owne charges : and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-monie, which was behinde, and ought to bee discharged by many veerely pensions. But the Romans did neither thinke it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne; it was accepted with Condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hastic and ridiculousiffue of this war, that began with such noyse and pro- 50 parations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, betweene the Roman and the Afiatick fouldior. Antiochus had gotten this Spring a few townes of Acarnania, after the same manner as hee had prevailed in other parts of Greece; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terrour, that was like to

proue their excuse, when they should again for sake him. But King Philip and Babius, having recovered many places; and the Roman Conful being arrived, against whom none made relistance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. Aminander fled out of his Athamania: which the Macedonian tooke and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good service to the Romans. Philip, the brother of Ammanders wife, was taken by the Conful; made a mocking flocke; and fent away prifoner to Rome, The The salars vsed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gaue vp themselves: the Garrisons of Antischus, compounding onely for their owne lives. To and departing ynarmed: yet fo, that a thousand of them stayed behind, and tooke pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplex Antiochus: who hauing withdrawne himselfe to Chaleis, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his friends: and faid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toile during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, He found all the promises of the Atolians meerely verball; and himselfe reduced into termes of great extremitie. Hee therefore admired Hannibal as a wife man, year a very Prophet, that had forefeene all this long before. Nevertheleffe He fent word to the £tolians, that they should now make readie all their forces: as confidering their owne need to bee no leffe than 20 his. But the £tolians had cause to thinke, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by Antiochus: who having promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of Asia, than so many as would fill vo the same ten thousand which he first brought ouer. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which iouned with him. Hereat the King was angrie : and could get no better fatisfaction, than that Thous and his fellowes had done their best, in vaine, to have made all the Nation take armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came ouer to him out of Asia, nor his friends of Greese would appeare in this time of danger : He seized vpon the Streights of Thermopyle: as meaning to defend them against the Romans, vntill more helpe should

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30 come. Of the Streights of Thermopylathere hath beene spoken enough \* before, \*1.3.6.6.5.3 vpon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by Leonidas against the huge Armic of Xerxes. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the Romans, that landed about Apollonia, and so came onwards into Thessalie, were vnable to paffe that Ledge of Mountaines, dividing the one halfe of Greece: vnleffe they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betweene Leonidas and Antiochus. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this paffage two or three dayes together, against a World of men comming to inuade the Countrey. The latter, having taken upon him to doc great miracles, and effect what he listed himselfe in Greece: did commit himselfe vnto the safetie of this place,

40 when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armic. There whilest he lay, Hee sent earnest messages one after other to the Atolians, entreating them not to forfake him thus: but at least wife now to helpe, and keepe the tops of the Mountaines, lest the Romans finding any by-path, should come downe vpon him. By this importunitie, he got of them two thousand, that vndertooke to make good the few passages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficultie, it was possible for the Enemie to ascend. The Roman Consul in like fort, prepared to force the Streights: without staying to expect King Philip: that was hindered by fickenesse from accompanying him. He had with him M. Porcius Cato, and L. Valerius Flaccus, that had both of them beene Consuls. These he sent forth by night 50 with two thousand men, to trie whether by any meanes they could get vp to the

Ætolians. He himselfe encouraged his Armic: not onely by telling them, with what base-conditioned enemies they had to deale : but what rich Kingdomes Antiochus held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night cate had a fore journey ( for what Mmmmmm 2

happened vnto L. Valerius it is vncertaine, faue onely that hee failed in his intent and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp Heepie Rocks and crooked wayes: Hee commanded them to repose themselves; whilest Hee, being a vericable man of bodie, tooke in hand the discouerie, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himselse. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward breake of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no fuch trouble of climbing : neyther had this en- 10 trance of the Thermopyla beene so often the Seat of Warre, as might cause any trauailers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that Caro followed, though it were the best: yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would suffer him to passe no further. So he staid there vntill day-light: by which he discovered both the Campe of the Greekes vnderneath him; and some of the Ætolians verie neere vnto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore fent foorth a luftie Crue of his men, whom he thought fitteft for that service; and willed them by any meanes to get him fome prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these Atolians were no more than fixe hundred; as also that King Antiochus lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set vpon the Etolians; ouer- 20 threw them; flue a great part of them; and chaced the rest, that by flying to their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was alreadic begun between the Armies below: and the Romans, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Campe, found it in a manner a desperate piece of worke to assault the Campe it felfe; which occupied the whole bredth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not onely defended by Antiochus his long Pikes, which were best at that kinde of service; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed ouer them on the Hil-side, and powred downe a showre of weapons on their heads. But Cato his approch determined the matter. It was thought at first, that the Atolians had beene comming to helpe the Kings men; but when the Roman armes and enfignes were dif- 30 couered, such was the terrour, that none made offer of relistance; but all of them for looke the Campe, and fled. The flanghter was not great: for that the badneffe of the way did hinder the Roman Armie from making pursuit. Yet this dayes loffe draue Antiochus out of Greece, who directly fled to Chalcu; and from thence with the first opportunitie.got him backe into Asia.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of Antiochus, prepared forthwith to entertaine the Romans, and entreat for pardon: fetting open their gates; and prefenting themselues vnto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recoursed that Antiochus had gained : the Atolians onely standing out, because they knew not what else to doe. Neither did the Consulgine them any respite. 40 At his returne from Chalcis He met with King Philip, that having recovered health, came to joyne with him against Antiochus: ouer whom since the victorie was already gotten, Hee did gratulate vnto the Romans their good successe; and offered to take part with them in the Atolian Warre. So it was agreed, That the Conful should beflege Heraclea; and Philip, Lamia; at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially Philip, who faine would have taken Lamia before the Conful should come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his Macedonians that vsed to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindered by the stonie ground. Yet was Lamia even ready to be taken, when the Conful, having wonne Heracles, came thither; and told Philip, that the spoile of these Townes was a reward vnto those that had fought at Thermopyle, 50 Herewith Philip must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But Acilius, that could so ill endure to see Philip in likelihood of thriuing by the Romans victorie, got not Lamia himselfe: vntill such time as another Consul was readic to case him of his charge.

The loffe of Heraclea did so affright the Ltolians, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they fent vnto King Antiochus presently after his flight: entreating him not to for sake them vtterly, but eyther to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greece; or if any thing with-held him from comming in person, at leastwise to helpe them with money and other aid. They prayed him to confider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but appertained vnto his owne safetie: since it would be much to his hurt, if the Ex tolians being wholly subdued, the Romans, without any Enemies at their backes, might set upon him in Asia. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore He deliuered vnto Nicander, one of their Embassadors, a summe of money, that might ferue to defray the charges of the Warre: promiting that ere long he would fend them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. Thous, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him: who willingly stayed, that he might virge the King to make his word good. But when Heraclea was taken from them: then did the Ætolians lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of Antiochus; and made suit vnto the Consul to obtaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Conful would scarce vouch safe to give them audience, but said Hee had other businesse in hand: onely He granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent L. Valerises Flaceus with them to Hypata; willing them to make him acquainted with as 20 much, as they would have delivered vnto himselfe. At their comming to Hypata; they began, as men fauouring their owne cause, to alleadge how well they had deferued of the Romans. Whereto Flacous would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memorie of all such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore hee willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so even betimes, than to flay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves vnto the faith of the Romans; and to that effect sent Embassadours to the Consul. This phrase of committing voto the faith; signified, in their vie of it, littleelfe, than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the cra-30 uing of pardon. But the Romans vied those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as \* reelding to diferetion. Wherefore when the Conful heard them \* Legal, except, speake in this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to epolib.13. their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then sayde Hee, I command you first of all, That none of yee presume to goe into Asia, vpon any businesse private or publike: then, That yee deliuer up vnto me Dicearchus the Atolian, Menestratus the Epirot, Aminander the Athamanian, and fuch of his Countrimen as have followed him in reuolting from vs. Whilest hee was yet speaking: Phameas the Embassadour interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the Custome of the Greekes, who 40 had yeelded themselves onto his faith; not onto slaverie. What? (saide the Consul) Doe yee stand to pleade Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring bither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto eueric one of their neckes. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to fay. But Valerius and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, fince they came as Embassadours; though since. their Condition was altered. Phameas also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the Apocletior ordinarie Councel of the Nation, were able to fulfill these iniunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause Hee entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted vnto him Truce

This furcesance of warre, during tenne and other tenne dayes together, began presently after the taking of Heraclea; when Philip had been commaunded away from Lamia, that else he might have wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that King, and to the end that hee might not returne home with his

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Armie, like one that could not bee trusted in employment: especially the Romans being like hereafter to have further need of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was defired to set vpon the Athamanians, and some other pettie Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busic with the Atolians; taking for his reward, all that He could get. And Hee got in that space all athamania, Perrhebia, Aperantia, and Dolopia. For the Atolians, hearing what had befalle their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre; yet they could not endure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that Nicander about the same time was come backe from Antiochus, with money and hopefull promises: the Romans abiding still about Heraclea; and Philip having lately risen 10 from before Lamia, yet not being far gone the ace. His monie Nicander conveighed into Lamia, by verie vnusuall dexteritie. But hee himselse being to passe further to the Assembly of the Etolians, there to make report of his Embassage; was veric much perplexed about this his journie, which lay betweene the Roman and Macedonian Campes. Yet hee made the aduenture : and keeping as farre as hee could from the Roman fide , fell vpon a Station of Macedonians by whom hee was taken. and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but cyther to bee deliuered vnto the Romans, or vsed ill enough by Philip. But it seemes, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being sent away from Lamia. For Hee commanded his servants to entreat Wicander friendly; and hee himselfe being then 20 at supper, did visit him as soone as heerose vp : giving him to vnderstand; That the Atolians did now reape the fruits of their owne madnesse; for as much as they could neuer hold themselves contented, but would needs bee calling strangers into Greece. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the Romans, and then with King Antiochus: but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He faid, high time for them to hane regard vnto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had neuer made any triall: for surely their good affection, one vnto the other, would bee much more analicable vnto each of them; than their mutuall catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed Nicander to signific vn- 20 to his Countrimen, and privately to hold in minde the courtesie which hee then did him, in fending him fafe home. So giving him a Convoy to gard him to Hypata; Hee louingly dismissed bim. For this benefit, Nicander was alwayes after dutifully affected to the Crowne of Macedon: so as in the warre of Perseus hee made himselse suspected vnto the Romans and therefore was had away to Rome, where he

When the Consul understood, that the Ætolians refused to make their submisfion, in such wise as he required it: hee foorthwith meant to prosecute the warre against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at Naupactus: whither hee therefore directly marched, to trie what 40 they could or durst. The siege of Naupactus was of greater length, than the Romans had preconceived it: for it was a strong Citic, and well manned. But Acilius stood vpon point of honour; wherein he thought that hee should have beene a loser, by rifing from before it without Victorie. So He staid there welneere all the following time of his Consulship; whilest the Macedonian King and the Acheans made farre better vse of the Roman Victorie. Philip, as is said before, being allowed to take in fuch places as had revolted vnto Antiochus, and were not hitherto reclaimed, wan the strong Citie of Demetrias; and with an hastie course of Victorie, subdued the Athamanians and others. The Achaans called to accompt the Eleans and Messenians: which had long beene addicted to the Atolian fide; and followed it, in taking part to with Antiochus. The Eleans gaue good wordes; whereby they faued themselves from trouble awhile. The Meffenians being more frout, before they were inuaded; had none other helpe when the Achean Prætor wasted their Countrie, than to offer themselues vnto the Romans. Titus was then at Corinth: to whom they sent

CHAP.5. S.7. of the Historie of the World, word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that vnto the Acheans it was not their meaning to yeeld. A mellage from Titus to the Achean Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armic, and finith the Warre: as also the peremptorie Commaund of the same Titus caused the Messenians to annex themselves vnto the Acheans, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Majestie of a Roman Embassador. Titus did fauour the Achaans; yet could not like it well, that eyther they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against anie of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the Romans upon euen termes; it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the He of Zacynthus which had once beene Philips, and was afterward ginen by him to Aminander who fent a Gouernour thither. But when Aminander in this present Warre, was driven out of his owne Kingdome by Philip: then did the Gouernour of Zacynthus offer to sell the Hand to the Acheans; whom hee found readie Chapmen. Titus liked not of this: but plainely told them, That the Romans would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootlesse to dispute. Wherefore the Acheans referred themselues vnto his discretion. So he told them, that their Common-wealth was like a Tor-20 toile, whereof Peloponne [us was the shell: and that holding themselves within that compasse, they were out of danger; but if they would needes bee looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Haning settled things thus in Peloponnesus, Hec went ouer to Naupactus: where Glabrio the Consul had laine two moneths, that might have beene farre better spent. There, whether out of compassion which Hee had vpon the Etolians, or out of dislike of King Philips thriuing fo fast: Hee perswaded the Consul to grant vnto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long Truce, that they might send Embassadours to Rome; and submitting themselues, craue pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that Naupačius was in great danger : else would not the Etolians have made such earnest suit as they did 30 vnto Titus, for procuring of this fauour. But if Glabrio had beene fure to carrie it, in any short space : it may well bee thought hee would not have gone away without it; fince the winning of that Towne, wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation, would have made the promifed submission much more humble and sincere. When they came to Rome, no entreatie could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of thefetwo; That either they should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thouland Talents, and make neither Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the Romans should give approbation. They had not so much monie: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they should give themselves away unto discretion; which what it signified, they now under-40 ftood. Wherefore they defired to haue it fet downe, in what points, and how farre

vaine attendance. Whilest the Ætolians were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consul had little to doe in Greece; and therefore tooke vpon him grauely to fet things in order among the tractable Acheans. Hee would have had them to restore the banished Lacedamonians home into their Countrie; and to take the Eleans into the fellowshippe of their Common-wealth. This the Acheans liked well enough : but they did not like it, that the Romans should bee meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deso ferred the restitution of the banished Lacedamonians; intending to make it an Act of their owne meere grace. As for the Eleans: they were loth to bee beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Acheans: into whose Corporation they were desirous to bee admitted; and saw that they should have their desire, without

foorth, they should yeeld vnto the good pleasure of the Senate. But heereof they

could get no certaine answere: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and

fuch compulsive mediation.

The Roman Admirall C. Liuius, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sca with Polyxenidas, Admirall to the King Antiochus. King Eumenes brought helpe to the Romans, though it was not great: and five and twentie faile of Rhodians came after the battaile, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of faile: but that of the Romans the better manned. Wherefore Polyxenides being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he betooke himselfe to a speedie retrait.

And such end had the first yeeres warre, betweene King Antiochus and the Romans. After this, as many of the Greekes as had followed the vaine hopes of the &tolians, were glad to excuse themselves by feare; thinking themselves happie when 10 by Embassadours they had obtained pardon. On the contraries side, Philip of Macedon, Arch-enemic of late vnto the Romans, did now send to gratulate this their Victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him Demetrius his yonger sonne; whom some sew yeeres they had kept as an hostage. Also King Ptolemie of Egypt, gratulating the Roman Victorie, sent word how greatly all Asia and Syria were thereby terrified. In which regard Hee desired the Senate not to foreslow time; but to send an Armie, as soone as might be, into Asia: promising, that his affiltance, wherein foeuer it pleafed them to vie it, should not bee wanting. This Ptolemie was the sonne-in-law of King Antiochus: but hee was the friend of Fortune. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of 20. the Contention, that the Romans were like to hauethe vpper hand. The same did Antiochis now beginne to suspect, who had thought himselfe awhile as safe at Ephelus, as if hee had beene in another World: but was told by Hannibal, That it was not so farre out of Greece into Asia, as out of Italie into Greece; and that there was no doubt but the Romans would some bethere, and make him trie the chance of a battaile for his Kingdome.

# or one of VIII.

Lycivs Scipio, having with him PVBLIVs the African his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is fent into Greece, He grants long Truce to the Etolians, that so he might at leisure passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by Sea; and divers fights. An inualion upon Ev MENEs his Kingdome; with the fiege of Pergamus, rayled by an handfull of the Acheans. L. Scipio the Conful comes into Afia: where ANTIOCHUS most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battaile of MAG-NESIA: wherein ANTIOCHVS being vanquished, reeldethiothe Romans good pleafure. The Conditions of the peace. In what fort the Romans vsed their Victorie. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, after a most sumptuous triumph ouer ANTIOCHUS, is furnamed The Asiatique, as his brother was stiled The African.



WCIVS CORNELIVS SCIPIO, the brother of P Scipio the African, was chosen Conful at Rome with C. Lelius. Lalius was verie gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment; offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate; if L. Cornelius would be sopleased, the

disposition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lotterie. Lucius having talked with his brother Publius, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time beene put vnto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous, to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise 50 fomewhat indifferent; P. Scipio the African Said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against Antiochin, He himselfe would follow his brother in that warre, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with fuch approbation, that the controuersic was foorth with at an end. For if Antiochus

relyed youn Hannibal, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Capraine: what better man could they oppose, than Scipio; that had beene victorious against the same Great Worthie? But indeed a worser man might have served well enough the turne. For Hannibal had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in confultation; where his wildome was much approved, but his libertie and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthic of remembrance; as a figne of the freedome that he vsed in his censures, even whilest belied in fuch a Court. Antiochus mustered his Armie in presence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may feeme, to have made him wish, that hee had beene ferto ued by fuch braue men in Italie. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Hor-

fer, and Elephants, with fuch coftly furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible brauerie on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleafing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked Hannibal what he thought; and when ther all this were not enough for the Romans. Enough (faid Hannibal) were the Romans the most couetous men in all the World: meaning, that all this Cost vpon the backes of Cowardly Asiatiques, was no better than a spoile to animate good Souldiers. How little this answere pleased the King ; it is easie to ghesse. The little vse that he made of this Carthaginian, tellifies that his diflike of the man, caused him to lose the vse of

his service, when he stood in greatest necessitie thereof.

The Scipio's made all hafte away from Rome as soone as they could. They carried with them, befides other Souldiers newly prest to the warre, about fine thousand Voluntaries, that had served under P. Africanus. There was also a Fleet of thirtie-Quinquereme Gallies, and twentie Triremes newly built, appointed vnto L. Amylius Regillus, that was chosen Admirall the same yeere for that Voyage. At their comming into Greece, they found the old Conful Glibrio belieging amphylla a Citie of the Ætolians. The Ætolians after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at Naupactus. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlessely, as in a time of confusion, they had left ungarded the last vecre. Glabrio knowing this, deceived their expectation,

30 and fell vpon Lamia: which being not long fince much weakned by Philip, and now by him attempted on the fudden; was carried at the fecond affault. Thence went Hee to Amphy fa: which he had almost gotten; when L. Scipio, his successor, came with thirteene thousand Foot and fine hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of Amphy sla was presently for saken by the inhabitants, but they had a Castle, or higher Towne, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The Athenian Embassadors had dealt with P. Scipio, in behalfe of the Etolians: entreating him to stand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words : and willed them to perswade the Actolians; that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly

40 taken. But many messages passing to and fro: though Publius continued to put them ingood hope; yet the Conful made still the same answere, with which they had beene chaced from Rome. The conclusion was, That they should sue for alonger time of respite from warre: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate; or any helpefull commoditie which time should affoord. So they obtained halfe a yeeres Truce: after which, the Winter was like to affoord them another halfe yeeres leifure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad, than was P. Scipio: who thought all time loft, which with held the Warre from paffing ouer into Alia.

The bufineffe of Ætolia being thus laide afide: and the olde Conful Glabrio fent 50 home into Italie: the Scipio's marched into Theffalie; intending thence to take their way by Land, through Macedon and Thrace vinto the Hellespont. Yetthey confidred, That hereby they must commit themselves vnto the loyaltic of King Philip: who might either doe them some mischiefe by the way, if hee were disposed to watch a notable advantage: or at the least, would he be vnfaithfull, though he were not fo couragious; yet might he take such order with the Thracians, that euen for want of victuales, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to returne. He had promised them the vtmost of his surtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some triall; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and observe his doings as hee should take him on the sudden. The King was merric at a scast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he louingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what provision of victualies he had made for the Armic, but how he had made bridges over the rivers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to passe. With these good newes Gracehus returned backe in haste vnto the Scipio's: who entring into Macedon, 10 found all things in a readines, that might helpe to advance their journey. The King entertayned them royally; and brought them on their way, even to the Hellespont: where they stayed a good while, vntill their Nauic was in readinesse to transport

Much was done at Sca in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the most part, little of importance. Polyxenidas, the Admirall of Antiochus, was a banished Rhodian: true to the King; and desirous of reuenge vpon his Countreymen that had expelled him. Hee, hearing that the Rhodian Fleet was at Samos, the Romans and Eumenes having not as yet put to Sca; thought to doc somewhat vpon those that were fo carly in their diligence, before their followes should arrive to helpe them. Yet 20 went he craftily to worke; and sent word, as in great secrecie, to the Rhodian Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was beleeued: and the Rhodian Admiral grew fo careleffe, expecting fill when he should receiue a watchword from Polyxenidas, that he himselfe was taken by Polyxenidas in his owne Hauen. The Kings Fleet fetting foorth from Ephelus by night; and, for feare of being discouered, resting one day in harbour by the way; came the second night to Samos: where, by morning, it was readie to enter the Hauen. Paufifratus the Rhodian Admirall seeing this, shought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Hauen; fo to gard the mouth of it: 30 for that he saw no likelihood of desending himselse by Sea. But Polyxenidas had alreadiclanded some companies, in another part of the Iland: which falling vpon the backe of Paulistratus, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and sunke or boorded all his Nauie, fine excepted, that by a sudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresset vpon two poles, at the Beake-head : and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemie : who having not bethought himselse what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way vnto these desperate Gallies, for feare lest they should burne, together with themselues, a part of the Kings 40

Not long after this, the Romans had some losse by tempest: whereof Polyxenidus could not take such advantage as hee had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, Hee was driven backe againe by the like soule weather. But the Rhodians, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twentic other Gallies: the Romans also with King Eumenes repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great braverie, presented battaile to Polyxenidus before the Hauen of Ephesus. When hee durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as eyther they were entreated by the Rhodians, or perswaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were so hindred by stormes at Sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to for fake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For Antiochus wasted all the grounds about Elea

and Pergamus: and leaving his sonne Seleucus to beliege the royall Citie of Pergamus, did with the rest of his Armie spoile the whole Countrey thereabout. Attalus, the brother of King Eumenes, was then in Pergamus; having with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore hee had reason to frand in feare being too much inferiour in number. There came to his aid a thoufand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the Acheans: old souldiors all, and trayned vp under Philopamen; whose Scholler, in the Art of war, Diophanes their Commander was. This Diophanes, beholding from the walles of Pergamus, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemie; began to dild une, that fuch men as they to should hold him belieged. For Seleucus his Armie which was encamped at the hillfoot, feeing that none durst fallie foorth vpon them, grew so carelesse: as otherwise, than by spoyling all behind their backes, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrie, Diophanes therefore spake with Attalus; and told him that hee would goe foorth to visit them. Attalus had no liking to this adventure; for he said, that the match was nothing equall. But the Achean would needes have his will: and iffuing forth, encamped not farre from the Enemic. They of Pergamus thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers; they wondred at first what his meaning was: but when they faw that he held himselfe quiet, they made a iest of his boldnesse; and laughed to see with what an handfull of men he looked so stout-20 ly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and disorders. Which Dio-

phanes perceiuing. Hee commanded all his men to follow him, euen as fast as they well might: and he himselse, with the hundred Horse, brake out on the sudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Verie sew of the enemies had their Horses readie saddled, but more sew, or none, had the hearts to make resistance: so as He draue them all out of their Campe; and chaced them as sarre as he might safely aduenture, with great slaughter of them, and no losse of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of Pergamus (who had couered the wals of the Towne, men and women, to beholde this spectacle) were very joyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of these Acheans. Yet would they not therefore issue sew to should the safet.

30 ans in doing what remained to bee done. The next day Seleucus encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than hee had done before: and against him went foorth Diophanes the second time; who quietly rested awhile in his old Station. When they had staid many houres, looking who should begin: Seleucus, in faire order as he came, withdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was surther off. Diophanes moued not whilest the Enemie was in fight: but as soone as the ground betweene them hindred the prospect, he followed them in all haste, & soone outraking them with his Horse, charged them in Rere; so as hee brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heeles, to their very Trenches. This boldness of the Acheans, and the basensse of his owner men, caused Seleucus to quit the siege, little to his honour.

40 Such being the qualitic of these Assaults; Philopamen had cause to tell the Romans, That hee enused their victorie. For when Antiochus lay feasting at Chalcis after his marriage, and his souldiors betooke themselves to Riot, as it had beene in a time of great security: a good man of war might have cut all their throates, even as they were tipling in their victualing houses; which Philopamen said that he would have done, had He beene Generall of the Acheans, and not, as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of bulines: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trauaile, brought almost nothing to passe. He had beene at Pergamus: into which Eumenes, leaving the Romans, did put himselfe with a sew of his Horseand light armature. Before Pergamus he left his sonne as before hath to beene shewed, and went to Elea: whither hee heard that Amylines come, to being successful. There hee made an Ouerture of

mirall was come, to bring succour to Eumenes. There hee made an Ouerture of peace: about which to consult, Eumenes was sent for by Amylius, and came from Pergamus. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul; this Treatie brakeoff. Then followed the Ouerthrow newly menti-

oned

oned; which caused Seleucus to give over the siege of Pergamus. Afterwards, source or fine Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King : and the Syrian Fleet, being of seuen and thirtie Saile, was beaten by the Rhodian which was of like number. But of this victorie the Rhodians had no great cause to rejoyce: for that Hannibal the Carthaginian, who, together with Apollonius a Courtier of Antiochus. was Admirall of the Syrians, did them in manner as great hurt as they could doe to Apollonius; and having the victoric taken out of his hand by Apollonius his flight, vet made such a retrait, that the Rhodians durst not farre adventure vpon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Præfaces vnto the war the last and greatest was a victorie of the Romans by Sca, against Polyxenidas the Kings Admirall. The bat- 10 taile was fought by Myonnefus a Promontoric in Asia: where Polyxenidas had with him fourescore and nine Gallies; and fine of them greater, than any of the Romans. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those bragges, wherewith Antiochus vanted the last yeere, That his Armada should couerall the shores of Greece. The Romans had eight and fiftic Gallies; the Rhodians, two and twentie: the Roman being the ftronger built, and more floutly manned; the Rhodian more light timberd and thin planckt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselves by the same device; with which, fine of their Gallies had lately escaped from Samos. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the Enemie: who declining them for feare, laid open his fide: 20 and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Nauie hoy sted saile: and having a faire wind, bore away toward Ephesus as fast as they could. Yet fortie of their Gallies they left behind them : whereof thirteene were taken : all the rest burnt or sunke. The Romans and their fellowes lost only two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Masterie of the Sea.

The report of this miladuenture, may seeme to have taken from Antiochus all vse of reason. For as if no hope had beene remayning, to defend those places that hee held in Europe: Hee presently with-drew his Garrisons from Lysimachia: which might easily have been kept, even till the end of Winter following, and have reduced the beliegers (if the liege had beene continued obstinately) to termes of great extre- 30 mitie. He also gaue over the siege of Colophon: and laying aside all thought save onely of desence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to his father-in-law.

King Ariarathes the Cappadocian.

Thus the Roman Conful, without impediment, not onely came to the Hellefpont; but had yeelded vnto him all places there, belonging to Antiochus on Europe side. The Fleet was then also in readinesse, to transport him over into Asia: where Eumenes had taken such care before, that Heelanded quietly at his owne good case; euen as if the Countrie had beene his alreadie. The first newes that hee heard of the Enemie, was by an Embassadour that came to sue for peace. This Embassadour declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him 40 from obtayning peace of the Romans heretofore, did now perswade him, that hee should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, Smyrna, Lampfacus, and Lysimachia, had beene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now alreadie given ouer Lysimachia; and was further purposed, not to firiue with the Romansabout Lampfacus and Smyrna; what reason was there, why they should neede to trouble him with warre? If it was their desire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of Asia, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at libertie, or otherwise delivered into their handes: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take fome part of Asia: so as the bounds, dividing them from the King, might not bee 50 vncertaine; and it should bee quietly put into their handes. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise beare halfe the Charges, whereat they had beene in this warre. So praying the Romans to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to bee too insolent vpon confidence of their fortune: Hee expected

their answere. These offers which to the Embassadour seemed so great, were judged by the Romans to be verie little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King thould beare all the charges of the warre, tince it began through his onely fault: and that He should not onely depart out of those few Townes, which hee held in £olis and Ionia; but quite out of Alia the leffe, and keepe himselfe on the other side of Mount Taurus. When the Embaffadour therefore law, that no better bargaine could be made, He dealt with P. Scipio in private; and to him he promised a great quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne; who (it is vncertaine by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by to the King. Scipto would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the restirution of his sonne, than vpon Condition. That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publike businesse: Hee onely faid thus much, That fince Antiochus had alreadie for laken Lysimachia, and fuffered the warre to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, faid He, tell your King in my name, that I would aduise him to refuse

no Condition whereby he may have peace.

Снар.5. §.8.

The King was not any whit moved with this advice. For feeing that the Conful demanded of him no leffe, than if hee had been alreadie subdued: little reason 30 there was that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein hee could lose, as hee thought, no more, than by feeking to avoid it he mutt give away. He had with him threescore and tenthousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fiftie Indian Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or fythes, according to the manner of the Easterne Countries. Yet was hee nothing pleased, to heare that the Conful drew neere him apace, as one hastning to fight. But howfocuer hee was affected; Hee made so little shew of searc, that hearing P. Scipio to lie ficke at Elaa, He sent thither vnto him his sonne without ransome : as one both defirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his fickenes, and withall not defirous to retaine the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his owne safetie. Thus ought his boun-30 tie to bee constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, That herein he dealt crastily. For fince he could have none other ransome of Scipio, than such as an honourable man, that had no great flore of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe fuch a courtefie before the battell, as would afterwards have beene little worth; than to flav untill the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. P. Scipio was greatly comforted with the recourse of his sonne: so as the joy thereof was thought to have beene much availeable vnto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanitie. He said onely thus much vnto those that brought him this acceptable Present. I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by adulting him not to fight, vntill hee shall heare that I am in the Campe. What he meant by this, it is hard to conie-40 cture. Antiochus resolued to sollow his counsaile: and therefore withdrew himselfe from about Thyatira, beyond the River of Phrygius or Hyllus, vnto Magnelia by Sipplus: where encamping, He fortified himselfe as strongly as hee could. This ther followed him L. Scipio the Conful; and fate downs within four miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them Gallo-Greekes, came to bid the Romans welcome: of whomat first they slue some; and were anon, with some losse driven backe over the River. Two dayes were quietly spent, whilest neither the King nor the Romans would passe the water. The third day the Romans made the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, vntill they came within two miles and an balfe of Antiochus his Campe. There, as they were 50 taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foote:

whom the ordinarie Corps du gard repelled. Foure dayes together after this, each of them brought foorth their Armies; and fet them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fitt day the Romans came halfe way forward, and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Con-

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ful tooke advice what was to bee done. For either they must fight your what soe. uer disaduantage, or else resolue to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore subject vnto many difficulties: vnlesse they would staine their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more convenient place: and so deferre the warre vntill the next Spring. The Roman souldier was throughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie. that this great Armic should bee assailed, even in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to bee fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the fortifications of Antiochus, and the safest way to fet vpon him. All this while P. Scipio came not. Wherefore the King, being 10 loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in seare of the Enemie, resolved to put the matter to triall. So when the Romans tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battailes: He also did the like; and advanced so farre, that they might underfland his meaning to fight.

The Roman Armie confisted of foure Legions, two Roman and two Latine: in each of which were fluethouland and foure hundred men. The Latines, as viually, were in the points; the Romans, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were divided into Maniples. The Hastati had the leading: afterthem followed the Principes, at such distance as was vivall; and last of all, the Triarii. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly 20 Acheans; and partly such as belonged to Eumenes: which were placed in an equali Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Vtmost of all (saue some five hundred Cretians, and of the Trallians) were almost three thousand Horse: of which. Eumenes had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the river: yet foure Troups of horse were placed there, though fuch helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the Campe. The Conful had with him fixeteene African Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of Antiochus, they onely would have served to discourage hismen; as being sure to be beaten: the Indian being farre the greater, and more 30 couragious beafts: whereof Antiochus had likewise much aduantage in number.

The Kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diverfly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the seuerall kindes, in such wise as each might be of most vie. The maine strength of his Foote confisted in sixteene thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called Phalangiers. These Hee placed in the middest, and divided into tenne Battalions: every one hauing two and thirtie in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene cuery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beafts, and fuch as being adorned with Frontals, high Crefts, Towres on their backes, and besides him that gouerned the Elephant, soure men in euery Tower, madea gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these 40 were fifteene hundred Horse of the Gallo-Greekes: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the Agema, that were all Medians, the choice of the Countrie, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horse, divided in their severall kindes, doe seeme to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have been stretched out in Front. Adioyning to these, were sixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment; called the Argyraspides, or Silvershields, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the fame name, that had ferued vnder Great Alexander: then, twelve hundred Archers on horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foote, two thousand and five 50 hundred Archers of Mysia; with foure thousand slingers and Archers of the Cirtaans, and Elymaans. On the left hand of the Phalangiers, were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greekes, and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from Ariarathes, with two thousand and seuen hundred of divers

Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called the Kings Troupe, being Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the Dromedaries, whereon fate Arabians with long Rapiers, that would serue to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, Carians, Cilicians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Cyrteans, Elymeans, and many others, haning also with them fixteene Elephants. Antiochus himfelfe commanded in the right wing: Selencus in the left: and three of his principall Captaines commanded over the

CHAP.5. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

Phalangiers.

The first onset was given by the Dromedaries, and armed Chariots: of which the one being like to terrific the Horse; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foot; Eumenes with a few light-armed Cretians, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eafily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with showtings, and noyles, and some wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running backe voon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this advantage, charged vpon the left wing: where they found no relistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible: that the Phalangiers, with such varietie of Auxiliaries, made little or 20 norelistance; but all of them fled, in manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the King. Intiochus himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile; and seeing the Latines, that stood opposite vnto him, weakly flancked with Horse: gaue vpon them couragiously, and forced them to retire. But M. Amplius, that had the Guard of the Roman Campe, iffued foorth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renewe the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were alreadic victorious: whereof when Antiochus discouered the approch; He not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away vpon the spur without further tarriance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled 20 into it. Antiochus is said to haue lost in this battaile siftie thousand Foot, and fource

thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not slaine about three hundred Foot, and foure and twentie Horse: of Eumenes his followers fine and twentie.

Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence to Apames, the same night; hearing that Seleucus was gone thither before. He left the custodic of Sardes, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townsfmen and Souldiors were fo dismaved with the greatnesse of the Ouerthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yeelded vp themselves by Embassadors: whom they sent to the Romans, whilest they were on the way. Neither were many dayes spent, ere Antiochus his Embassadour was in the Campe: having none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose vpon the King his Master. P. Scipio was now come to his brother, who obtained leaue to make the answere, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, That hee should quite abandon his Dominions on this fide of Taurus. For their charges in that warre they required fifteene thousand Talents: fine bundred in hand; two thousand and flue hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thousand, in twelue yeeres next ensuing by euen portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for Eumenes; and some store 50 of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now besides twentie hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thors the Etolian, with some others who had stirred up the King to this warre, delivered into their hands. But any wife man might fo easily have perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demaunds; as no great

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art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassadour had full commission to refuse nothing that should be enjoyed. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to fend immediatly to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Confulschosen in the meane while at Rome, M. Fuluius, and en. Manlius Vollo. The . Etolians desired peace, but could not obtain it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed. That one of the Confuls should make Warre youn the Atolians. the other, vpon Antiochus in Asia. Now though shortly there came newes, that Antiochus was alreadic vanguished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands : yet fince the State of Asia was not like to bee 10 fo throughly fettled by one Victorie, but that many things might fall out worthic of the Romans care; Cn. Manling, to whom Afia fell by lot, had not his Province

Soone after this came the Embassadours of King Antiochus to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians and some others: yea by King Eumenes in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King Antiochus, there was no disputation: it was generally appropued. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King Eumenes reckoned up his owne deferts: and comparing himselfe with Masanista, hoped that the Romans would bee more bountifull to him than they had beene to the Numidian, 20 fince they had found him a King indeed, whereas Masanissa was onely such in title; and fince both he and his father had alwayes beene their friends, even in the worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adocto make him tell what he would haue: He still referring himselse to their courtese; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At length he craued that they would bestow upon him, as much of the Countrie by them taken from Antiochus, as they had no purpose to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought hee it needfull, that they should trouble themfelues with the care of giuing libertie to many of the Greeke Townes, that were on Alia side. For since the most of those Townes had beene partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reason that they should begainers by his ouerthrow. The 30 Rhodians did not like of this. They defired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the Grecian liberty; and to call to minde, that no small part of Greece it selfe had beene subject voto Philip, and served him in his Warre: which was not alleadged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that Philip was ouercome. But the maine point whereon they infifted, was this, That the Victory of the Romans against King Antiochus was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifully gaue away fo much, that eucry one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against King Antiochus: after which, L. Cornelius Scipio, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe 40 whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of Titus Quintius Flaminius, but of any ten that Rome had beheld untill that day. Now for a finuch as the furname of The African had been given vnto P. Scipio, it was thought convenient by fome, to reward L. Scipio with the title of The Afratick : which the fortune of his Victorie had no lesse deserved; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no

way correspondent.

٥. IX.

of the Historie of the World. d. IX.

The Atolians, and the Gallogreekes, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fv Lv Ivs and MANLIVS. MANLIVS hardly obtaines a Triumph: being charged (among other obsections ) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by SIBYL. Of SIBYL'S Prophecies: the Bookes of HER-MES; and that Inscription, SIMONIDEO SANCTO. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipioes; and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobilitie.

Arc. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius had the same charge divided betweene them, which L. Cornelius Scipio, now flyled Afiaticus, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at conce to Greece and to Asa. And for this reason was it apparent, that L. Scipio had graunted to long a Truce to the Atolians. But fince,

CHAP.5. S.9.

in this long Interim of Truce, that haughtie little Nation had not fought to humble it selfe to the Roman Maiestie, it was now to bee brought vnto more lowlie termes than any other of the Greekes. The best was, that so great a storme fell not vnexpected vponthe Ætolians. They had foreseene the danger, when their Em-20 baffadours were vtterly denied peace at Rome: and they had provided the last remedie; which was, to entreat the Rhodians and Athemans to become intercessours for them. Neither were they so deiected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well deuile, even vpon helping themselves, by repurchase of Coun-

tries loft, where they fpied advantage. Poore Kin Aminander lived in exile among them, whilest Philip of Macedon kept. for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the Athamanians (besides that manie of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing beene long accustomed to serve a Mountaine Lord, that conversed with them after an homelic manner; could not endure the proud and infolent manner of commaund, vfed by 30 the Captaines of Philip his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their feruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grewthey, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vndertooke the worke. Yet affurance, that all the reft would follow, made Aminander willing to trie his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand Atolians, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers having divided themselves into source parts, occupied, by the readic assistance of the multitude, foure the chiefe Townes in the Countrie, to his vse. The fame of this good successe at first; with letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of 40 Philip vnable to thinke vpon relitance. One of them held the Towne of Theium a few dayes; giving thereby some leifure vnto his King to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all was loft. Philip had brought from home fix thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march. he left all faue two thou and behind him, & fo came to Athenaum, a little Athamanian Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent Zeno, who had kept Theium a while, to take place lying ouer Argithea, that was chiefe of the Countrie. Zeno did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King had the boldnesse to descend upon Argithea; or that they might perceive the Athamanians, 50 all along the nill fides, readic to come downe vpon them, when they should be bufie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a fafe retreat: specially when Aminander came in light with his thousand Atolians. The Macedonians were called back, from-wards Argithea, and prefently withdrawne by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. Nnnnnn 3

The Athamanians and Ætolians way-layd them, and purited them so closely. that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great losse of men and armes; few oftholeescaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, vetill Philip his returne.

The Atolians, having found the businesse of Athamania so casic, made attempt. in their owne behalfe, vpon the Amphilochians and Aperantians. These had belonged vnto their Nation, and were lately taken by Philip; from whom they diligently revolted, and became Atolian againe. The Dolopians lay next; that had been euer belonging to the Macedonian, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke armes at first : but soone layed them away; seeing their neighbours readie to fight 10 with them in the Atolian quarrell, and seeing their owne King so hastily gone, as if hee meant not to returne.

Of these victories the iou was the lesse; for that newes came of Antiochus his last ouerthrow, and of M. Fuluius the new Consul his hasting with an armie into Greece. Aminander sent his excuses to Rome, praying the Senate, not to take it in despight, that he had recoursed his owne from Philip with such helpe as hee could get. Neither seemes it that the Romans were much offended to heare of Philip his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprouers. Fuluius went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to Ambracia, a goodly Citic, that had beene the chiefe leate of Pyrrhus his Kingdome. 20 With this hee began; for that it was of too great importance to bee abandoned by the Ætolians: yet could not by them bee relieued, vnlesse they would aduenture to fight vponequall ground. To helpe the Ambracians, it was not in the Ætolians power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians at lea, and ready to be driven from their new conquest, by Perseus the sonne of Philip, who invaded the Countries of the Amphilochians and Dolopians. They were vnable to deale with fo many at once; and therefore as carneftly fought peace with the Romans, as they floutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the Athenian and Rhodian Embassadors came; who befought the Consul to grant them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made strong resistance, and would not be terrified, by any vio- 20 lence of the affaylants, or danger that might seeme to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so be driven to leave vnto his fucceffor the honour of finishing the warre. Wherefore he gladly hearkened vnto the . Atolians, and bade them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouer-dearc, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend Antiochus had made the same purchase. He also gaue leave to Aminander, offering his seruice as a mediatour, to put himselfe into Ambracia, and trie what good his perswasions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demaunds and excuses, the conclusion was such, as was grieuous to the weaker, but not vnsufferable. The same Embassadours of the Athenians and Rhodians accom- 40 panied those of the Atolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that Philip had made very grieuous complaint about the losse of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it hindered not the peace, which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and Athens did earnestly sollicite. The Atolians were bound to vphold the maiestic of the people of Rome, and to observe divers Articles, which made them lesse free, and more obnoxious to the Romans, than any people of Greece; they having been the first that called these their Masters into the Countrie. The Ile of Cephalenia was taken from them by the Romans: who kept it for themselues (as not long since 50 they had gotten Zacynthus from the Acheans, by stiffely pressing their owne right) that so they might have possession along the coast of Greece, whilest they seemed to for beare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto Philip, or others, might lay claime, there was fet downe an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily

require to have the Romans Iudges of the controuersies, when they should arise, And hereof good vie will be shortly made: when want of employment elswhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, youn the affaires of Macedon and

CHAP.5. S.9.

of the Historie of the World,

Cn. Manlius, the other Confull, had at the same time warre in Asia, with the Gallo-Greekes and others. His Armie was the same that had followed L. Scipio; of whose victorie, his acts were the consummation. Hee visited those Countries on the hither fide of Taures, that had scarce heard of the Romans; to whom they were abandoned by Antiochus. Among these there were some pettie Lords, or Tyrants, 10 fome free Cities, and some that were together at warres, without regard of the greatalteration hapned in Asia. From every of these hee got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which hee should else haue wanted an errand. He was euen loaden with bootic, when, having fetcht a compasse about Asia, he came at length vpon the Gallogreekes. These had long dominiered ouer the Countrie: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terrour of their forepassed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the Romans they had lately such triall, when they served vnder King Antiochus, as made them to know themselves farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safetie, that they dwelt vpon 20 the River Halys, in an Inland Countrie, where those enemies were not like to fearch them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their owne Nation, that had beene friends of Eumenes, exhorted the rest to yeeld: then wasno counsaile thought so good, as to for sake their houses and Countrie, and, with all that they could carrie or drive, to betake themselves vnto the high mountaines of Olympus and Margana. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and vichuailed for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortistcation as promifed greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, 20 when he had staied there awhile, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the Gallogreekes had beene careleffe of furnishing themselues with casting weapons, as if the stones would have served well enough to that purpose : the Romans, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of armes, than impediment in difaduantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did casily prevaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these Gallogreekes, neither exercised in that manner. of fight, nor having prepared their stones before hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a sit size. Finally, the Barbarians, wanting defensive armes, could not hold out against the arrowes and 49 weapons of the Roman light armature : but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong downe the steepe rockes. Few of the men escaped aliue: all their wives, children, and goods became a prey vnto the Romans. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation ouercome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them faued themselues by flight, as having fairer way

These warres being ended: Fuluius and Manlius were appointed, by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconful his Province for another yeere. Fuluius, in his so second yeere, did little or nothing. Manlin gave peace to those whom hee had vanquished; as likewise to Ariarathes the Cappadocian, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselues for seare of the Roman armes. Hee drew from them all, what profit he could: and laide vpon them such conditions, as hee thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with Antiochus; whereto Zin.139.

he swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadours, whom hee sent for that purpole. Finally having let in order the matters of Asia, he tooke his way toward the Hellespont, loaden with spoile, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the Gallogreekes had in fo many yeares extorted, from the wealthie Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of Manlius returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull vie, which the Roman fouldier had beene wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous houlhold-Russe, and slaues of price, excellent Cookes, and Musicians for banquets, and, in a word, with the seedes of that luxurie, which finally ouer-grew and choked the Roman vertue.

The Countrie of Thrace lay betweene Hellespont and the Kingdome of Macedon, which way Manlius was to take his journey homeward. L. Scipio had found no impediment among the Thracians: either for that he passed through them, without any such bootie as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, because Philip of Macedon had taken order, that the Barbarians should not stirre. But when Manlins came along with an huge traine of baggage; the Thracians could not fo well containe themselues. Neither was it thought, that Philip tooke it otherwise than verie pleasantly, to haue this Roman Armie robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry; seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to Eumenes. For he vnderstood, and afterwards gave the Romans 20 to vnderstand, that Eumenes could not have abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the People of Rome had not made warre in Asia: whereas contrariwise, Antiochus had offered vnto himselse three thousand talents, and sistie ships of warre, to take part with him and the Ætolians; promising moreover to restore vnto him all the Greeke Cities, that had been etaken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference betweene him and Eumenes, when the warre began: he thought it no euen dealing of the Romans, after their victorie, to give away not onely the halfe of Asia, but Chersonnesus and Lysimachia in Europe, to Eumenes; whereas vpon himselfe they beflowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie, to goe to Rome and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as Eumenes and the Rhodians had lately done. 30 He had entertained louingly the two Scipio's, whom he thought the most honourable men in Rome; and was growne into necre acquaintance with Publius, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in Spaine and Africk. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But Eumenes tooke a surer way. For the Scipio's had not the disposing of that which they wanne from Antiochus: as neither indeed had Manlius, nor the ten Delegates affifting him; but the Senate of Rome, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When Philip therefore faw these vpstart Kings of Pergamus, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe vnregar- 40 ded.contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against Antiochus, or rather that hee had is yned with Antiochus and the Atolians, by whom he might have beene freed from his insolent masters. But what great argument of such discontentednesse the Macedonian had, we shall verie shortly be vrged to discourse more at large. At the present it was beleeved, that the Thracians were by him set on, to assaile the Romans paffing through their Countrie. They knew all advantages: and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had alreadic passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so farreaduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to 50 leaue behind: though both the getting, and the fauing, did cost many lines, as well of the Barbarians as of the Romans. They fought untill it grew night: and then the Thracians withdrew themselues; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before

the Armie could get out of Thrace into Macedon. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into Epirus; and fo to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece.

To Manlius, and to Fuluius, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to Manlius; whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to affilt him, did very bitterly taxe, as an vnworthie Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answere, and was appropued by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthie of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindred the peace with Antiochus; they said, That with much adoe he was kept Liu.l.28. from leading his Armie over TAVRVS, and adventuring upon the calamitie threatned by SYBYLS verses, unto those that should passe the fatall bounds. What calamitie or overthrow this was, wherewith Sibyls prophecie threatned the Roman Captaine or Armic, that should passe ouer Tauras, I doe not conceive. Pompey was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of Lucullus had opened vnto him the way, and had before hand wonne, in a fort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which Lucullus gave to one of Antiochus his race, though Pompey occupied them for the Romans. But wee finde not, that either Lucullus or Pompey suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by Sibyl. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophecie, fell out neere about 20 one time, with the restitution of Ptolemie King of Egypt; that was forbidden vnto the Romans by the same Sibyl. It may therefore seeme to have had reference vnto the fame things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the Agyptian King. Whether the Oracles of Sibylhad in them any truth, and were not, as Tullie noteth, Sowed at randome in the large field of Time, there to take lib, a. root, and get credit by euent; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of Ptolemie to his Kingdome by Gabinius the Roman, should have any way betokened the comming of our Sauiour: as some both ancient and moderne Christian Writers have beene well pleased to interprete Sibyl in that prophecie. Of the Sibylline prædictions I have sometimes thought reverend-20 ly: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke, few men know) yet following the common beleefe and good authoritie. But observation of the shamefull Idolatrie, that vpon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the bookes of Sibyl, had well prevailed voon my credulitie, and made mee suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of Eusebius: when that learned and excellent worke of Master Casaubon upon the Annales of Cardinall Baronius, did altogether Exercises and free mee from mine errour; making it apparent, That not onely those prophecies of Annal. Barn. Sibyl, wherein Christ so plainely was foreshewed, but euen the bookes of Hermes, 10.6 11. which have borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoeuer deuised them ) by the vndiscreet zeale of such, as 40 delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthned with forceine proofes. And in the fame ranke, I thinke, wee ought to place that notable Historie, reported by Eusebius from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to Simon Magus Euseb. Eccl. history

that is, To Simon the boly God. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so

memorable, and so publike, should have been quite omitted by Tacitus, by Sueto-

nius, by Dion, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets

would not haue suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it beene true; neither

can it be thought that Seneca, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained

from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded,

in place of SEMONI SANGO: a title foure hundred yeeres older than the time

of Simon Magus. For the goods of one Vitruuius a Rebell, had many ages before

beene confectated SEMONI SANGO, that is, To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus, in whose Chappell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman

50 that this inscription , Simoni Deo Sancto , was , by some bad Criticisme, taken amisse

in Rome; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto, 6.13:

letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vpon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should bee misse-read, Simoni Sancto, and that some Christian who had heard of Simon Magus, but not of Sangus, thereupon should frame the coniecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such coniectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historicall, than was conceiued by the Authour. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme vpon a sure foundation) leane ouer-hardly on a well painted, yet rot-

ten, post.

Now concerning the Triumph of Cn. Manlius, it may be numbred among a 10 few of the richest, which ever the Citie beheld. Out of that which hee brought into the Treasurie, was made the last paiment of those monies which the Common-wealth had borrowed from private men, in the second Punicke warre. Solong was it, that Rome had still some feeling of Hannibal: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memoric, of any danger. This Triumph of Manline was deterred by him, euen as long as hee well could: for that he thought it not fafe, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two Scipio's were called, one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accusation, knowne to Potteritie. P. Scipio the African, with whom they began, could not endure that 20 fuch vnworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with bribes by Antiochus, to make an ill bargaine for his Countrey. When therefore his day of answere came; hee appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middest of the Assembly, and offered himselfe to speake. Having audience, hee told the People, That you the same day of the yeere hee had fought a great battell with Hannibal, and finished the Punicke Warre, by a fignall victory. In memory whereof, hee thought it no fit season to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the Capitoll, and there give thankes to Iupiter, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at 30 other times, hee had well and happily discharged the most weighty businesse of the Common-wealth. And hereto hee inuited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if ener fince the seventeenth yeere of his life, untill be now grew old, the honourable places by them conserved upon him, had preuented the capacitie of his age, and yet his deferts had exceeded the greatnesse of those honourable places; then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might still bee like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: fo as all the people, euen the Officers of the Court, followed Scipio; leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne flaues and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgement, vntill for very shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, 40 vnrequested, a further day. After this, when the African perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: hee willingly relinquished the Citie, and his vnthankefull Romans, that could suffer him to vndergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time hee spent at Liternum: quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any defire of fecing Rome againe. How many yeeres he lived, or whether he lived one whole yeere, in this voluntarie banishment; it is uncertaine. The report of his dying in the same yeere, with Hannibal and Philopamen, as also of his private behaviour at Liternum, render it probable, that he out-lived the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to have drawne him backe to his answere, if one of their Colleagues (as one 50 of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding ) had not caused them to delift. Howfoeuer it was the fame Tribunes went more sharply to worke with L. Scipio the Assatique. They propounded a Decree unto the People, touching monie received of Antiochus, and not brought into the common Treasury; That the

Senate should give charge vnto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and indicially determine, thereof. In fauour of this Decree, an Oration was made by Cato, the supposed author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of lingular industric; frugall also, both of the publike, and of his owne; so as in this kinde hee was even faultie: for though hee would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he vnmercifulland vnconscionable, in seeking to increase his owne wealth, by such meanes as the Lawe did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyfoned with enuic, troubled both himselse and the whole Citie, whilest hee lined. His meane birth caused him to 10 hate the Nobility, especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his owne ranke, men raised by desert, if their aduancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when Glabrio, whose Lieutenant hee had been at Thermopyle, was his Competitor for the Cenforship, and likely to carrie it, hee tooke an Oath against him, which was counted as no betterthan malicious periurie, That he had not brought into the common Treasurie some vessels of gold and silver, gotten in the Campe of Antiochia. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the Scipioes grew partly, (befides his generall spight at the Nobilitie) from his owne first rising, wherein hee was countenanced by Fabius Maximu, who brooked not the African; partly from some checke, that was given vnto 20 himselfe, in the African voyage, by P. Scipie, whose Treasurer he then was. For when Cato did vtter his dishke of the Consuls bad husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; Scipio plainely told him, That he had no neede of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies hee published, or for want of judgement, thinking vnworthily of the vertuethat was farre aboue him, Cato filled Rome with vntrue reports against his Generall; whose noble deedes consuted sufficiently the author of such salse tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the Scipioes, whileft it was nourished by their enemie, brake out vpon advantage, especially against L. Scipio, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A seuere inquirie and 30 iudgement being appointed of purpole against Scipio, matters were so carried, that he was seene condemned in a summe of money, farre exceeding his abilitie to pay. For non payment, his bodie should have beene layd vpin prison: but from this rigour of the Law hee was freed by Tiberius Gracebus, the same Tribune who had caused the suite against the African to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the vse of the Citie, when there neither appeared any figne of his having been beholding to Antrochus, nor was found so much as what he had beene condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was L. Saipio no whit the better. His kinred. friends, and Clients made such a collection for him, as would have set him in better 40 estate than before, if he had accepted it. Hee tooke no more than such of his owne

goods, as were of necessary vse, being redeemed for him by his necrest friends.

And thus began the ciuill warre of the Tongue, in the Roman pleadings: which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, vntill now, since the Punicke Warre. Securitie of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especiall helpes to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold vponthat great Worthy, to whose vertue Rome was indebted, for changing into so great securitie her extreme danger. But these sactious contentions did no long while containe themselues within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Attosleading the multitude, in such quarressome businesse, at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubbes and stones, afterward with swords; and sinally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the streets, vnto battaile in the open field. Cornelia, daughter of Scipio the African, a Ladie of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sonness was more commonly named Mother of the

Gracek

Gracchi, faw those her two sonnes, whilest they were but yong, slaughtered in Rome, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approued by the Senate. At these times the Senatours began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Confuls all the whole power of the Citie, vnder this forme, Let the Consuls prouide, that the Commonweale receive no detriment. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen enemie to the State, they thought to have woon a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of C. Gracehus, and of Saturninus a popular man, whom by fuch authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere Marius, a famous Captaine of theirs, was 10 fo condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senatours: whereupon began the civill warres; which giving vnto Sylla, who prevailed therein, meanes to make himselfe absolute Lord of Rome, taught Cefar, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soueraigne power, when by the like Decree of the Senate hee was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Conful had finally cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execution such authoritie to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in neede of a Soueraigne Lord: fo the vehemencie of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were ouer-topped by voyces 20 in the House, did compell Casar, or give him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith prenailing against his aduersaries, hee tooke such order, that neither Senate, nor People, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by intefine discord the Romans consuming all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their owne freedome, and became subjects vnto the arbitrarie gouernment of One: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their infolent rule, wherein they tooke vponthem as the highest Lords on Earth, to doe euen what they listed. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto vnto compleat greatnesse. nor beleeved of her selfe as if she had, whilest a King sate crowned on the Throne of Alexander, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. 30 Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequele will discouer.

## CHAP. VI. The second Macedonian Warre.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the warre with ANTIOCHVS was finished. The Romans quarrel with PHILIP. They deale in solently with the Acheans. The Macedonian, being whreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his sonne DEMETRIVS; of whom thencefoorth hee becomes icalous.



FTER the ouerthrow of Antischus, although Philip of Macedon, Eumenes King of Pergamas, the Commonweale of the Acheans, and all other the States of Greece, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had beene, before the arrivall of the Romans in those parts : yet in verie 50 truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vasialls to the People of Rome. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whom-

focuer it rest; namely, To make Lawes, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Monie, and to referue (as the French call it ) le dermier resort, or the last Appeales, the Romans had affumed foure; and the greatest of them so absolutelv. that is, The Appeale, or last resort, as every pettic injurie offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadours, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senatours themselues within Rome: from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities vtter-10 ly disfolued. Neuerthelesse it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the Romans interposed their will to the contrary; neither was their election of Magistrates so tree, as that they had not therein especiall regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

CHAP. 6. S.1.

And to such degree of servitude the severall Estates of Greece did bow verice gently: either as being thankefull for their deliuerance from a yoke more fenfibly grieuous; or, as being skilfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein confisted their chiefe hope of thrining; or, as being more fearefull of difpleasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But Eumenes living 20 further off, and being most obsequious vnto the Romans, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings; his conformitie vnto them in matter of warre and peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to vschis owne euen as he listed, untill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little availeable to him, that his Kingdome bordered vpon the Nations. by them not throughly subdued. For vpon the same reason (as well as vpon his owne high deferts) were they very louing vnto Masanista, and to his House, vntill Carthage was ruined, and their Dominion lettled in Africk: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others: holding people in subjection vnto themselves, by the ministerie of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were vsefull 20 and obsequious vnto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper; and shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But fuch magnanimitie was none otherwise construed by the Romans, than as want of due reverence to their Estate, and a valuation of himfelfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that hee had lately given passage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the waies for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to transport them ouer the Hellespont into Asia, against Antiochus : yet vpon the complaint of Eumenes, and the States of Thessalie 40 and Thrace, hee was commaunded to abandon the Cities of Anus and Maronea, with all Pieces and Places demaunded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them hee had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the Romans themselues.

These Townes of Anus and Maronea had beene part of Lysimechus his Kingdome: who from Thrace Northwards, and to the Northwest, extended his dominion very farre. He is thought to have made himselse Lord of Transylvania: in which Prouince it is faid, \* That innumerable Medals of gold have beene found, in the garie by Mart. age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and stamped Fumee, lib. 5. with his Image on the one fide, on the other fide with Victorie. Of all these Lord-50 ships the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his estate in Europe) fell to Seleucus Nicator by right of warre, wherein he vanquished and flue Lysimachus: as also, by the like right, Ptolomie Ceraunus thought them his owne, when he had murdered Seleucus. But the inundation of the Gaules, which the Kingdome of Macedon could not sustaine, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crowne,

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together with the more part of Thrace, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by Antigonus the sonne of Demetrius, and his successours: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the Gaules being ouer-past, those Countries which lately had beene oppressed by them, recovered their libertie; and not only held it, but learned, some of them especially the Dardanians and wilde Thracians, to find their advantages, and make vie of them, euen vpon Macedon. Against the mischiefes commonly done by these, King Philip did provide the most convenient remedies: by shutting vp the waves, whereby the Dardanians might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying Lylimachia, with some other Townes in Thrace, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of 10 his owne Countrey, against the Barbarians. Now, although it behoued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate : yet for a smuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the A. tolians, of wrongfull vsurpation and oppression, in his having occupied Lysimachia. Hereto he made a good answere, That his Garrison did only saue it from the Thracians: who, as foone as hee thence withdrew his men, did feize voon the Towne. and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching Anus and Maronea; That they were places vnable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the Barbarians might have entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not awayled him, 20 in the disputation about Lysimachia: and in the present question, the Romans were not without their owne title; fince Antiochus had gotten all the Countrie thereabout, whilest Philip was busied in his former warre, and since they, by their victorie had gotten vinto themselves all the title, which Antiochus thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether Anus and Maronea should be set at libertie, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon Eumenes; who begged them, as an appendix to Lysimachia and Chersonnesus, that were alreadie his by their gift. What they would determine, he might eafily perceiue, by the demeanour of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Judges betweene him and all that 30 made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in every controversie. Neperthelesse, he sent Embassadours to Rome, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes: wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his fide. For he had holpen their Confuls in the warre against Antiochus and the Atolians: wherein what soeuer he had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadours: and would they now deprive him of those two Townes,lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of Antiochus, like as out of his owne ruines Antiochus had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By fuch allegations either hee was likely to prevaile, or at least wife to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what hee had to 40 doe. It was not long ere he had word from Rome, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had beene their Embassadours. Wherefore, considering how insolently the Maronites had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their libertic, hee tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature hee was verie cruell) gaue order to Onomastus, that was Warden of the Sca-coasts, to handle these Maronites in such fort, as they might have little joy of the libertie by them so earnestly desired. Onomastus employed Cassander, one of the Kings men dwelling in Maronea, and willed him to let in the Thracians by night, that they might facke the Towne, and vseall cruelties of warre. This was done, but so ill taken by the Roman Embassadours, who had better notice, than could have beene 50 feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more frictly, than became his Majestie, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himselfe, and layed it even upon the Maronites; affirming, That they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable

to him, other some to Eumenes, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embassadours to enquire, among the Maronites themselves: as well knowing, that they who furnised, were either his owne friends for fo terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durft not vtter an offenfine word. But he found the Romans more seuere, and more throughly informed in the bulinesse, than to rest contented with such an answere. He was plainely told, that if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send Onomastus and Cassander to Rome, there to bee examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet 10 he collected his spirits, and said, that Cassander should bee at their disposition: but concerning Onomassus, who had not beene at Maronea, nor necre to it, he requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to give away his friends. As for Caffander, because he should tell no tales; shee tooke order to have him poisoned by the way. By this we see, that the doctrine, which Machiauel raught vnto Cafar Borgia, to employ men in mischieuous actions, and afterwards to deftroy them when they have performed the mischiefe; was not of his owne invention. All ages have given vs examples of this goodly policie, the later having been eapt schollers in this lesson to the more ancient; as the reigne of Henry the eighth bere in England, can beare good witnesse; and therein especially the 20 Lord Cromwell, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had denised, for the taking away of another mans life.

CHAP.6. S.1.

Such actions of Philip made an unpleafant noise at Rome, and were like to have brought vpon him the warre which he feared, before he was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his yonger sonne Demetrius as Embassadour vnto the Senate: giuing him instructions, how to make answere to all complaints; and withall to deliuer his owne grieuances, in such wise that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that he had beene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacific the Romans, and make all even for the present. Demetrius himselse was knowne to be very acceptable vnto the Senate; as having bee. 30 well approved by them, when he was hostage in Rome : and therefore seemed the

more likely, to preuaile somewhat; were it onely in regard that would bee borne vnto his person.

Whilest this businesse with the Macedonian hung in suspense, and whilest he, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to direct from himselse some other way the Roman armes: the same Embassadours, that had beene Judges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of Greece; and tooke notice of the controversies, which they found betweene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished Lacedemonians against the Acheans. It was objected vnto the Ache-40 ans, That they had committed a gricuous flaughter vpon many Citizens of Lacedamon: That vnto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of Lyeurgus. Hereto Lycortas, then Prætor of the Achaens, made answere, That these banished Lacedamonians who now tooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously knowne to beethe men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamelesly they laid the blame vpon others: the Acheans having onely called those vnto iudgement, that were supposed to be chiefe authors of a Rebellion against both them and the Romans; and these plaintifes having slaine them, vpon private, though inft hatred, 50 as they were comming to make answere for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the walles of Lacedemon, hee faid it was most agreeable to Lycurgus his ordinance: who, having perswaded his Citizens to desend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibite vnto them all kindes of fortifications; as the

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Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof Lacedamon had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vsurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these wals, and hemmed in the Spartans, had also quite abolished Lyourgus his ordinances; and gouerned the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the Acheans; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, vnto the Lacedemonians; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, Lycortas plainly told App. Claudius the chiefe of the Embassadours, That hee and his Countrimen held it itrange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the Romans, to fee themselves thus constrained, to answere and give account of their actions; as vassals 16 and slaves vnto the People of Rome. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might not the Acheans as well require to bee satisfied about that which the Romans had done at Capua, as the Romans did busic themselues, to take account how things went at Lacedamon? For if the Romans would stand vpon their greatnesse, and intimate, as they began, that the libertic of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselues to ratific it: then must the Acheans have recourse unto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without periurie could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeede fearing the Romans, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold answere of Lycortas, Appius found little to reply. Yettaking state vpon him, he pronounced more like a Master than 20 a Judge, That if the Acheans would not be ruled by faire meanes, and carne thanks whileft they might; they should be compelled with a mischiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the Acheans; which groned to heare the Lordly words of Appias. Yet Feare prevailed aboue Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the Romans to doe as they lifted. Hereupon the Embassadours restored some banished and condemned men: but the Roman Senate, very so one after, did make void all Iudgements of death or banishment, that had beene laid by the Acheans vpon any Citizen of Lacedamon; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of Lacedamon, should bee suffered to continue a 30 member of the Asham Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made as it had beene an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the Romans well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enjoy: though by contributing Sparta to the Councell of Achaia, they discoucred no lesse, as to them seemed, the lone which they bare vnto the Achaians, than the power which they had

Into fuch flaucrie had the Greekes, and all Kings and Common-weales whatfocuer, bordering vpon any part of the Mediterran Seas, reduced themselues; by calling in the Romans to their succour. They wanted not the good counsaile and per- 40 swalions of many wise and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the Italians, Spaniards, Gaules, and Africans, all subdued by the Romans, and, by feeking Patronage, made meere vaffals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie so prevaile with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of selfe ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearefull seruilitie.

All this made well for Philip of Macedon: who though he saw the Greekes very farre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept 50 in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the Romans by freeing from his subjection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countrie would be his, when soeuer he should take armes, as short-

lie he was like to doc. Young Demetrius, comming home from Rome, brought with him the delired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignitie foone following. Hee had beene louingly vied at Rome, and heard with great fauour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, vnskilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answere: it was permitted vnto him, to reade such briefe notes as hee had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for Demetrius his owne fake, as they then faid and wrote into Mecedon, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at 10 the entreatie of his sonne, together with some insolence of his sonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the Romans; did increase in Philip his hatred vnto Rome, and breed in him a icalousie of his too forward sonne. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadours from Rome; some bringing one commandement; some another; and some, requiring him to fulfill those things, which had beene imposed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance; and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that hee had done things vnwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadours young Demetrius was conversant: rather perhaps out of simplicitie, and 20 for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deale more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all Macedon, That Perfeus, the elder sonne of the King, should not succeed vnto his father; but that the Diademe should bee conferred vpon Demetrius, if not by some other pretence, yet by meere fauour of the Romans. This offended not onely Perfew, but Philip himselfe: who suspected his yonger sonne, as more Roman than his owne; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this icalousie; it will not be amisse, to speake of some memora-

of the Historie of the World.

d. 11.

The death of PHILOP CEMEN, HANNIBAL, and Scipio. That the militarie profession is of all other the most unhappie: notwithstanding some examples, which may feeme to prooue the contrarie.



ble accidents that were in the meane time.

CHAP. 6. S. 2.

He Romans, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of Greece, had of late beene so peremptorie with the Acheans; that they feemed not vnlikely to take part against them, in any controuersie that should be moued. Hereupon the Messenians, who against their will were annexed vnto the Achean Common-wealth, having long

beene of a contrarie Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselues from that Societie, with purpose to set vp againe an Estate of their owne, severed from communion with any other. This was the deuice of some that were powerfull in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpose, and not ouer-firongly affected in the businesse; were carefull to secke occasion of reducing things to fuch passe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessitie of standing out, and of not returning to the Achean League. And hereupon they began to doe some acts of hostilitie; whereby it was probable that bloud should bee 50 drawne, and either fide fo farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Vpon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; Philopamen, then Prætor of the Achaans, levied fuch forces as hee could in hafte, and went against them. Many principall Gentlemen of the Achaans, especially of the Megalopolitans, were soone in a readinesse to wait vpon him. Besides these, which were all, or for

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the most part, Horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of Thrace and Crete, that vsually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with Dinocrates, Captaine of the Messenians, whom hee charged, and forced to runne. But whilest his horsemen were too earnest in following the chace; there arrived, by chance, a supplie of five hundred from Messene, which gaue new courage vnto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled Philopamens Horsemen to turne backe. Philopamen himselse had long beene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatnesse of hiscourage would not suffer him, to bee negligent of their safetie, which had so willingly aduentured themselves under his conduct. He tooke upon him to 10 make the Retrait : and suffering his horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the Messenians; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, didterrifie from approaching ouer-neere to him. But it fell out vnhappily, that being call to ground by a fall of his horse, and being withall in very weake plight of bodie, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet scarce beleeued their fortune to bee so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these newes to Messene, was so farre from being beleeved, that he was hardly thought to bein his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They 20 caused him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might satisfie themsclues with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune; and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the fingular benefits by him done vnto them, especially in delivering them from Nabis the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliueric. Contrarywise, Dinocrates and his Fa-Etion were defirous haftily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would neuer leave any diffrace, or iniuric, done to him, vnreuenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault under ground, that had beene made for the custodie of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine 20 laid an heavie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not staied long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cup of poison, which Philopamen tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether Lycortas was fafe, when he heard an answere to his minde, he said it was well: and so with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. He was seventie yeeres old, and weakned with long ficknesse, whereby the poison wrought the sooner, and casily tooke away his life. The Acheans, when they missed him in their flight, were maruellously offended with themselues, for that they had beene more mindfull to preserve their owne lives, than to looke vnto the safetie of so excellent 40 a Commander. Whilest they were denising what to doe in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All Achaia was by this report vehemently affli-&cd: fo as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched vnto Messene, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire meanes would not serue. Lycortas was chosen Generall of the Armic against Messer: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then Dinocrates, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands vpon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had beene partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of Philopamen that were carried home in solemne pompe to Megalopolis; where they were all 50 of them slaine at his funerall, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. Q. Martius, a Roman Embassador, was then in Greece; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadors were seldome absent. He would have entermedied in this busines of Messene, had not Lycortas made short worke, and left him nothing to doc.

About the same time was T. Quintius Flaminius sent Embassador to Prusias King of Bithynia: not fo much to withdraw him from profecuting the warre against Eumenes, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer Hannibal, the most spightfull enemie in all the world vnto the Senate and People of Rome, into his hands. Prusias (therein vnworthie of the Crowne he ware) did readily condifcend: or rather (as Liuie thinkes) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill Hannibal, or to deliuer him aliue to Flaminius. For vpon the first conference betweene the King and Flaminius, atroupe of Souldiors were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where Hannibal lay. That famous Captaine having found cause before this to suto spect the faith of Prusias, had denised some secret sallies under ground to sauc himfelfe from any treasonable and sudden affault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedie: which he then was constrayned to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him, as to faue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands, who, as he well knew, would neither respect his samous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsell to resort vnto, he tooke the poylon into his hand, which he alwayes preferued for a fure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of aduerse fortune; which being readie to swallow downe, hee vttered these wordes: I will now (faid he) deliver the Romans of that feare, which hath so many yeeres 20 poffest them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victorie of FLAMINIVS over me, which am difarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never bee numbred among the rest of his heroicall deedes : No : it shall make it manifest to all the N ations of the world, how farre the auncient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblenesse of their forefathers; as, when PYRRH vs inuaded them in Italie and was readie to give them battaile at their owne dores, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poyson: whereas these of a later race have employed FLAMINIVS, aman who hath heretofore beene one of their Confuls, to practife with PRVSIAS, contrarie to the honout the King, contrarie to his Faith given, and con-trarie to the Lawes of Hospitalitie, to slaughter or deliver up his owne Ghest. He then cur-30 ling the person of Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortall gods to revenge his infidelitie, dranke off the poyfon, and died.

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In this yeerealfo (as good Authors have reported) to accompanie Philopamen and Hannibal, died Scipio the African: these being, all of them, as great Captaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than vnfortunate. Certainely, for Hannibal, whose Tragedie we have now finished, had he beene Prince of the Carthaginians, and one who by his authoritie might have commaunded such supplyes, as the Watre which he vndertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was fo strongly cross by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to sustaine it, did 40 lastly dissolue it selfe in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Countrey and

CHAP. 6. S.2.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and jealousic of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profession more unprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuie and jealousie of men, the spoyles, rapes, samine, slaughter of the innocent, vaflation, and burnings, with a world of mileries layed on the labouring man, are fo hatefull to God, as with good reason did Monlue the Marshall of France confesse, That were not the mercies of GoD infinite, and without restriction, it were in vaine for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them per-50 mitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoeuer, this is true, That the victories. which are obtayned by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardise of the Nation against whom they serue. For the most of others, whose vertues have rayled them aboue the leucll of their inferiours, and have surmounted their enuie: yet

have they been rewarded in the end, either with difgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we finde many examples hereof; as Coriolanus, M. Liuius, L. Emylus, and this our Scipio, whom we have lately buried. Among the Greekes we reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a Legacie that Danid bequeathed vnto his victorious Captaine loab. With this fare Alexander teasted Parmenio, Philotas, and others; and prepared it for Antipater and Cassander. Hereto Valentinian the Emperour inuited Etius: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew Attila of the Hunnes, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was strucken in the world; forthere fell of those that fought beside runne-awaies, an hundred and 10 fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by Proximus, That in killing of Atius, he had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after that Maximus (by whose perswasion Valentinian slue Etius) murdered the Emperour, which hee neuer durst attempt, Lius living. And besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with Atus, the glory of the Westerne Empire was rather dissoluted then obscured. The same inworthy destinie or a farre worse, had Bellusarius; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by Iustinian: and he died a blinde begger. Navies also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgraced by Iustine. That Rule of Cato 20 against Scipio, hath been well observed in every age since then; to wir. That the Common-weale cannot bee accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence hath the Turkes drawne another Principle, and in deed a Turkish one, That every warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of Warre. than fuffer his owneglory to be obscured by them. For this cause did Bajaret the second dispatch Bassa Acomat; Selim strangle Bassa Mustapha; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their Viliers. Of the Spanish Nation, the great Gonfalue, who draue the French out of Naples: and Ferdinande Cortese, who conquered Mexico; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of Egmond and Horn, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines 30 of all Nations have been payd with this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary it may bee faid, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places haue been given, or offered, vnto very few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which have traiterously cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre: but have vsed the advantage of some 40 commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which undescruedly were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that have purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnesse of their warlike vertue; is farre more in feeming, than in deed. Phosas was a Souldiour, and by helpe of the Souldiours he got the Empire from his Lord Mauritius: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, feldome found in any other than cowards, hee flue first the children of Mauritius, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them Mauritius himselfe. This his bloudy aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him again by Heraclius; who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vniustly gotten; and set it on his owne head. Le- 50 onties laid hold vpon the Emperour Iustine, cut off his note and eares, and fent him into banishment: But Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of Tiberius; to whole charge hee had left his owne men of warre. Instine, having recovered forces, lighted on Tiberius, and barbed him after the fame

same fashion. Philippieus, commanding the forces of Iustine, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. Anastasius, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surprised his Malter Philippicus, and thrust out both his eyes. But with Anastasius, Theodosius dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out of his hands, hee enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlesse, and a needlesse worke to tell, how Leo rewarded this Theodolius; how many others have been repayed with their owne crueltic, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thoufands, hoping of Captaines to make themselues Kings, have by Gods justice miserably perified in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way of thriuing, 10 by the practice of Armes, is to take what may bee gotten by the spoile of Enemies, and the liberalitie of those Princes and Cities, in whose service one hath well deserued. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that observation, made by Salomon, of vnthanketulnesse in this kinde, hath beene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: Alittle Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came Eccles. 9.14. against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poore & 15. and wifeman therein, and hee delivered the Citie by his wifedome : but none remembred

this poore man. Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thankes, lest thereby

they should acknowledge themselves to have beene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwiser fort of them thinke to sauour of some impotency in them-20 sclues. But in this respect they are oftentimes coozened and abused: which proves that weakenesse to be in them indeede, whereof they so gladly shunne the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giuing thankes; yet so, as those thankes are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captaines haue made, by enriching themselues with the spoile of the enemie, they are very inquilitiue to search into it, and to strip the wel-deservers out of their gettings: yea most iniuriously torob them of their owne, vpon a false supposition : that even they whose hands are most cleane from such offences, have purloyned somewhat from the common Treasurie. Hereof I neede not to produce examples: that of the two Sciptoes being so lately recited.

30 In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne fafetie she was constrained to vndertake, her Majettie had no lesse cause to vse the sernice of Martiall men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many yeeres had, yet, according to the deftiny of that profession, I do not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldeft and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any seruice by them performed. And that her Majestie had many aduised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitic of her affaires did well witnesse, who in all her daies never received dishonour, by the cowardife or infidelitie of any Commander, by her selfe chosen

40 For as all her old Captaines by Land died poore men, as Malbey, Randol, Drewrie, Reade, Wilford, Layton, Pellam, Gilbert, Cunstable, Bourchier, Barkeley, Bingham, and others: so those of a later and more dangerous imploiment, whereof Nerice and Vere were the most famous, and who have done as great honor to our Nation ( for the meanes they had ) as ever any did: those (I say) with many other brave Collonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many trauaies and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posteritie. As for the L. Thomas Burrough, and Peregrine Berty L. Willoughby of Eresby, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.

That her Majestie in the advancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleeue other men than her selfe, a disease vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, hane beene subject, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakenesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that

where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actors are so vnprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are neerest the person of Princes (which Martial men seldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnific a Profession farre more noble than their own, seeing therein they should onely mind their Masters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing lesse honour and reward to men of farre greater deseruing, and of far greater vie than them felues.

But his Maiestie hath already payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieuing by Pensions all the poorer sort, hee hath honored more Martial men, 10 than all the Kings of England have done for this hundred yeeres.

He hath given a Corones to the Lord Thomas Haward for his chargeable and remarkcable scruice, as well in the yeere 1 588, as at Caliz, the Ilands, and in our owne Seas; having first commanded as a Captaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Maicstie hath changed the Baronies of Montion and Burley into Earledomes, and created Sidney Vicount, Knollys, Russel, Carew, Danuers, Arundel of Warder, Gerald, and Chichester, Barons, for their gouernments and seruices in the Netherlands, France, Ireland, and elsewhere.

PHILIP making provision for warre against the Romans, deales hardly with many of his owne subsects. His negotiation with the Bastarna. His crueltie. He suspecteth his some DEMETRIVS. DEMETRIVS accused by his brother PER-SBVS; and shortly after saine, by his fathers appointment. PHI-LIP repenteth bim of his (onnes death; whom he findeth to have beene innocent: and intending to revenge it on PERSEVS, he dieth.

VINTUS MARTIVS the Roman Embassador, who travailed up and downe, seeking what worke might be found about Greece, had recei-Qued instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of Macedon. At his returne home, that hee might not seeme to have discoucred nothing, hee told the Fathers, That Philip had done what soeuer they enjoyned him; yet so, as it might appeare, that fuch his obedience would last no longer, than meere necessitie should enforce him thereunto. Hee added further, That all the doings and fayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was deuising. Now it was so indeed, that Philip much repented him of his faithfull obsequiousnes to the Romans, 40 and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with safety of their honour, if they could finde conucnient meanes; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) by what meanes soeuer. He was in an ill case: as hauing beene already vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to heare of Warre with Rome; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto vrged, would adventure to take his part : yet hee provided as well as hee could deuise, against the necessitie which hee daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad service against the Romans, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and remoued them all 50 into Emathia. The Cities and Countrey, whence these were transplanted, hee filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured, against those enemies that were terrible to the Macedonians. Further, bee denised vpon alluring the Bastarna, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river

Снар.б. \$.3. of Danubius, to abandon their feat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would helpe them to roote out the Dardanians, and take possession of their Countrey. These were like to doe him notable seruice against the Romans: being not onely stout fighting men; but such as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vnto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrivall, must be the vtter extirpation of the Dardanians; a People alwaies troublesome to the Kingdome of Macedon, when soeuer they found aduantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those Baflarna, by hope of spoile, and other incitements, vnto a more desperate Expediti-10 on, through Illyria, and the Countries vpon the Adriaticke Sea, into Italie it selfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them upon the way: Ratherit was thought, that the Scordifei, and peraduenture some others, through whose Countries they were to passe, would accompanie them against the Romans, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remoue of these Bastarne from their owne habitations, into the Land of the Dardanians, upon the border of Macedon; along and tedious journey vnto them, that carried with them their wines and children: Philip with gifts did purchase the good will of some Thracian Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to passe. And thus hee sought meanes to ftrengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the Ro-20 mans, nor were knowne vnto them; fince he was not like to finde assistance from anie civill Nation, about the whole compasse of the Mediterranean Seas. But these deuices were long ere they tooke effect: so as the Bastarna came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpose. In the meane time he neglected not the training of his men to warre, and the exercise of them in fome small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered vpon him, and

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flood worst affected toward him. But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wils to forsake 30 their ancient dwellings, and betake themselues to such new habitations, as hee in his discretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the changes Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within words: hee having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise then by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did vnwillingly, being himselse ouer-ruled by necessitie, that seemed apparent. This cuill therefore would soone haue been determined, had not his cruell and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just forrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly fought reuenge where it was needlesse. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none 40 of them deservedly. This encreased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall; when the King in a barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injuried, thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vntill he should have massacred all the children of those parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragicall then perhaps he could have desired, gaue men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengcance powred on him from Heauen, hee felt the like milerie in his owne children. It is hard to say what the Romans intended, in the extraordinary fauour which they shewed vnto Demetrius, the Kings yonger sonne. It may 50 well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish diffention betweene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardlinesse of Demetrius; like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this yong Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreme

jealousie in the fathers head. If any custome of the Romanes, the manner of their

life, the fallion of their apparell, or the vnfightly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of Rome, were jefted at in ordinarie discourse and table-talke. Demetring was fure to be presently on fire, defending and prayling them, even in fuch points as rather needed excuse. This, and his dayly conversation with their Embassadours, as often as they came, gaue his father cause to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counsaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder sonne Perseus: who fearing so much lest his brother should sep betweene him and the succession, converted wholly vnto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. Perfew was then thirty yeeres old; of astirring spirit, though much desective in valour. Demetrius was yonger by five 10 veeres, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practices, than his free speeches discoucred. The jealous head of the King having entertained fuch fuspitions, that were much increafed by the cunning practice of his elder sonne, a slight occasion made the fire breake out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great folemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus: They eleft in twaine a bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailes, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to passe. This done, the Armes of all the Kings of Macedon, from the very first originall, were borne before the Armie. Then fol- 20 lowed the King between his two fonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Armie was divided into two parts: which, under the Kings two fonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vfing poles, and the like, in Read of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skir milh there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victorie: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-earnestly secke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater triall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, vntill Perseus his side at length recovled. Perfeus himselfe was fore for this, as it had been some bad pre- 30 fage: but his friends were glad, and though, that hereof might be made good vse. They were of the craftier fort: who perceiuing which way the Kings fauour bent, and how all the courses of Demetrius led vnto his owne ruine, addressed their seruices to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they faid, that this victory of Demetrius would affoord matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemne passime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his owne companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of Perseus his Intelligencers behaued himselfe so indiscreetly, that hee was taken and well beaten by three or foure of Demetrius his men, who turned him out of dores. After some store 40 of wine. Demetrius told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leave none of his traine behinde, but forced them also to beare him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there such good espiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to Perfeus: who thereupon tumultuously locked vp his doores, as if he stood in feare to be affaulted in his house. Demetrius wondred to see himselfe excluded, and faered very angerly with his brother. But Perfeus, bidding him be gone as an enemie, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertaine- 50 ment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the yonger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the fame that hath been here recited, faue that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and

which did aggrauate all the rest, was, That Demetrius had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to vndertake a greater, vpon confidence of the Romans: by whom hee knew that he should be defended and borne out. For Perfeus made shew, as if the Romans did hate him; because hee bore a due respect vnto his father, and was forie to fee him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him; as alfothat they fought how to winne vnto Demetries the love of the Macedonians. For proofe hereof he cited a letter, fent of late from T. Quintius to the King himfelfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending Demetrius 10 to Rome; and that he should yet further doc well to fend him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honorable traine of Macedonian Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsell was given by Titus, of purpose to shake the allegeance of those, that should wait upon his brother to Rome; and make them, forgetting their ducties to their old King, become feruants to this yong Traytor Demetrius. Hereto Demetrius made answere, by rehearfing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as hee remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending Perfess, that connected matters of Passime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the loue which the Romans did beare him; Hee faid that it 20 grew, if not from his owne vertue, at least wife from their opinion thereof: fo as by any impious practice, Hee were more like to lose it wholly, than to encrease it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not fuch passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The King pronounced like a father, though a icalous father, That he would conclude nothing vpon the excesse or error, whatfocuer it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter. but vpon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themsclues both in word and deed. And herein hee may seeme to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward, hee gave himselfe over wholly 30 to Per/eus: vling so little conference with his yonger sonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, He liked neither to haue him present, nor neere vnto him. Aboue all, he had especiall care, to learne out what had passed betweene Demetrius and T. Quintius, or any other of the Roman great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadours to Rome, Philocles and Apelles; men whom hee thought no way interessed in the quarrels betweene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they faw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by Titus (whose scale they had counterfetted) vnto the King. The contents wherof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince; with an intimation, as by way of 4c granting it. That his youthfull and ambitious defires had caused him to enter into practices vniuttifiable, against his elder brother; which yet should never take effect. for that Titus himselfe would not be author, or abettor, of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King, to thinke his sonne a dangerous traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one Didas, to whom he gaue Demetrius in custodie, made shew as if he had pittied the estate of the vnhappy Prince; and so wrung out of him his fecret intentions, which he shortly discovered vnto Philip. It was the purpose of Demetrius to flye secretly to Rome; where he might hope not onely to liue in fafety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than hee could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reversion vnto the 50 Crowne of Macedon. What soener his hopes and meanings were, al came to nought through the falfhood of Didas; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, and in the meane while reuealed the whole matter to the King. So Philip resolued to put his sonne to death, without surther ex-

pence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away privily, for feare lest

the Romans should take the matter to heart, and held it as proofe sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. Didas therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappy Prince out of his life. This accurfed Minister of his Kings vnaduised sentence, first gaue poyson to Demetrius: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secrety, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Russians, to finish the tragedic: who villanously accomplished their worke by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of Macedon.

In all the race of Antisonus there had not beene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne bloud. The houses of Lysimachus and 10 Cassander fell either with themselves, or even vpontheir heeles; by intestine discord and icalousies, grounded on desire of sourraigne rule, or scare of losing it. By the like vnnaturall hatred, had almost beene cut off the lines of Ptolemic and of Seleneus: which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grieuously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinarie note, how that voftart family of the Kings of Pergamus had raifed it felfe to maruellous greatnesse, in very short space, from the condition of meere slavery: whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pietie. Neither was Philip ignorant of these examples: but is faid to have propounded the last of them, to his owne children, as a patterne 20 for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to doe: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King Antigonus his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minoritie. But Hee was himselfe of an vnmercifull nature; and therefore vnmeet to bee a good perswader vnto kindely affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the fatiating of his bloud-thirsty appetite he delightfully had committed upon mamy innocents, both strangers, and subjects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded Him with a draught of his owne Poylon. After the death of his some, He too late began to examine the crimes that had bin 20 objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him fatisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not beene contriner of the whole processe. His only remaining Son Perfew could so ill dissemble the pleasure which here tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might cafily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The Romans were now no leffe to be feared than at other times, when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, lest off his viuall trouble of minde, and carefulnesse of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well understood the difference, be- 40 tweene arising and a setting Sunne. As for old Philip, hee was left in a manner defolate, fome expecting his death; and fome scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imaginations; the like whereof hee had never beene flow to apprehend. Hee was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew, neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Coulin of his, named Antigonus, continued so true to Philip, that hee grew thereby hatefull to Perfeus: and thus becomming subject vnto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This counsailour, when he found that the anger conceined against Perfeus would not vent it selfe, and give 50 case to the King, vitill the truth were knowne whether Demetrius were guilty or no of the treason obiected; as also that Philodes and Apelles, (the Embassadours which had brought from Rome that Epistle of Flaminius, that served as the greatest euidence against Demetrius) were suspected of forgery in the busines: made diligent

inquirie after the truth. In thus doing hee found one Xychus, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was vsed by those Embassadors. Him hee apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented vnto the King: saying that this tellow knew all, and must therefore bee made to veter what hee knew. Xyehus for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himfelfe, that hee had beene employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of businesse. No maruell, if the Fathers passions were extreme, when hee vinderstood, that by the vinaturall practice of one fon, he had so wretchedly call away another, farre more vertuous, and innocent. Hee raged exceedingly against himselfe, and 10 with a against the authors of the mischiefe. V pon the first newes of this discourrie. Apelles fled away, and got into Italie, Philocles was taken; and either for a fmuch as hee could not deny it when Xychus confronted him, yeelded himselfe guilty, or elfe was put to torture. Perfess was now growne stronger, than that hee should neede to flie the Countrie: yet not so stout as to aduenture himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdome, towards Thrace, whilest his father wintered at Demetrias. Philip therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngracious sonne; tooke a resolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him. and confer it vpon Antigonius. But his weake body, and excessive griefe of minde. fo disabled him in the trauell hereto belonging; that ere hee could bring his pur-20 pose to effect, hee was constrained to yeeld to nature: Hee had raigned about two and forty yeeres: alwayes full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexed himselfe. with continuall warres; of which that with the Romans was most vnhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wife Prince would have desired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befell him, he might thanke his owne peruerfe condition: fince his vncle, King Antigonus, had left vnto him estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate delires, if hee had not abhorred all good counsell. Wherefore he was justly punished: by feeling the difference betweene the imaginarie happinesse of a Tyrant, which he affected; and the life of a King, whereof he 30 little cared to performe the dutie. His death, even whilest yet it was only drawing necre, was forefignified vnto Perfeus, by Calligenes the Phylician; who also concealed it awhile from those that were about the Court. So Perseus came thither on the fuddaine, and tooke possession of the kingdome: which in fine he no leffe improvidently loft, than he had wickedly gotten.

### ð. IIII.

How the Bastarna fell upon Dardania. The behaviour of Perseys in the beginning of his Reigne. Some warres of the Romans: and how they suffered Masanissa, cruelly to oppresse the Carthaginians. They quarress with Perseys. They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leave obtained. The Treason of Callic Rates; whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to Perseys. Hee seeks friendship of the Acheans, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of warring upon him.



Mmediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Baflarne* into *Thrace:* where order had been taken, long before, both for their free paffage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrie. This compact was friendly observed, as long as none other was knownethan that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that should be done, or suffained, for his fer-

uice. But when it was heard, that a new King raigned in Macedon; and not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all dasht

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and confounded. The Thrasians would no longer afford fo good markets vnto the se strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the Bastarna would not be contented with reason, but became their owne carners. Thus each part having lost the rich hopes reposed in Philip, grew carefull of thriuing in the present, with little regard of right or wrong. Within awhile they fell to blowes; and the Baffarne had the upper hand, so as they chased the Thracians out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little vie of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some ouerthrow, received by them in affaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, saue thirtie thousand, which pierced on 10 into Dardania. How these thirtie thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It seemes that by the carelesse vsing of some victories, they drew losse vpon themselues: and finally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions back into their

owne Countrey.

As for Perseus he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his Reigne, to embroylehimselsein a warre so dangerous, as that with the Romans was likely to proue. Wherefore hee wholly gaue his minde to the fettling of his Estate: which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, either for warre or peace. To preuent all danger of rebellion: he quickly tooke away the life of Antigonus. To winne loue of his people; he 20 fate personally to heare their causes in judgement (though herein hee was so ouerdiligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of inflice to be no better than fained) as also he gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Aboue all, he had care to avoide all necessitie of war with Rome: and therefore made it his first worke, to fend Embassadors thither, to renue the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neither was he negligent in feeking to purchase good will of the Greekes, and other his neighbours : but was rather herein so excessinely bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder, how in few yeeres, to his vtter ruine, he became fogriping and tenacious. His teare was indeed the mastring passion, which ouer- 20 ruled him, and changed him into so many shapes, as made it hard to discernewhich of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For proofe of this, there is requifite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The Romans continued, as they had long, busic in warres against the Spaniards and Ligurians; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered Istria; subdued the rebelling Sardinians; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the Illyrians and others. Ouer the Carthaginians they bore (as ever fince the victory) a heavy hand : and suffered Masanifia to take from them what he listed. The Carthaginians, like obedient vassals to Rome, wereafraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they 40 were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leaue of the Romans. Mafanissa therefore had great aduantage over them: and was not ignorant how to vicit. He could get possession by force, of whatsoever he desired, ere their complaining Embassadours could be at Rome: and then were the Romans not hardly entreated.

to leave things as they found them.

So had Hee once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrie of Emporia: and so did hee vie them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where hee had any; otherwise, without it. Galathe Father of Masanisa had wonne some land from the Carthaginians; which afterward Syphax wanne from Gala, and within awhile, restored to the right owners, for loue of his Wife Sophonisba, 50 and of Asdrubal his Father-in-law. This did Masanissa take from them by force: and by the Romans, to whose judgement the case was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The Carthaginians had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to vse all maner of submissiue obedience to Rome.

They had scarcely digested his injury, when Masanissa came upon them againe, and tooke from them aboue seventic townes and Castles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embassadors they made lamentable complaint vnto the Roman Senate. They shewed how gricuously they were oppressed by reason of two articles in their League: That they should not make warre, out of their own lands; nor with any Confederates of the Romans. Now although it were so, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of Masanissa, inuading their Country, howfocuer he was pleased to call it his: yet since he was confederate with the Romans, they durst not presume to beare desensive armes against him, but suffered them-10 felues to be caten vp, for feare of incurring the Romans indignation. Wherfore they entreated, that either they might have fairer justice; or be suffered to defend their owne by firong hand; or at leaft, if right must wholly give place to favor, That the Romans yet would be pleased to determine, how farre forth Majanista should bee allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then defired they, that the Romans would let them understand, wherein they had offended fince the time that Scipio gave them peace; and vouchfale to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves in honour should thinke meete: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Judges; than continually to line in seare, and none otherwise draw 20 breath than at the mercie of this Numidian Hangman. And herewithall the Embaffadours threw themselues prostrate on the ground, weeping in hope to moue compassion. Here may wee behold, the fruits of their enuy to that valiant house of the Barchines; of their irrefolution, in profecuting a war fo important, as Hannibal made for them in Italy; and of their halfe penny worthing, in matter of expence. when they had aduentured their whole estate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they feruants, even to the feruants of those men, whose fathers they have often chased, slaine, taken, and sold as bondslaves in the streets of Carthage, and in all Cities of Africke and Greece. Now have they enough of that Roman peace, which Hanno fo often and so earnestly defired. Onely they want peace with Ma-30 Janissa, once their mercinarie, and now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruell hands, they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the Romans, whom they see flourishing in such prosperitie as might have beene their owne. But the Romans had farre better entreated Varro, who lost the battell at Canna; then Hannibal that wanne it was vsed by the Carthaginians: they had freely bestowed, euery man of them, all his private riches, vpon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without crauing recompence: as alfothey had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to fet out an armie into Spaine, at what time the enemie lay under their owne wals. These were no Carthaginian vertues: and there-40 fore the Carthaginians having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pittifull behaviour bred peraduenture some commiseration; yet their teares may seeme to have beene mistrusted, as proceeding no leffe from envie to the Romans, than from any feeling of their own calamitie. They thought themselves able to fight with Masanissa: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparifons with Rome. Wherefore they obtained no fuch leave as they fought, of defending their owneright by armes: but contrariwife, when without leave obtained they prefumed fo far, the destruction of Carthage was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answere; though they had o-50 therwise little amends. Gulussathe sonne of Masanissa was then in Rome; and had not as yet craued audience. He was therefore called before the Senate; where hee was demanded the reason of his comming; and had related vnto him the complaint made the Carth iginians against his Father. Hee answered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embassadours thither sent from Carthage,

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CHAP.6. S.4.

had therefore not given him instructions, how to deale in that businesse. Onely it was knowne, that the Carthaginians had held counsell divers nights, in the Temple of Asculapius: whereupon he himselfe was dispatched away to Rome, there to entreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the Romans and of his Father might not be our much trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated

most maliciously, for his constant taith to the People of Rome. This answere gaue little fatisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for Masanissa his sake, they had done, and would doe, what focuer was reasonable; but that it stood not with their inflice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the Carthaginians those lands, which by the conenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely 10 to enioy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed Gulussa; bestowing on him friendly prefents (as also they did on the Carthaginians) and willing him to tell his father. that he should doe well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the Macedonian warre was euen ready to begin: at which time the Romans were not willing, too much to offend, either the Carthaginians, (for feare of viging them vinleasonably to rebellion) or Masanissa, at whose hands

they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the Carthaginians, and Masanissa: by the Carthaginians, partly for searc, partly for hope of better vsage in the future; by Ma/aniffa, in way of thankfulneffe; though if it had happened (which was vnlikely) that they should be vanquished; hee made none other ac- 20 count, than that all Africke round about him and Carthage therewithall should bee

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In the midst of all these cares, the Romans had not beene vnmindfull of Perseus. They visited him daily with Embassadours; that is, with honourable spies to obferuc his behausour. These Hee entertaind kindly at first, vntill (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in Dardania: neither would they take any satisfaction, vntill the Bastarna were thence gone; though he protested, that hee had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no leffe ill contented with good offices, by him done to fundry of his neighbours, than with those 30 wrongs, which they faid (that he did vnto other some. Where he did harme to any; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where hee did good; they called fuch his bounty, feeking friends to take his part against them. The Dolopians, his subjects, vpon what occasion it is vncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments flue Euphranor, whom he had appointed their governour. It seemes that Euphranor had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the Macedonian: and therefore vnlikely to have presumed so farre, vnlesse either they had beene extremely prouoked; or elfe were secretly animated by the Romans. What socuer it was that bred this courage in them: Per/eus did soone allay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the Romans tooke very angerly this pre- 40 sumption of the King: euen as if hee had inuaded some Countrie of their Italian confederates, and not corrected his owne Rebels at home. Faine they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the Carthaginians; wherto had he humbled once his necke, they could themselves have done the part of Majanissa; though Eumenes, or some other fit for that purpose, had beene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league betweene them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine have reduced the Greekes, and generally all their adherents, euen such as had entred into league with them vpon equall 50 termes: whom vsually they rewarded with a frowne, when socuer they presumed to right themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at Rome. Hereof the Acheans had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers, and whose hope of extraor-

dinarie fauour at Rome caused them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have challifed the Messensans by warre; T. Quintius rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, euen with Lordly threats, when they tooke voon them to carry any butinesse of importance, by their owne power, without standing vnto the good grace of the Romans. Who neuerthelesse, vpon submission, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were to not like to thrine; especially in viurping the practice of armes, which belonged only to the Imperiall Citic. In learning this hard lesson, they were such vntoward Polyb.legon. 51; schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharp correction. Yet was 633. there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Malters. For the Roman Senate, being defirous to humble the Acheans; refused not onely to give them such aide as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweeve them; but further, with a carelesse insolencie, rejected this honest and reafonable petition, That the Enemie might not be supplied from Italie, with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of Greece, pronounced openly, That if the Argines, Lacedamonians, or Co-20 rinthians, would revolt from the Acheans; they themselves would thinke it a bustnesse no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of Philopamen: at what time it was believed, that the Common-wealth of Achaia was like to fall into much distresse; were it not spheld by countenance of the Romans. All this notwithstanding; when Lycortas Prætor of the Acheans had veterly subdued the Messemans far sooner than was expected; and when as not onely no Towne rebelled from the Acheans, but many entred into their corporation : then did the Romans with an ill-fauored grace, tell the same Embassadours, to whose petition they had made fuch bad answere (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie) That they had streightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to Messene. Thus 30 thinking, by a fained grauitic, to have served their owne turnes; they manifested their condition; both to fet on the weaker, against the stronger and more sufpected; and also to assume vnto themselves a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of warre, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like

complishment of their owne secret malice. Now these Roman arts how soeuer many (forgainfull or timerous respects) would seeme to vinderstand them; yet were 40 generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Onely the Athenians, once the most turbulent Citie in Greece, having neither subjects of their own that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practife their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the Romans, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of Muthridates : being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the Roman victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquished Such were the Athenians become. As for those other Common-weales and Kingdomes, that 50 with ouer-nice diligence strone to preserue their liberties and lands, from consu-

manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make

warre, whether offensiue or defensiue; though it were against meere strangers;

without interpoling the authoritie of the Senate and People of Rome: vnleffe per-

adventure sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towards the ac-

ming by piece-meale: they were to be denoured whole, and swallowed vp at once. Especially the Macedonian, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the Greekes began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it

were better to bow than to breake.

Neither

Снар.6. \$.4.

Neither Perseus nor the Romans were ignorant, how the Greekes at this time flood affected. Perfew, by realon of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his subjects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which Philopamen had long fince foretold; of the miserable lubiection, Whereinto Greece was likely to be reduced, by the Roman patronage. Indeed they not onely perceived the approching danger: but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, selt themselves grieved with the present subjection, wherto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the Romans: yet all of them had to the care, to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Countrie, and would for no ambition, or other seruile respect. bee flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domesticall conspiracies would soone bee at an end; when honestic and love of the Commonweale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this carefull provifion for the fafety of Greece, the Romans were not throughly aduertifed: eyther because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadours, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traytors (of whom every Citic in Greece had too many) as were men vnregarded among their owne people, and therefore 20 more like to speake maliciously than truely; or perhaps because the Embassadours themselues, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne defires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The Acheans being to fend Embaffadours to Rome, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesses chose one Callicrates, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of such a man; one may perceive the advantage, which mischieuous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the 30 plaine fort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselues into the troublesome businesse of the weale publike. For this Callicrates was in such wise transported with ambition; that hee chose much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore inflead of well discharging his credence, and alleadging what was meetest in instification of his people: he vttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the Romans, to oppresse both the Acheans, and all the rest of Greece, with a farre more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the fettling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken vp a custome, to stand vpon points of 40 confederacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee had in regard; any iniunction from Rome notwithstanding. Hence grew it, that the Achaens both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the Romans with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by sorce of some Law, they were discharged, or hindred, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be fo, if He, and some other of his opinion, might have their wils: who ceased not to affirme, That no Columes or Monuments creeted, nor no solemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratissie the observance of Confederacie or statute, ought to be of force, when the Romans willed the contrarie. But it was even the fault of the Romans themselves, That the multitude refused to give 50 eare vnto such perswasions. For howsocuer in popular Estates, the sound of libertie vsed to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which undertooke the maintenance of an argument, feeming neuer fo bad, were fure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would in-

increase apace, and they became the prevalent saction. It was therfore strange, how the Fathers could so neglect the advancement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the Roman maiefty. More wifely, though with feditious and rebellious purpose, did the Greekes: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, vpon men otherwise of little account or delert; onely for having vttered some braue words against the Romans. The Fathers, hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were ob-Itinate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their partie strong; resolued to sollow this good counsaile, in enery point; yearo depresse all those that held with 10 the right, and to set up their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to Polyb, Legat, 58, this end, they not onely dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the Acheans, than had bin their maner in former times, but wrote at the present vnto all Cities of Greece; requiring them to fee that their mandate (which was concerning the refti-

tution of those that were banished out of Lacedamon) should bee sulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of Callierates; they aduised all men, to be such, and so affected, as hee was, in their seueral common-weales. With this dispatch, Callier ates returned home a joyfull man: hauing brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himfelfeinto the way of preferment. Neuerthelesse he forbore to vant himselfe, of his eloquence vsed in the Senate. Onely he so reported his Embassage, that all men became searc-20 full of the danger, wherewith hee threatned those that should presume to oppose the Romans. By such arts hee obtained to be made Pretor of the Acheans: in which Magistracie, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serue to

manifest his ready obsequiousnes unto those whom he had made his Patrons. Now as the Romans by threatning termes wan many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so Perfeus on the other side, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promiles, to assure vnto himselfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of Greece distracted with tactions: some holding with the Romans; some with the Macedonian; and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates, where-30 in they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought itan indignitie not sufferable, That a King, no better than their vassall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: wherofif not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall affoord them iust occasion to make war vpon him. Perfew having finished his businesse among the Dolopians, made a journey to Apollo his temple at Delphi. He tooke his armic along with him; yet went, and returned, in such peaceable and friendly wife, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased therby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himselfe; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the 40 memory of al wrongs whatfocuer, done by his father, might be buried with his father; fince his own meaning was to hold friendship fincerely with all his neighbors. The Romans perhaps could have beene pleased better, if he had behaved himselse after a contrary falhion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken such a journey, without their licence, this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the loue of the Acheans: which his father had so lost, that by a solemne decree, they forbade any Macedonian to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For how soeuer

Philip had by many vileacts, especially by the death of the two Arati, given them 50 cause to abhor him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficiall, that not wishout much adoe and at length, without any generall consent, they resolved to for sake him. Wherfore it was needfull, euen for preservation of concord among them, to vie al circumspection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country, to-

wards him to doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of warre, and when all danger of innovation was past; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving meanes of reconciliation. And hereof the Achaans reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like fort, forbidden the Kingdome of Macedon: yet vnderstanding what would be due to them, if they should aduenture thither, none of them durst set soot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ran daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the losse of such, as made of their slaues very profi- 10 table vie. But Per/eus took hold vpon this occasion: as fitly scruing to pacific those, whose enmitie faine he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all these fugitives, to send them home againe: and wrote vnto the Acheans, That as for good will vnto them, he had taken paines to restore back their servants; so should they doe very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not runne away againe. His meaning was readily understood, and his letters kindely accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the Pretor, before the Councell. But Callier ates tooke the matter very angerly; and bade them be aduised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine device, to make them depart from the friendship of the Romans. Herewithall he tooke vpon him, 20 somewhat liberally, to make the Achaans before-hand acquainted with the warre, that was comming vpon Perseus from Rome. Hee told them, how Philip had made preparations for the same warre; how Demetrius had beene made away, because of his good affection to the Romans; and how Per/eus had, fince his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly He rehearled all those mattets, which were afterwards alleaged by the Romans; the invalion of the Ballarne. vpon the Dardanians; the Kings journey against the Dolopians; his voyage to Delphi; and finally, his peaceable behauiour, which was (he faid) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he adulfed them, to expect the euent of things. and not ouer-halfily to enter into any degree of friendship with the Macedonians. 30 Hereto good answere was made by the Pretors brother: That Callicrates was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings cabbinet, nor of the Roman Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that Perseus had renued his league with the Romans; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that He had louingly entertained their Embassadors. This being so: why might not the Acheans, as well as the Atolians, Thessalians, Epirots, and all the Greekes, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanitie required? Neuertheleffe Callicrates was growne a man fo terrible, by his Roman acquaintance, that they durst not ouer-stiffely gainesay him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto fur- 40 ther deliberation: and answere made the whilest, That since the King had onely sent a letter without any Embassadour; they knew not how to resolue. Better it wasto say thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when Perfew, herewith not contented, would needs vrge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, & deny to give audience: which was proofe sufficient (to one that could understand ) of the condition wherein they lived. For harkening to this aduice of Callicrates; they were soone after highly commended by a Roman Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the Romans intended warre vpon the Macedonian; though hitherto no cause of warre was given.

How EVMENES King of Pergamus was bufied with PHARNACES, the Rhodians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian; whom hee accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The vinisual stoutnesse of the Micedonian Embassadours. Pen-SEVS his attempt upon EVMENES. The brotherly lone betweene EVMENES and ATTALYS. PERSEYS his device to poylon fome of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things, concerning the instice of this warre.

CHAP. 6. \$.5.

V M ENES King of Pergamus had been troubled, about the settines, by the Kings Pharnaces and Mithridates his neighbours. He had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the Romans: by whom he was an impated with some formal. whom he was an imated with comfortable words, and promife, That they, by their authoritie, would end the businesses, to his content. But

in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings Prusias and Ariarathes, he ended the warre himselse; and brought the Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions 20 as pleased him to give them. After this being at good leifure; hee began to confider, how the affaires of Macedon stood under Perfeus. His hatred to Perfeus was very great: and therefore hee was glad to understand, that the hatred of the Romens, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now besides his ancient and hæreditarie quarrell with the Macedonian; it vexed him exceedingly, That his owne honours (whereof the Greeker, prodigal in that kinde, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wax every where stale: whilest Perfeus, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuie borne to the Romans, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignitie, Hee stirred vp the Lycians against the Rhodians his old friends: and in helping these rebels was so 30 violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found he, in these poore and indirect courses of revenge. The Lycians could not be saued by his patronage, from seuere and cruell chastisement, given to them by the Rhodians. This ren 'ed him contemptible: as likewife, his acts of hostilitie, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loued him before. As for his Folyb.Legat. 74. honours in the Cities of Greece; they not onely continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the Achaans, as too vnmcasured, misbeleeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his descruings. All this which he needed not to have regarded, had he not beene too vainely ambiti- Liuis lib. 42. ous) befellhim, especially for his being ouer-seruiceable to the Romans, and for his 40 malice to that noble Kingdome, which it it fell, the libertie of Greece was not like to fland. Now for the redresse hereof; hee thought it vaine to strine any longer with bounty, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the generall fauor. And therfore he resolued euen to ouerturne the foundations of this Popularitie, by inducing the Romans vtterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idol, The Macedonian Kingdome, which all fo vainely worthipped. Neither would it proue a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather hee was like to bee highly thanked, for fetting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the Kingdome, as he had beene rewarded, for the like service,

50 when Antiochus was vanquished. To this end, he made a second voyage to Rome: where though hee had little to fay which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death

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of Demetrius, the expedition of the Bastarna into Dardania; that of Perseus himselfe against the Dolopians, and to Delphis, the great estimation of the Macedonian in Greece; his intermeddling in bulinesse of neighbours; his riches; and his great prouisions: were all the material points of Eumenes his discourse. Only He descended vnto particulars, hauing fearched into all (as hee professed) like vnto a Spie. Hee faid, That Perfess had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse of his owner money in a readinesse to entertaine ten thousand mercinaries for ten yeeres; armes, to furnish a number thrice as great; The Thracians his friends at hand, readie, at a call, to bring him foldiours as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, because he would not be driven, either to live yeon to spoile, or to take from his owne subjects. Herewithall Hee prayed them to confider, that King Seleucus the sonne and successor of Antiochus the Great, had given his daughter Landice in marriage to Perfeus; Perfeus not wooing but Seleucus offering the match; That King Prusias of Bithynia, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the fifter of Perfeus; and that these mariages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared Hee to tell them, (though seeming loth to vtter it plainely) That even the envie of their Estate was the cause. why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with Philip, were now growne maruellously well affected to his sonne. All this, and some facts of Persens, which might either bee denied, or instified (as that hee had procured the death of some 20 which were friends to the Romans; and that hee had expelled Abrypolis the Illyrian, who inuaded Macedon, out of his Kingdome or Lordship) Eumenes failed not to amplifie vnto the most: saying that he thought it his dutie to forewarne them; fince it would bee to Himselfe a great shame, if Perseus got the start of him, and were in Italie making warre vpon the Romans, ere Eumenes could come thither to

tell them of the danger. It were too great folly, to beleeue that the Romans stood in feare of Perseus, lest hee should set upon them in italie. Neuerthelesse forasmuch as they loued not to make warre without faire pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their affociates, but of further hurt intended: great thankes were given to Eumenes, who had 30 euery way firmished them with such goodly colour, to beautific their intendment. Now though it were so, that He told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his comming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon any relation made by their owne Embassadours, or vpontales deuised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against Perseus, ere Hee had committed any open act of hostilitic against them; their injustice, and oppression, would have beene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatning them so terrible; that such a Prince as Eumenes, came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from Asia, to bid them looke to themselves: who could blame them, if they tooke the speediest order to obtaine their owne right and 40 securitie? Toward this justification of the warre, and magnifying the necessitie that enforced them thereto; their more then viuall curiofitie, in concealing what Eumenes had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderstand that his errand was well knowne; helped not a little. The Macedonian and Rhodian Embasfadors were at Rome, provided of answeres to the words, which they knew beforehand that he would speake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of Him, or of some about him, seemes to have disclosed all: when the warinesse of the Fathers, in hiding that which all menknew, made a notable shew of fome fearefull apprehension; against which, it behooved their wisedome to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore carelesse audience was given to the Rhodian -50 Embassadours; who accused Eumenes as one more troublesome to Asia, than Antiochus had euer been, and a prouoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The Rhodians had with great pompe, conneighed by Sea vnto Perfews, his bride Laodice; which friendly office as the Macedonian bountifully requited, so the Romans despightfully accepted.

cepted. Hence it grew, that when the Lycians, as alreadie vanquished, were fettling Polyb. Legat. themselves in their obedience to the people of Rhodes: Embassadours came from Rome with strange newes, which gaue new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it flood not with the manner of the Romans, to aliene quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquished; and that the Lycians were by them affigned vnto those of Rhodes, not as meere valials, but as dependants and affociates. For proofe hereof, they referred themselves vnto the commentaries of the ten Embassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in Asia, after the victoric against King Antiochus, Hereat Eumenes, Masanilla, The Etolians, 13 and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to Rome for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find themselves agricued if they well considered the matter: fince by force of this or the like decree, these their subjects might easily be made their fellowes, when soeuer it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the prefent meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the Rhodians, for their good will to Perfeus, by fetting them and the Lycians together by the cares. The Fathers could therfore see no reason to dislike Eumenes, vpon this complaint made by the Rhodian Embassadours; which indeed more neerely touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more; for that others (as they would needes take it) conspired against him, because of his love to

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But the Macedonian Embassage they heard not so carelessely as angrily: though peraduenture it well contented them to find cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King Per/eus defired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might sauour of hostilitie: but that, if his traugile in this kind proved vaine, then would be be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falles out contrarie to expectation. These big words may seeme to have proceeded from the vehemencie of Harpalus, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from 30 instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why Perseus himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to doe by any submission. For the eyes of all Greece being now cast vpon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the Roman scruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps veterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discouering his too much weakenesse of spirit, vnanswerable to a worke of such importance. Wherefore He, or his Embassadour for him, was bold to fet a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to Fortune; which might have been his, had he known how to vie it.

40 Now that this braueric (as better it may bee termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings owne heat; it appeares by his daring to aduenture soone after, on a practice that more justly might anger the Romans, and give them fairer shew of reason to make warre vpon him. It was knowne that Eumenes, in returning home, would take Delphi in his way, and there doe facrifice to Apollo. Per seus deadly hating him, and thirsting after his bloud, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a facrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischieuous enemie. So there were appointed three or foure flour ruffians to do the murder: who placing themfelues behind a broken mud wall, on the fide of a very narrow path leading vp from the Sea to the Temple; did thence affault the King; whom they forely bruited so with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their worke; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, see in such haste, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discouer them. Emmenes was conveighed away to the little Isle of A-

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gina, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the same of his death was current in Asia. Hence it came, that his brother Attalus tooke vpon him as king, and either took or would have taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of flate ) Stratonica the daughter of King Ariarathes, whom hee then thought the widdow of Eumenes. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue, That when the King returned aliue home, Attalus going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, received none other checke, than that Hee should forbeare to marrie with the Queene, untill Hee were well assured of the Kings death. More than this, Eumenes neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise At. 10 talus forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his brother: though the Romans (with whom he continued and grew in especial) fauour, when Eumenes fell into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to have transferred the Kingdome from his brother to Him. By such concord of brethren was the Kingdome of Pergamus rayled and veheld: as might also that of Macedon have beene, if Demetrius had lived and employed his grace with the Romans, to the benefit of

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It is likely that Perfeus was very glad when he understood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had faued all from discouerie. But as hee was deceiued in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that Eumenes lined: so was He 20 beguiled in that other hope, of the concealement; which hee vainly effected the lesse materiall. For He had written to one Praxoa Gentlewoman of Delphi, to entertaine the men whom he fent about this busines: and she, being apprehended by C. Valerius a Roman Embassador then attending upon the matters of Greece, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light . Velerius also brought with him to Rome, out of Greece one Rammius a Citizen of Brundusium: who comming newly from the court of Macedon, loaden with a dangerous fecret; bad prefently fought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himselfe. Brundusum was the ordinary Port, for ships paffing betweene Italie and Greece. There had Rammius a faire house; wherein he gaue entertainment, being a wealthie man, to Embassadours, and other honoura- 30 ble personages, both Romans and Macedonians, iournying to and fro. By occasion of fuch his hospitalitic, he was commended to Perseus, and inuited into Macedon with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadours, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or defired, made partaker of the Kings secrets. The fumme of all was. That he must needs doe a turne, in giving to such of the Romans as the King should hereafter name, a poylon of rare qualitie, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare lest the vertue of this medicine should bee tryed vpon himselfe. But being once at libertie; he discouered all. Rammius was but one man, 40 and one whom the King had neuer scene before, nor was like to see againe; and therefore, besides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as such a sellowes affirmation, the accusatio was improbable. Thus did Perseus, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in like fort concerning the attempt vpon Eumenes: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such obiections were not to bee made vnto a King, to proue the rightfulneffe of making war vpon him; but rather vnto a subject pleading for his life in judgment. But howfocuer the Romans neglected the getting of stronger proofe (which might have bin easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of Perfeus was very futeable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand 50 to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held in excusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for fuch private offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to bave offended in the nature of a King. Herein furely they wanted not good reason. For if hee might

might not lawfully make warre vpon Eumenes their confederate; that is, if Hee might not fend men to waste the Kingdom of Pergamu, or to beliege the Towns: might he fend Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no leffe breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword: was it lawfull for him to doe it by Poylon? Wherefore they prefently decreed warre against him; and sent Embassadours to denounce it vnto him, vnlesse hee would yeeld to make such amends as they should require. He seemes at this time to have been so confident in the generall fauour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances; that if he defired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at least he thought by 10 fhew of courage, to make his enemies the more calme. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them backe; and bade them do their errand. They made a tedious rehearfall of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith Eumenes had charged him; adding therto, that He had entertained long and secret conference in the Ile of Samothrace, with Embassadours sent to him out of Asia, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their maner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have flood vpon the evidence, brought against him by Rummius and Praxe. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground wheron to 20 build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to bee firong, welbeloued, and well friended. Perfeus answered, for the present in a rage: calling the Romans, Greedy, Proud, Infolent, & vnderminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better then meere spies. Finally, hee promised to give them in writing their ful answere: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the league, made betweene them and his father, and renewed by him-

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selfe indeed onely for feare: but wished them to descend to more equal conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would aduife, as they might also doe for theirs.

In the forme of the league betweene Philip and the Romans, as it is fet downe Polyb, Legal. 4. by Polybius, we finde no condition, binding the Macedonian to any inconvenience 30 in the future; excepting those which he immediatly performed. But Liuie inserts Liu.ib.330 a clause, whereby hee was expresly forbidden, to make any warre abroad, with-

out leave of the Romans. It is most likely, that all the Roman confederats were included in this peace: whereby enery one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entring shortly into league with Rome, did so binde the Kings hands, that hee could no more make warre abroad, than if hee had been restrained by plaine couenant. And thus might that feeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but onely was inferred by consequence. Now if the Romanes would vrge this point further, and fav, that the Macedonian might not beare defensive armes, without their permission: then had Perseus very just reason to finde himselfe agrieued.

40 For fince they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in Thrace, (whileft they themselues were vnacquainted with the Thracians) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargaine after another fashion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chastise his owne Rebels, or to repay an Illyrian that inuaded Macedon? By such allegations hee maintained the right of his cause, in very milde sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as vniust, hee ministred occasion vnto the Embassadours, to give him desiance. Having heard the worst of their message; hee commanded them to be gone out of his kingdome in three dayes. But either hee should have been lesse vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his

50 heart could ferue him to vndertake the warre; hee should couragiously haue managed it, and have fallen to worke immediatly, whilest the Enemie was vnprepared, not have lost opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a

worse peace than the former.

The Romans follicit the Greekes to joyne with them in the Warre against PERSEVS. How the Greekes stood affected in that Warre. The timorousnesse of Persevs. MAR. TIVS a Roman Embassadour deludes him with hope of Peace. His forces. Hee takes the field, and winnes part of Thessalie. The forces of LICINIVS the Roman Consul: and what a Siftants the Romanes had in this Warre. Of Tempe in Theffalie; and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his feare. PERSEVS braues the Romanes; fights with them; knowes not how to vie his victorie; Jues for 10 Peace; and is denied it by the vanquished. PERSEVS basing the worse in a skirmish, for fakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The Baotians rebell against the Romans. and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre against PERSEVS. They vexe the Greekes their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes provision having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

O long had the Romans beene feeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian warre, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde-hand in provisions. But it was on a fudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences 20

to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together feemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to beleeue, that their owne strength was such as would prevaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the Greekes, and others; who must afterwards dearely pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeede any cause to feare, that all of the Greekes or other Easterne people should conspire together, 30 and take part with the Macedonian: such was the diffension betweene their several estates; howsoener the generalitie of them were inclined the same way. Neuertheleffe Embaffadours were fent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe against Perfeus, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it against Philip and Antiochus, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadours vsed as gentle words for fashions sake, as if they had flood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greekes were now growne well acquainted with fuch Roman courtesie: and vnderstood, that not onely fuch as made refusall, but even they who might seeme to have granted balfe vnwillingly; were like to heare other manner of words, when once this businesse 40 was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their helpe to the Romans; \* the Achaens and Rhodians, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duetic. It is firange, that men could bee so earnest to set up the side, whereof they gladly would have feene the ruine. The vulgar fort was enery where addicted to Perfeus; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to Perfeus than to the Romans. And of this number, Polybius the chiefe of Historians was one : who so though Hee \* indged the victoric of Perseus, like to prooue hurtfull vnto Greece; yet wished hee the Romanes ill to thrine, that so the Greekes might recouer perfect libertie: for his endeuours in which course, hee was at length tyrannically handled, as shall bee shewed hereafter. This considered, it appeares,

\* Pelyb.Legat. 73.78.0 80.

\* Polyb. Legat.

ture to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few townes; and folliciting all to joyne with him. But wife men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, hee sought all meanes of pacification; and to that end, made humble fuit vnto the Roman Embaffadors. Q. Martius, the chiefe of those Embassadors, and a man of more finenesse in cunning than was viuall among the Romans, made flew of inclination to the Kings desire; and gaue out such comfortable words, that the King intreated, and obtained a meeting at the River Peneus. There did Martins very gently rebuke the King, and 20 charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though Perfew made none other answer; than the same which they could have made for him; ver the Embassadors, and especially Martin, tooke it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and aduised him to give the like fatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently bee done; a truce was agreed upon. Thus had Martin his desire; which was to make the King lofe time. For Perfeus had all things then in readines. and might have done much ere the Roman army could have been in Greece, But by the interpolition of this truce, he no way increased his forces, he suffred a most conuenient season, of winning vpon the enemie, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elfe, than leifure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleafed herewith, as it 30 had bin with some victory: publishing a copic of the disputation between him and the Ramans, whereby he gaue men to vinderstand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of Peace. He fent Embassadors also to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intrest them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators; to compound the differences betweene him and the Romans, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodnesse of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poore helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing vpon point of Honor, was no better than meere vanity: his owne fafety being the vimoft of his ambition. This his fearefulnes might seeme excusable, and the blame therof to ap-40 pertaine vnto the Greekes; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessity, that was partly their own had it not bin his office, who tooke vpon him as their Champion, to give fuch a manly beginning to the war, as might incourage al others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him; and were carefull, not to put their shoulders

to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many flout partizans, defired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might seeme to do against

the good liking of the Romans. The Baotians also, who had entred of late into a Strict focietie with the Macedonian; renounced it now, and made the like with the

Romans: to whom further in a fort, they yeelded the felues as vassals. Neither was

their feuerall townes to make covenant apart, each for it selfe; to the end, that being

thus distracted into many little common weales they might not (were they never

fo desirous to rebell) have such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were in-

corporated in one, under the Citic of Thebes. This work, of separating the Baotians

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50 Martius contented to accept their submission under a generall forme; but caused

CHAP.6. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

that an extraordinary feare, and not onely reverence of the Imperiall Cit e, made the Acheans and other Effaces of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The oc-

calion of this their feare, may be inftly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of

Perfeux himselfe. He had vindertaken a warre, whereof the benefit should redound.

not only to his own Kingdom, but vinto all that were oppressed by the Romans, Yet

no sooner were some few companies brought ouer sea, to make a countenance of

meaning fornewhat against him, than he began to speake the enemie faire, and sue

for peace at Rome. Since therefore it was knowne, that every small thing would

ferue to terrific him; and consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans

vpon those which had affifted him: little cause was there, why any should aduen-

10 power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leifure

Martins brought this to effect, whileft the King late fill, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Cities where vaunting what hee had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reprodued it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as hee should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadours which Perfeus had sent, audience 10 was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded : but neither excuse, nor intreatic, would serue their turne; the Senate being resolued before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citic, and had thirty dayes respite allowed them to depart out of Italy : whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walles, in the Temple of Bellona (the viuall place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to fuch Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had onely the short warning of cleuen dayes, to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poore courtefie serve alone to hide the craft of Martins, as if hee had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely mean, both to keepe a long while 20 from Perfeus the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when hee thould need it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For Licinius, the Roman Conful, was at Apollonia. in a maner as foone, as the Macedonian Embaffadors were with their King at Pella. Which, though it were enough to have rouzed Perfeus, and have made him lay afide all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was hee content to deliberate awhile, Whether it were not better to offer him felfe tributary to the Romans, and to redeeme their good will with some part of his Kingdome, that so he might enioy the reft; than to put all at once to hazzard. But finally, the floutest counsel preuailed; which also was the wifest, and so would have proved, had it been stoutly 30 and wifely followed. He now began, as if the warre had not begunne until now, to doe what should have bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendeuous at Citium, a towne in Macedon. All being in readines, he did royall facrifice, with an hundred beafts, to I know not what Minerna, that was peculiarly honored in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers. and those of his guard, set forward to Citium. His armie he found confisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and source thousand horse: whereof about twelve thoufand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers, of sundry Nations, most part Thracians; the rest his owne Macedonians. These hee animated with lively speeches: laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolencie of the Romans, the 40 goodnesse of his cause, the greatnesse of his provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemic, especially in numbers. They answered him cheercfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of Macedon there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their feuerall abilities. He gaue them thanks : but answered. That his owne provisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to surnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he iffued forth into Theffalie: knowing that the Romans were to paffe through that Countrey, in their journey towardshim. Some Townes of Theffalie opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend 50 themsclues; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wanne by force. Of these last was Myla; atown thought impregnable, and therefore, not more floutly then proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the affailants. It was taken by reason of a fally, which

the Townelmen rathly made, and being driven backe, received the Macedonians, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All crueltie of warre was practifed heere: to the greater terror of the obstinate. So Velatia and Connus (towns of much importance, especially Connus, which stood in the streights of Offs, leading into Tempe) yeelded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to Sycurium, a towne feated on the foot of mount Offa; where hee refled a while expecting newes of the Enemie.

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP. 5. S. 6.

Licinius the Conful brought with him only two Roman Legions: being promifed other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. Eumenes, and Atta-10 la his brother came to him in Theffalie, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from every part of Greece, such aide as the severall Eflates could afford, or thought expedient to fend: which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad; Majaniffa fent thither his fonne Mifagenes, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twentie Elephanes. Arrarathes the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinitie with Eumenes, was friend to the Romans, and had fent to Rome his yong fonne, there to bee brought up: yet hee did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because Eumenes himselfe began within awhile, but when it was too late, to be otherwise adulsed than he had beene in the beginning. Prusias was contentto be a looker on : as being allied to Perseus, and yet fea-20 ring the Romans. Antiochus and Ptolemie (though Ptolemie was then yong, and under Tutors) had busines of their owne; the Syrian meaning to invade the Egyptian: yet each of them promised helpe to the Romans, which they cared not to performe. Gentius the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian: yet made good countenance to the Romans, for feare. It was a prettie tricke, wherewith M. Lucreties, the Roman Admirals brother, ferued him, for this his counterfeit good will. This king had foure and fiftie shippes, riding in the hauen of Dyrrachium, vncertaine to what purpose : all which Lucretius tooke away, after a very kind fort; making fliew to believe. That for none other ende than to ferue the Remans, their good friend Gentius had fent thither this fleet. But what soener Gentius thought in 30 the beginning; hee fooliinly loft both his kingdome and himfelfe, in the ende of

this warre; by offering, rather then giving, his helpe to Perfeus. With none other company than what hee brought ouer the fea. Licinius came into The (falie: fo tyred with a painfull journey, through the mountainous country of Athamania, which stood in his way from Epirus; that if Perfeus had beene ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the Romans must needs have taken a great ouerthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied armic, by the nucr Feneus, where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was notany slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with Perfeus. Therefore he resolued, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers 40 were sufficiently increased : contenting himselfe in the meane while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The land of The falie, in which the fe two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans, than any part of Greece belides : as has uing beene freed by them from a more heavie yoke of bondage to the Macedonian, when there was little hope or expectation of fuch a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midft of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of Tempe, so exceedingly ful of all delights, that the name was often vied at large, to fignific the most pleafant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines, Offa and Olympus (famous in Poelie) with their Spurres or branto ches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of Thessalie.

And this way were the Romans to enter into Micedon; vnleffe they would make an hungric journey, thorow the countrey of the Daffaretians, as in the former warre with Philip, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doc. Perfens therefore had no small advantage, by being master of the streights leading into Tempe: though farre

greater he might have had, if by miffpending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he were able to put the Romans often to the worle; yea to winne vpon them ( for a while) euery yeere more than other, both in strength and reputation : questionlesse he might have done far greaterthings, had hee feized vpon the streights of Aous, which his father once kept, and defended all the countrie behinde the Mountaines of Produs. Surely not without extreme difficultie, must the Romans have either travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee found; or else have committed their armies, and all things thereto needefull, vnto the mercie of seas that were very dangerous; if they would have sought other way 10 into Macedon, than through the heart of Greece: vpon neither of which courses they once deuised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps be faid, that the Greekes, and others, whom the King must haue left on his backe, would have made him vnable to defend any places too farre from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the Thessalians, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The Atolians, voon whom the Athamanians depended, grew into suspition with the Romans (as we shall finde anon) even as soone as they met with Per (eus. The Bastians, how politikely focuer Martins had wrought with them, aduentured themselves desperately in the Macedonians quarrell: what would they have done, if hee at first had done his best? The Rhodians, Illyrians, yea and Eumenes himselfe, after awhile began to waner, when they saw things goe better with Perseus, then they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and encreased the number of his well-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as hee might haue done) some of his enemies, and among them Eumenes, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head then might the Romans perhaps have bin compelled to for sake their imperious patronage ouer Greece; and to render the libertie, by them giuen, entire; which otherwise was but imaginarie. Such benefit of this warre, fince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason haue beene expected at first, from greater aduantages. But as a searcfull companie running from their enemies, till some river stay their slight; are there compelled by meere desperation to doe such actes, as done, while the battell lasted, would have wonne the victorie: fo fell it out with Perfess. In feeking to avoid the danger of that war, whereof hee should have sought the honour; hee left his friends that would have flood by him, and gaue them cause to provide for their owne safetie: yet being ouertaken by necessitie, he chose rather to set his back to the mountaines of Tempe, and defend himselfe with his proper forces; than to bee driven into such miserie, as was ineuitable, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans, all the while that he kept his footing in Theffalse, it is hard to shew 40 particularly; for that the historie of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Conful bauing no desire to fight, untill such time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his trenches, and lay still encamped by the River of Peneus, about three miles from Laris. That which perswaded the Consulto protract the time; did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter unto a basty triall. Wherefore hee invited the Romans into the field; by washing the land of the Phereaus their consederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to adventure even unto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his advantage in horse would make the victorie his owne. At his comming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to bee safely lodged. They sentout a few of King Eumenes his horse, and with them some light armed soot, to entertaine skirmish. The Captaine, and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither Licinius, nor Eu-

mucs, found it reasonable to hazzard battell. Thusday after day, awhile together, Perfeus continued offring battaile : which they fill refused. Hereby his boldnesse much increased; and much more, his reputation: to the griefe of those, who being so farre come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these branadoes. The towne of Sycurium, where Perfeus then lay, was twelve miles from the Romanes: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which vscd to take vp foure houres of the morning; but he was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirstie when they came to fight. For remedie of these inconucniences, he found out a lodging, seuen miles neerer to the enemie: whom he visited the next day by the Sunnerifing. His comming at fuch an vnufuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though hee brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vnfit to affaile the trenches, yet the Consull thought it necessary, and resolued to give checke to his pride. Wherefore he sent foorth his brother C. Licinius, King Eumenes, Attalus, and many braue Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature to trie their fortune: he himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honor of this morning, was the Macedonian Kings; for he obtained the victorie in a manner entire, (though the Theffalians made a good retrait) with little loffe 20 of his owne. But he discouered his weaknesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counfaile given by one of his owne temper. For whereas the Romans were in great teare left he should assault their Campe; and to that purpose, vpon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vnsent for: he neuerthelesse tooke it for sound aduice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victoric; by which meanes it was faid, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwife many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it been greater, and had he wonne the Roman Campe, his friends would haue been the more, and the bol-30 der. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in fuing for it, euen when he had the victory, what elfe did he, than proclaim vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keepe him from yeelding to the Romans, when socuer they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of these considerations. Hee had flaine of the Roman horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their toot he had flame about two thousand: losing of his owne no more than twenty horse and fortie foot. The Roman Campe, after this disaster, was full of heavinesse and seare: it being much doubted that the enemie would set vpon it. Eumenes gaue counsaile to dislodge by night, and remoone to a surer place beyond 40 the River Peneus. The Consul, though ashamed to professe, by so doing, in what feare he flood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the loffe past, than by standing on proud tearmes, to drawe vpon himfelfe a greater calamitie. So he paffed the River in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The Atolians were forely blamed for this losse: auf rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the Greekes followed them. Fine of them, that were men of especiall marke, had been observed to be the first which turned their backes: an observation likely to cost them dearc, at a time of better leifure. As for the Theffel ans, their vertue was honoured with reward: fo as the Greekes might learne, by examples of either kinde, 50 that if they should shunne indignation, or incurre savour, then must they aduenture no lesse for their Lords the Romans, than gladly they would doe for their owne libertie. Thus fared it with the Conful and his armie. Perfeus came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which how great it was, hee not untill then found. The Romans were gotten into a place of fafety; whither they could never haue attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to have rowted them. whilest they were conveying themselves to the other side of Peneus. But it was vaine to tell what might have been done, fince there was no remedie. The Romans were beaten, euen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of Rame; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Pretors. Confuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather vp the spoyles of them without resistance, as yeelding themselves overcome. With fuch braue words did the King fet out the glory of his action; dividing the spoiles 10 among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honor found. He came necrer to the Romans, and encamped at Mopfelius, a place in the mid-way betweene Tempe and Larissa: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Neuerthelesse hee was easily perswaded to vie the occasion, which he seemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent vnto the Conful, and offered to yeeld vnto the same Conditions, wherein his father had beene bound to the Romans; if the war might so take end. It were needlesse here againe to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Conful no greater power than to granta truce, whileft Embaffadours might goe to Rome: it resting in the Senate and People to approve the 20 conditions, and ratific the league. And of fuch a truce granted by Martius, he had lately found no smal discommodity redounding. But Licinius dealt plainly, and returned answere, That other hope of peace there was none; saue that Perseus would yeeld both his Kingdome and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of Licinius, to be so resolute in adversitie. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in Perseus, that having received an answere so peremptory, hee still persisted, making vaine offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much defired, could not be purchased with money, the King withdrew himselfe backe to Sycurium. There he lay hearkening what the Enemie did; whose forces were well repaired by the comming of Misagenes the sonne of 30 Masanissa, with the aid before mentioned. This distance betweene the King and them, caused the Romans to waxe the more bold in making their haruest: about which businesse they ranged over all the fields. Their carelesse demeanour gaue him hope to doc some notable exploit: which hee attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon those that were abroad. The Campe he thought to have fired on the sudden: but the alarme being taken in good season, hee failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers, he had a good hand vpon them, if he could have withdrawne it, and given over in time. But whileft he strong to force a guard, he was vifited by the Conful; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battell, he was ouercome. This misaduenture, whether great 40 or small, caused Persew, after a few daies , to fall backe into Macedon; as being naturally given to feare danger, even where none was; whereby what loffe he felt, will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, faue onely Tempe, weakly guarded: and confequently an easie prey to the Romans.

After the Kings departure, Licinius went straight vnto Connus; hoping to have taken it, and so to have gotten entrance into Tempe. But finding the work too bard, he returned backe upon the Perrhabians and others; from whom he wanne some townes, and among the rest, Larissa. There were fundry townes thereabout, bearing the same name of Larissa: so that this which the Consultooke, may seeme not to have belonged vnto the Thessalians; vnlesse, perhaps, after his victory, Per- 50 leus did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got some part of Thessalie.

Of matters happening in Greece at this time, it is hard to give a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may thinke it strange, that the Bastians, whom a Roman Embassador could terrific, and bring altogether to his

owne will, should not be afraid of a Roman armie, then on foot in Greece, and a Nauic on their coalt. But more strange it is, that the Thebans, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of Martius; were more true to Rome, than other pettie townes, which by that fame diffraction of the Baotians, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had beene. The causes hereof were to have beene lought among the changes happening in their variable factions: wherof the knowledge is now lott. Some of the m rebelled, and were throughly punished by Lucretius the Roman Admirall: who got fo much by spoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebell in like fort, if by extreme oppression hee 10 could have driven them fo farre. Neither was Licinius the Conful vidiligent in the fame kinde. What his doings were after fuch time as he was at leifure from Perfem, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is faid in generall; That in the warre which he made he \* cruelly and couetoufly demeaned himfelfe.

After the same falhion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; Hostilius the Consul, and Hortensius the Admirall, or Prætor of the Fleet. Hostilius the wed more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederats of Rome, than in profecuting the warre against the Macedonian. For concerning the Roman warre vpon his kingdome, after that the Conful had fought passage in vaine ouer certaine mountaines, Perfeus seemed, in a manner, \* free from it. He was troubled indeed \* polyb, Legat, 20 on that side which looked towards Illyria, by Ap. Claudius, whom the Consul sent 70. thither with an armie of foure thousand, and who, by leavies made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his armie. But Claudius thinking to have taken V/cana, a border towne of Illyria, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made thew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger: falled foorth voon him, overthrew him, and chased him fo farre, that hardly hee escaped with a fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of Vscana shortly after became Roman: which howsoeuer it happened, Perseus very soone recoursed it and many other places therewithall: Cotys, a Thracian king, securing him on the one fide of Macedon; and Cephalus an Epirote, revolted from the Romans, on 20 the other. Perfeus likewise made a painefull journey into Ætolia: where hee was promised to be admitted into Stratus, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the Roman faction; yet in his returne home, hee tooke in Aperantia; and shortly heard good newes, That Ap. Claudius was againe throughly beaten by Cleuas, one of his Lieutenants. Such successe had the Macedonian war under Hostilius. The same Consul offended much the Greekes, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadours made into mens affection towards Rome. For these Embassadors trauelling thorowall the Cities of Peloponnesus, gaue out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who fought not by might and maine to advance their bulines, than of those which 40 were of the Macedonian faction. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in Polyb.Legat.74. the Parliament of Achaia, Lycortas that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of Philopamen; and together with him, his sonne Polybius, who soone after was Generall of the Achean horse, but more notable by that excellent historic which he wrote, than by his great employments, which hee well and honourably discharged. The summe of the accusation should have beene; That these were not heartie friends vnto the Romans, but such as abstained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But fince no colour of truth could bee found, that might give countenance to such a tale; it

so were well. In like manner dealt they among the Atolians: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councell that approoned the motion: as also among the Acarnanians, there were that entreated to have Roman garrisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect.

was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all

They of the Roman faction; accused not only such as were inclinable to the Mace-

donian, but also the good Patriotes; making it no lesse than a matter of treason, to be a Gressan in Greece. On the contrary fide, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thankes of their base flatterie; rating them openly in such fort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, euen in presence of the Embassadours. Thus was all full of acculations and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselues, as men that could beleeue none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into Greece, and published, to this effect: That it should bee free for all men, to refuse obedience to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, vnlesseit were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meete. 10 Of this decree the whole countrie was glad: for it was, or feemed, a good remedie of many inconveniences. But they that standing on priviledge hereof, refused to fulfill every commandement, were numbered among the Patriotes; which in the end of this warre, prooued little better, if not worle, than to haue been Traytours. The Senate was driven to set downe this order; by reason of the many and vehement complaints brought to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Roman Magistrates, and especially by the Admiralls, Lucretius and Hortensius. Lucretius was condemned in a great summe of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they loued not to have their subjects oppressed. Hortensius being still in office, had warning to 20

Among the great number of Embassages that came to Rome about this time, either to seeke redresse of iniuries, or to offer their services: it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a towne of the leffer Asia, there was presented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flatterie. These Alabanders brought three hundred horsemenstargets; and a crowne of gold, to bestow vpon lupiter in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratifie the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would bee singular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they built a Temple, vnto the Towne Rome, and appointed anniuer farie games to bee celebrated among them, in honour of that 20 Goddesse. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of Alexander, Antigonus, Ptolemie, and the like vaine men, that would bee thought gods; or at the shamelesse flatterie of such as bestowed vpon men, and not the most vertuous of men, divine honours; when hee sees a Towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a Goddesse, and receiving (without scorne of the giuers, or shame of the present) the title of Deitie, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as Alabanda?

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ò. VII.

Q. MARTIVS the Roman Conful, with extreame difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of Persevs in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dium quitted by MARTIVS; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill successe. Their affaires in bardestate. MARTIVS a cunning and a badman. POLYBIVS Cent Embassador to MARTIVS from the Achans. POLY-BIVS his honest wisdome beneficiall to the Achaans. King EVMENES growes averse from the Romans. PERSEVS negotiates with ANTIOCHYS and EVMENES. His false dealing with GENTIVS King of Illyria; whom hee drawes into the Roman warre, He fends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainely take upon them to be arbitrators betweene him and the Romans. PERSEV slofeth a mightie fuccour of the Bastarna, by his wretched parsimonie.



Fier two yeares of the Macedonian warre, things were further out of tune in Greee, than when the warre began, which had been thought likely to reforme all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the Remarked Street, and it is the Remarked Street, and it is the Remarked Street, and it is the street. the Romans desired; as it did in the end. Perseus had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had

20 enlarged his borders on the Illyrian lide; his friends, in all parts of Greece, took courage daily; and his reputation grew fuch, as caused those that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of the war might proue, and therupon to become wife for themselves. Contrariwise, Licinius and Hostilius the Consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vaine, seeking way into Macedon; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by many losses received. The Roman Admiralls had so demeaned themselves, that many towns, eue of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the Komsas fide; and the armie much leffened, not only by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Conful himselfe (for they laid the blame one

20 vpon the other) in licencing the fouldiers to depart Quintus Martius the new Conful, who fucceeded vnto Hollelius, was to amend all this: which nevertheleffe was more then he knew how to doe: though he brought with him a strong supply of men. He began hotly to fet the warre on foot, which a long time had flept. And he began the right way: not feeking to force the fireights that were furely garded, but taking paines to clime the mountaines which were thought able to forbid all passage ouer them, without helpe or need of any custodie. The King heard of his approch; and being uncertaine what way he meant to take, diffributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit afcent. But the Conful proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be discoursed by

40 the Enemie, or to breake through all opposition, or at least wife, to fight on as conuenient ground, as they should have that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a safe retreat. He sent before him foure thousand of his most expedit foot, to discouer the wayes. Two dayes was this company troubled, in overcomming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles: after which they had fight of the Enemie, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe pecce of ground; and fent backe word to the Conful, where they were; intreating him to haften vnto them: which he did. The Macedonians were not a whit difmayed at his arrivall; but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little losse on either side. This bic-

50 kering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue scarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed; all the rest were beholders. In this case, it was impossible to get forwards; yet a shame to ceturne. Wherefore Martins tooke the onely course remaining, and indeed the best: Part of his men he left with Popilius, to attend upon the Macedonians: whileft be,

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with the reft. fetcht a compaffe about, and fought out wayes that never had beene troden. Herein he found extreame difficultie : which notwithstanding he ouercame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journeyes, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea where Nature might seeme to have intended, that none should be. So steepe he found the discent of the mountaines, in this way which he took: that of seuen miles, which they trauelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselves downe; as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rockes, that stood one over another, so vpright, and cumbersome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the gid- 10 die prospect, and casting their governours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, source miles of this grieuous journey; there was nothing more defired by the fouldiours, then that they might be suffered to creepe backe againe, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges. like vnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other fultained by two long postes, fastened in the ground below. V pon these two postes, or poles, which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastned two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher & the lower fall fo as the end of one 20 bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with plankes and turfe; that they might feeme continent with the ground; fo to make the beafts aduenturous, to goe vpon them. If there were a Plaine of any good extent from the foot of a rocke, to the next downfall; then might the bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretic way, vpon one of these; the postes vpholding the frame were cut afunder; therby caufing him to fincke down vnto the next bridge; whence he was conucyed, in like manner, to the third, and onward still, to the very bottome. Thus went they downe fliding, some on their feet, others on their buttockes, till they came to an even valley. By this it appeares, how throughly provided the Romans vsed to be in their journeyes, of things needfull in all occasi- 30 ons : as also what inestimable paines they tooke in this descent, about the conuevance of themselues and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they rested; staying for Popilius and his company, who hardly or perhaps neuer, should have overtaken them, it the Enemie had followed, and set vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies iourneyes were like vnto the first faue that custome, and the nearenesse to their wayes end without meeting enemie, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the Romans comming towards him: fince they fought with his men upon the passage, three daies together; he lying so nigh, that he might welneare haue heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with feare; that he 40 neither stirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Conful, nor made any prouision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsaile, sate hearkening after the cuent. Four onely passages there were, leading into Tempe: the first by Connus; which the Romans were vnable to force: the second and third were the fame which Martius had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it : the last, by the Citie of Dium out of Macedon. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whofocuer would feeke any other way, must be faine to take such paines as Martins had vndergone. The entrance by Diam was fairer then any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, faue through the valley it selfe, into which they must first pierce another way. Dium stood vpon the 50 foot of the huge mountaine Olympus, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the river Helicon becomming there a lake, and called Baphyras, tooke up the one hall fe; the rest being such as might easily have beene fortified. Besides all these, there was in the middest of Tempe, a passage which ten men might easily keepe: where

the spurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neare to the verie banks of Peneus, a goodly and deepe river which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublefome journey: if Perfeus could have feene his owne advantages. For the Roman armie was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable translibut must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or bin enforced to returne the

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fame way that it came, if the King had made good the streight of Dium. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, against those rockes, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe, it seemes a mat-10 ter of impossibilitie: especially considering, how the enemy from aboue their

heads, would have beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the Romans did not rather take their journey into Macedon, from the side of Illyria, whence that kingdome had often bin inuaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into Tempe; whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no meanes to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaired to winne. But the cowardize of Perseus, did commend the counsaile by them followed, as wife. For he no fooner heard that the Enemie was come ouer the mountaines into Tempe; then he

20 fared like one out of his wits; saying, That he was vanquished, and had lost all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of Dium, what he could carry away in haste; and straightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, he sent a strait commandement to Thessalonica, that the Arsenall there should be set on fire; and to Pella, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea : as if the Romans were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. Nicias, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as wel as he could: though soone after, his mafter grew sorie for the losse; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the water. But Andronieus, who had charge to fet fire on the Kings Arfenall, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance

30 might follow: and so he prevented the dammage. Whether Niceas, for his absolute and blinde obedience, or Andronicus, for his carefull providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their service was this. Perseus growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hastie direction; caused them both to be slaine. Also those poore men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the sea by their diving, were payd their wages after the same fort: that so there might be no witnes of the Kings base folly. Such end must they feare, who are privie to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If Perfeus would have gone furely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must be foroyally have behaved himselfe, that no man might beleeve him to

40 be the author of any vnworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacitie. He thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called Hippias away (the Captaine which had stopped the Consulon the top of the mountaine) and Afelepiodatus, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed the rated them openly; faying, that they had betraied unto the Enemiethe gates and barres of Macedon. Of this reproch, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have fped as did Nicias and Andronicus.

The Consul Martius had great cause to reioyce, for that the King so hastily relinquished his possession of Tempe, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the 50 Roman armie, this notwithstanding was hardly able to substit, for want of victuals, He tooke Dium without refistance; & thence went forward into Macedon: wherein having travelled about a dayes journey, and gotten one towne that yeeled, he was compelled, by meere lacke of food for his men, toreturne backe towards Theffalie. His fleet came to him, in this time of necessitie, well appointed to have holpen him Rrrrrr 2

748 in the war: but having left behinde, at Magnesia, the ships of burthen, which carried the prouisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been carciull to occupy the Castles about Tempe, which were for saken by the Macedonians: for by those waies onely might come be brought into the army. To meet the feoner with this corne, which was desirously expected; he for sooke Diam, and went to Phila; by which foolish journey (if not worse then foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had bin worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountaines; for otherwise it had bin madnes to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly prouided, as that without enforcement, or fight of the Enemic, he should be faine to quite it. Howsoeuer it was:men 10 thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of warre; since he thus recoyled and

gaue off, when it most behoued him to have prosecuted the action.

By understanding the folly, or cowardize of Martins; the King recollected himselfe; understood his owne error; sought to hide it by such poore means as haue bin shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the rown of Dium, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the Romans. This done; he encamped strongly by the river Enipeus: meaning there to stop the Enemics proceeding all that Summer. Lesse diligence, more timely vsed, would baue bin enough, not onely to have delivered Martius into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to have given him such a noble victory, as might 20 cause the Romans to seeke a good end of the war vpon faire conditions, & not to begin againe in haste. Yet this recouery and fortification of Dium, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the towne of Heraclea, standing on the river of Peneus, five miles from Dium, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climing vpon mens heads, somewhat after the maner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it sould; and was not given vp for feare. After this Martius did fet a bold face towards Dium; as if he would have taken it againe, and have driven the King further off :, though his intent or hope was nothing like fo great: his chiefe care, being to provide for his wintering. He fent the Admirall to 30 make attempt vpon the sea-townes, The salonica, Cassandrea, Demetrias and others. All these were affayed but in vaine. The fields about Thessalonica were wasted and some companies, that sundrie times adventured forth of the towne, were still put to the worse. As for the towne it selfe; there was danger in comming neere it, cither by land or sea; by reason of the engins, which shot from the wals, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherfore the Admiral fetting faile from thence, ranne along by Aniz, and Antigonea, (landing neare to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) vntill he came to Pallene in the territory of Cassandrea. There King Eumenes iouned with him, bringing twentie ships of warre; and fine other were sent thither from King Prusias. With this accesse of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his 40 fortune at Cassandrea: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by Perseus. before the town: which while the Romans were filling vp, question was made, what became of the earth taken thece, for that it lay not vpon the bank. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were arches in the town wal filled vp with that earth, and concred with one single row of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the towne, by fapping the wals. To this worke he appointed such as hee thought meetest: giving an alarme to the other side of the town, therby to shadow his attempt, the breach was foon made. But whilest the Romans were shouting for ioy, & ordering themselves for the assault: the Captaines within the towne perceiued what was done; & falying forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the com- 50 panies that were between the ditch & the wall; of whom they flew about fix hundred & fuffred few to escape vnwouded. This disaster, & the want of good successe on that part of the towne which king Eumenes affailed (a supply in the meane while entring the towne by sea) caused the siege to breake vp. Torone was the next place

which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards Demetrias: whereinto Euphranor, a Macedonian Captaine, was gotten before his comming, with fuch forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Towne, if the Admirall had laved fiege to it, but to keepe the land about it from fpoyle; or at least (as they did) to make the enemie pay deare for all that he there got. This Euphraner had taken his iourney to Demetrias, by Melibera; whether the Conful (that he might not be quite without worke) had fent his Lieutenant to beliege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddenly ouer their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all

10 haite, letting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the Romans; or rather, so farre was their abilitie short of their Enterprises; euer fince their Conful (whether dastardly, or carelesty) most vnlike a good Commander had let goe his hold of Macedon, by for faking Dium: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, then is expressed in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For Martius perswaded the Rhodians by Agespolis their PolybiLeget, 80: Embassador, who came to him at Heracles about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although Polybius doe most probably coniccture, that 20 this was rather a malicious denice of Martins, craftily feeking to bring the Rhodians in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; then

that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of Perseus, or of Antiochus, who had then an army on foot: yet lince he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that fomewhat had bappened, which might make his feare sceme not counterfeit. And fo were the Rhodians moved to thinke of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtetic, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassador, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause its but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadors of Perfeus, & of Gentius the Illyrian did fet out their buline fle at Rhodes, not more with the strength of a good

30 fleet, which the Macedonian had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wher in he had lately flaine great numbers of the Roman horse. Thus much we find inti- Polyp Legat. 87: m ated: though the time place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from Rome to view the estate of Martius his army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Ad-

miral wanting men; &, for those few that he had, wanting both mony and clothes: and Ap. Claudius the Pretor, who lay on the frontier of Illyria, so vnable to invade Macedon, that contrariwife, he was in extreame danger, so as either he must quickly be fent for thence, or a new army be fent thither to him. Wherefore it may feeme, that some blow had bin taken on the Illyrian side, which made all to halt; or at left,

40 that the Romans with greater loffe, than is before spoken of, had been driven from

fome of the Townes which they belieged.

Now although it were fo, that Martius in very few of his actions, behaued himfelfe like a man of war: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, a crooked or finister kind of wisdome, he dealt as a crastcomaster, with a restlesse working diligence. This indeed neither proued his sufficiencie, nor commended his honestie: since thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neverthelesse, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or such delight as weake and busie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his country. At such time as Perfess, by the successe of his doings against Hostilius, had got-50 ten much reputation, and was thought likely to inuade Theffalie; Archo, Lycortas, and other good Patriotes among the Acheans, judged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the Romans, as in a time of advertitie, whom in professive they loued not to flatter. Wherefore Archo proposed a decree which passed. That the Achaens should send their whole power into Thessalie, and participate with

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the komans in all danger. So the armic was leuied; and Polybius, with others, fent Embaffadors vnto Martius, to certifie him therof, and know his pleafure. Polybimy found the Conful busied in seeking passage through Tempe into Macedon. Hee went along with the armie; and awaited the Confuls leifure till they came to Heraclea; where finding the time convenient, hee presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, wherein socuer it should be commanded. Martius tooke this very kindly; but faid, that he needed now no maner of helpe. Forthwith Polybius dispatched home his companions, to signific thus much: tarrying himselfe behind in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to Martius, that Ap. Claudius defired, or rather imperiously required, of the Acheans, fine thousand men, to 10 be fent him into Epirus. It was manifest, that Appius had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might do notable service, by distracting the forces of Perseus. But the Labarynthian head of Martius could not allow of such plaine reason. He called vnto him Polybius, to whom hee declared, that Appius had no need of fuch aide; and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wife take order that the men might not be sent, nor the Acheans bee put to such needlesse charges. Away went Polybius; musing and vnable to resolue, whether it were for love to the Acheans, that the Conful was so carnest in this busines; or rather for enuie, and to hinder App. Claudius from doing any thing, fince himselfe could doe nothing. But when Polybius was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell, touching 20 this matter: then found he a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne felfe, and those of his partie. For as he was sure to incurre the great indignation of the Conful, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other fide, that the words by Martius vttered to him in privat, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe Claudius, alleaging that he had no need: In this case therefore, he had recourse vnto the decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessitie of doing what the Roman Commanders should require, valesse by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of Appius was referred vnto the aduice of the Conful: by whom it was 30 fure to be made frustrate. Hereby the Acheans were fauers, of more then an hundred and twenty talents: though Polybius himselfe ranne into danger of Appius his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long yeares imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of Martins, that King Eumenes grew cold in his affection to the Romans; or whether this King began when it was too late, to fland in feare, left the fire, which he himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his owne lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouersway al other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, have not precifely affirmed any certaintie. One report is, that 40 Eumenes did not so much as give any helpe to Martius: but comming to have ioyned with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in fuch anger, that herefuled to leave behind him certaine horse of the Gallogreekes, being requested to have done it. If this were true; and that his brother Attalus tarrying behinde with the Conful, did the Romans good service: then is the reason apparant, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to Eumenes, and the love to Attalus. But it is more generally received; that Eumenes gave a willing care to Perfeus his defire of accord, for meere defire of gaine. And it might well bee, that conetou neffe drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. How- 50 socuer it befell; Perseus caused Eumenes to be sounded, and sound him so tractable, that he was bold to folicite him by an Embaffage. The tenour of his advertifements, both to Eumenes, and to Antiochus, was: That there could be no perfect loue betweene a King and a free Citie: That the Romans had quarrell alike to all Kings.

CHAP. 6. \$.7. though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and yied the helpe of one against another; That Philip was oppressed by them, with the helpe of Attalus; Antiochus, with the helpe of Philip and Eumenes; and now Perfeus affailed, with helpe of Eumenes and Prusies. Herewith he willed Eumenes to consider, that when Alicedon was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in Alia, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of Prufice, than of him. In like fort he admonished Antiochus, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the Agyptian, so long as the Romans could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them. either to to compell the Romans, to surcease from their war vpon Macedon; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all Kings. Antiochus lay farre out of the Romans way: and therefore was little troubled with fuch remonstrances. Eumenes was more nearely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answere; hee began to offer a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be no leffe weary, than Perleus was atraid. Wherefore he promised, for his owne part, That if he might have fifteene hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this Warre, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the Romans to condifcend vnto peace: 20 and for affurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. Perfeus liked well to receive the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine have peace with Rome, and not with Eumenes only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but hee would lay downe the money in the Temple at Samothrace : whence it should be deliuered vnto Eumenes, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified.

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money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in Pella. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, how socuer the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needes hee would have part of his wages in prest. Thus the two Kings did 30 no more, than loole time; and Eumenes grew suspected of the Romans, as a

The Isle of Samothrace was Perseus his owne: and therefore Eumenes thought the

After the same manner dealt Person with King Gentius the Illyrian. He had attempted this Illyrian before; who dealt plainely, and faid, That without money he could not ftirre. Hercunto Perfew loued, not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serue at the last cast, to deliver him from all his seares. But when the Romans had gotten within Tempe, then did his feare vrge him to prodigalitie; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which Gentius demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was soone made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by Perfeus; to the end that all to his armie might have comfort, by fuch accesse of strength to their partie. Prefently voon the bargaine made, Embassadors were sent to Rhodes, from both Perfeus and Gentius: who delired the Rhodians, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, be-

tweene Perleus and the Romans, and to bring the Warre to an end. The Rhodians thinking that Martius the Conful was no leffe defirous of peace than the Mucedonian, arrogantly promifed, that they, by their authoritie, would make peace: wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the Roman Senate, hearing prowd words to the same effect, from the Rhodian Embassadours; gaue an answere, as disdainefull, angrie, and menacing, as they could deuise: so as this vaine glorie of the Rhodiar's was throughly chastised; and more throughly should to have beene, if their submission had not beene as humble, as their follie was proud.

Such vse of Gentius his friendship, made Perfeus; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now faine he would have hastened this young and rash Illyrian to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. Pantauchus, the Macedonian Embassadour, who remained with Gentius, exhorted

him daily to begin the Warre by land and sea, whilest the Romans were vnprous ded. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to Perseus. Hereupon tenne Talents were fent to Pantauchus: who deliuered it to the yong King, as carnelt of that which followed. More followed indeed; and lealed vp with the feale of the Myrians; but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this money came into Illyria, Gentius had layed hands vpon two Roman Embassadors, and cast them into prison. Which Perseus no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treafure-bearers, and lent them with their loade to Pella; for that now the Illyrian was of necessitie to make warre with the Romans, whether hee were hyred thereto,

Liu.lib.44. Plutarch, in vit, Amjl.

There came about the same time, through Illyria, to the aide of Perseus, vnder one Cloudicus a pettie King, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the Gaules, which were (as Plutarch hath it) the Bastarna. These had before hand made their bargaine, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entric into the Kingdome, Perfeus sent one to them; desiring their Captaines to come visit him, whome he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to give the souldiors their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the meffenger had not what to answere. Why then (laid Clondicus) tell thy master, That the Gaules will not stirre one foot 20 further, untill they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. Perfeus hereupon tooke counsaile: if to vtter his owne opinion, before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsaile. He made an innectine against the incivilitie and avarice of the Bastarna: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fine thousand horse of them hee said would be as manie as he should need to vie; and not so manie, that he should need to feare them. It had beene well done, if anic of his counsailors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole armie of them, fince without anie danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of Perrabia, into Thessalie: where wasting the Countrey, and filling themselues with spoile, 30 they should make the Romans glad to for sake Tempe, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable feruice, whether they wonne anie victorie, or not. This, and a great deale more, might have been ealledged, if anie man had dared to giue aduice freely. In conclusion, Antigonus, the same messenger that had beene with them before, was fent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of those many thoufands that had beene drawne so farre to no purpose. But Clondieus asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those fine thousand, whome the King would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceived, that Antigonus could make no better answere, than shifting excuses; the Bastarna retur- 40 ned presently towards Danubius, wasting the neighbours parts of Thrace; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape vnhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt Perfeus, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the Romans, without diminishing the summe. But of this painefull Office he was verie soone discharged by L. Emylius Paulus the new Conful: who in fifteene dayes after his fetting forth from Italie, brought the Kingdome of Macedon to that end, for which Goo had appointed ouer it a King fo foolish and so cowardly.

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è. VIII.

### d. VIII.

Of L. EMYLIVS PAVLVS the Conful. His iourney. He forceth PERSEVS to discampe. He will not hazard battaile with anie disaduantage. Of an Eclypse of the Moone. AMYLIVS his superstition. The Battacle of Pydna. PERSEVS his flight. He for fakes his Kingdome: which haftily yeelds to EMYLIVS. PERSEVS at Samothrace. He veelds himselfe to the Roman Admirall; and is fent prisoner to AMYLIVS.

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Y the Warre of Macedon, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with anie danger, yet the indignitie so moued them, that either \* they decreed Plutarebia that Province to L. Æmylius Paulus, without putting it, as was or therwise their manner, to the chance of lot, between him and his

fellow Conful; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it vpon him, than that so worthy a man was advanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. Hee refused to propound vnto the Senate anie thing that concerned his Province; vn-20 till by Embassadours, thither sent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly vndcrstood, in what condition both the Roman forces, and the Macedonian, at the present remained. This being throughly knowne to be such, as hath beene alreadie told; the Senate appointed a strong supplie, not onely to the Consul, but vnto the Nauie, and likewise to the Armie that lay betweene Illyria and Eggrus; from which App. Claudius was removed, and L. Anicius fent thither in his place. Emylim, before his departure from Rome, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much gravitie and authoritie. Hee requested those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this Warre, either to accompanie him into Macedon, and there affitthim with their aduice; or elfe to gouerne their 30 tongues at home, and not take vpon them to give directions by hearefay, and confure by idle reports: for he told them plainely, That he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father L. Emylius, who died valiantly in the Battaile of Canna, might well be liuing in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conforme themselues the more gladly vnto the instructions given by a wise and resolute Conful.

All his businesse within the Citic being dispatched, *Emylius* was honourably attended, at his fetting forth on his journey; with an especiall hope of men, that he should finish the Warre: though that he should finish it so soone and happily, 40 was more then could have beene hoped or imagined. He came to Brundusium: whence, when the winde came faire, he fet fayle at breake of day, and arrived fafely at the Isle of Coreyra before night. Thence passed he to Delphi: where, having done facrifice to \_1pollo, after the fift day he fet forwards to the Campe; and was there in five dayes more. So are there but five of the fifteene dayes remaining, in which he finished the Warre.

Perfess lay strongly encamped at Dium; having spared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the bankes of Enipeus, where it was fordeable in drie weather: So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and confequently, as little poffibilitie to enter that way into Macedon. One great inconvenience troubling the 50 Romans, and much disabling them to make attempt vpon Dium; was lacke of fresh water. For there were tenne myles betweene Dium and Tempe; all the way lying betweene the Sea shoare and the foot of Olympus, without any Brooke or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Emplius* found present remedie for this, by digging Wells on the shoare; where hee found sweet Springs: as commonly there is

no shoare that wants them, though they rise not about the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder Martius from taking vp his lodging anie nearer to the enemie, than the Towne of Heraclea, on the River of Peneus; where he had watering at pleasure, but could performe no seruice of anie worth. Yet when the Roman Campe had such meanes to lye close to the Macedonian, as it presently did; the passage onward, being desended as hath beene shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquirie was soone found out. There was a narrow passage ouer Olympus, leading into Perrabia; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire journey. Martius either had not been informed hereof; or durst not attempt 10 it: or perhaps could not get his foul diors to make the aduenture; they fearing leaft it would proue such a piece of worke, as had beene their march ouer offa into Tempe. But Paulus was a man of greater industrie, courage, and abilitie, to command. He had reformed, euen at his first comming, many disorders in the Roman Campe: teaching the fouldiors, among other good lessons, to be obedient and readie in execution; without troubling themselves, as had beene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this Enterprise: whereof he committed the charge vnto Scipio Emylianus and Q. Fabius Maximus, his owne sonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of Scipio the African; the other, by one of the Fabij. 20 Scipio tooke with him some light-armed Thracians and Cretans; but his maine strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, consisted in a manner wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance, they might doe notable seruice against those that should climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darknesse tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, Scipio and Fabius tooke a wrong way, towards the fleet; where victuals were prouided for their journey: it being noyfed, that they were to runne along the coast of Macedon by sea, and wast the Countrey. All the while that they were paffing the Mountaines (which was about 30 three dayes) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set vpon Perseus where hee lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprise, than vpon any hope to doe good, in seeking to get ouer Enipeus. The Chanell of Enipeus, which received in Winter time a greatfall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay welneare all drie, yet it serued not for those that were weightily armed to fight vpon. Wherefore Emplius employed none fauc his Velites; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at farre distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which Perseus hadraysed on his owne banke, did also beat vpon the Romans, 40 and gaue them to vnderstand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet Amylius persifled as he had begun; and continued his affault, such as it could be, the second day. This might haue serued to teach the Macedonian, that some greater worke was in hand: fince otherwise a good Captaine, as Emylius was knowne to be, would not have troubled himselfe with making such bravadoes, that were somewhat costly. But Perfeus looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearefully downe the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the Romans were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himselse no lesse (if notmore) amazed than anie of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge : or rather without order, in all tu- 50 multuous hast, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedic retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plaine force; Scipio and Fabius had very good successe in their journey. It may well be, that they slept vntill the Romans

came somewhat neare to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrowes and slings could doe little service, were beaten at handie stroakes: so as the different relations that are cited by Plutarck out of Polybins, and an Epistle of Scipio, may each of them have beene true. Thus was an open way cleared into Macedon: which had beene effected by Martius in the yeare fore-going; but was closed vp againe, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunitie.

Perfeus was in extreame doubt what course to take, after this vnhappy beginning, Some gaue aduice, to manne his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: having beene taught by the last yeares example, how resolute the people were in making 10 defence. But farre worse counsaile prevailed : as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King resolued to put all at once to hazard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselse into anie one Towne, least that should be first of all befieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not over-carefully relieued. This was even the same that Amylius, or anic invador, should have defired. So a place was chosen neare vnto Pydna, that served well for the Phalanx, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There he abode the comming of the enemie; who flayed not long behind him. As soone as the Romans had sight of the Kings Armie, which, with greater feare than discretion, had hasted away from them, for saking the 20 Campe that was so notably well fortified: they defired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately; doubting least otherwise the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect Scipio brake with the Conful; praying him not to loofe occasion by delay. But Empless told him, That hee spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The Romans were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor anie thing there, faue onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For these and the like respects, the Consul made a stand : and shewing himselfe vnto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to have the Campe meafured out and entrenched behinde the Armie; whereinto, at good ley fure, hee fell 30 backe, without anie manner of trouble. After a nights reft, it was hoped, both by the Romans, and by the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the fame day. As for the King, he excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemie; who aduanced no further, but kept vpon ground scruing ill for the Phalanx: as on the other fide, the Conful had the reasons before shewed, which he commu-

nicated to those about him the next day. That cuening (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account) C. Sulpicius Gallus, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeare beene Prætor, foretold vnto the Conful, and (with his good liking) vnto the armie. 40 an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to be the same night: willing the souldiors not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knownelong before it was seene. It was the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses, to beat Pannes of Braffe and Basons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of Sulpicius converted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they faw it verified. Contrariwife, the Macedonians howled and made a great noyfe as long as the Eclipfe lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigic betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here 50 ftand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signifie, or cause anie alteration in ciuile affaires, and matters that have small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthie of observation it is, how superstition captivates the wisdome of the wisest, where the helpe of true Religion is wanting. Emylim, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the

Снар.6. §.8.

Moone, that it was no supernatural thing, nor aboue the reach of humane vnderflanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with anic denout regard thereof: yet could he not refraine from doing his dutie to this Moone, and congratulating with facrifice her deliuerie, as foone as the shone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended even by Plutareh, a lage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If Sulpicius perhaps did not affilt him in this foolish denotion; yet is it like that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a Sacrifice done to Hercules; which was no leffe foolish. For a great part of the day was vainely confumed, ere Hercules could be pleafed with anie Sacrifice, and vouchfate to shew tokens of good lucke in the entrailes of the beasts. At 10 length, in the bellie of the one and twentieth Sacrifice, was found a promise of victorie to Amylius; but with condition, That hee should not give the onset. Hercules was a Greeke, and partiall, as nearer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman. Wherefore it had beene better to call vpon the new Goddesse, lately canonized at Alabanda; or vpon Romulus, founder of their Citie, on whom the Romans had beflowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authenticall) your Mars the Father of Romalus, to whome belonged the guidance of militaric affaires; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaile; Emylius was throughly perfuaded, that the 20 King meant to abide it: for that otherwise hee would not have staved at Pridna. when, as a little before, his leyfure ferued to retyre whither hee lifted, the Romans being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Conful thought that hee might wait upon advantage, without making anie great haste. Neither was it to bee neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the Romans faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore Perfess kept his ground, that was commodious for the Phalanx, and Emylius sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelyhood of fighting that day. But about tenne of the clocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which 30 whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer earnest desire. A horse brake loose at watering; which two or three of the Roman fouldiers followed into the river, wading after him vp to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of Thracians ranne into the water, to draw this horse ouer to their owne fide. These fell to blowes, as in a private quarrell; and one of the Thracians was flaine. His countrimen feeing this, hasted to reuenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had slaine him ouer the river. Hereupon company came in to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be carefull of the euent. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaile, accordly as the maner of his Countrie, and the armes, 40 wherewith they ferued, did require. The ground was a flat levell, faue that on the fides a few hillocks were raifed here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number, the Romans the better fourdiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Conful encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himselfe into Pydna: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto Ilercules. It is the leffe maruaile, that hee durst adventure battaile, fince hee had bethought himselse of such a stratageme, whereby to saue his owne person. As for Hercules, hee liked not the facrifice of a coward : whose vnseasonable denotion could be to no better than hypocrifie. For hee that will pray for agood Haruest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaile, hee found it no better than lost : and he, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, fuch as we finde recorded, are, That the Roman Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the Macedonian Phalanx did to floutly preffe onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as Amylius was thereat much altonished; That the Peligni rushing desperately on the Phalanx, were ouer-borne, many of them flaine, and the fquadrons following them so discouraged herewith. as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out aduerse to the Romans; and which the Conful beholding, is faid to haue rent his coat-armor for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his denoyre; the victorie might have bin his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battaile, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, even from the beginning : the difficultie, or almost impossibilitie, of holding the Philanx long in order. For while it some of the Romanes small battallions pressed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessarie (if the Macedonians would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were beld at a stand. This comming so to passe, admonished the Consul, what was to bee done. The long pikes of the Macedonians were of little vie, when they were charged in flanke by the Roman Targettiers; according to direction given by Amylius, when hee faw the front of the Enemies great battaile become vinequall, and 20 the rankes in some places open, by reason of the vnequal relitance which they found. Thus was the vsc of the Phalanx prooued vnauaileable against many small squadrons, as it had beene formerly in the battaile of Cynoscephala: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vnferuiceable against the other, by reafon, that being not euerie where alike distressed, it would breake of it selfe; though heere were little such inconvenience of ground, as had beene at \* Cyno- \*Chap.4.\$ x4.

Ccephala. Perlew, when he saw his battaile begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ranne amaine towards Pells. All his horse escaped, in a manner, vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing 30 the little good fer unce which they had done. As for the poore footesthey were left to the mercie of the Enemie: who flew about twentie thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost, in that bartaile, onely some sourcefcore, or fix fcore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, ouertook the king & his company in a wood; where they fel to railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and fuch other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt left they had ill meaning to himselfe; and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: every one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within 40 awhile to leffen. For hee fell to denifing vpon whom hee might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrinke away from him, how they could. At his comming to Pella; he found his Pages and houshold servants, readie to attend him, as they had

bin wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaile, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, should shortly dare 50 some greater mischiese; he stole out of Pella by night. Of his friends he had with him onely Euander (who had beene employed to kill Eumenes at Delphi) and two o-

ther. There followed him likewise about fine hundred cretians more for lone of his money, than of him. To these he gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about

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fiftie talents, though shortly he coozened them of some part thereof; making shew asif hee would have redeemed it; but never paying the money. The third day after the battaile hee came to Amphipolis; where hee exhorted the townesmen to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed Enander to speake what himselfe would have vttered. But the Ambhipolitans made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselues. Vpon the first fame of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thousand Thracians that lay therein garrison: sending them soorth vnder colour of a gainefull employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to bee ridde of the King; they plainly bade Euander be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to to tarrie: butembarking himselse and the treasure which hee had there, in certaine vessells that hee found in the river Strymon; passed over to the Isle of Samothrace: where he hoped to liue safe, by priniledge of the religious Sanctuarie

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdome fell into the power of Amylius, within so few dayes after his victorie. Prdna which was necrest at hand, was the last that yeelded. About fixe thousand of the souldiours, that were of sundrie Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. Hippins who had kept the passage ouer 20 Ossagainst Martius, with Pantauchus, who had beene sent Embassadourto Gentius the Illyrian, were the first that came in : yeelding themselnes and the Towns of Beraa, whither they had retired out of the battaile. With the like message came others from Theffalonica, from Pella, and from all the Townes of Macedon, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole bodie of all sense and strength. Neither did they of Pydna stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had for saken his Countrey: but opened their gates ypon such tearmes, that the sacke of it was granted to the Roman armic. A. mylius sent abroad into the Countrey, such as hee thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards Pella. Hee found 30 in Pella no more than three hundred talents; the same whereof Perseus had lately defrauded the Illyrian. But within a little while hee shall have

It was soone understood, that Perfeu had taken Sanctuaric, in the Temple at Samothrace: his owne letters to the Conful confirming the report. He sent these letters by persons of such meane condition; that his case was pittied, for that hee wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of his writing was, to desire fawour: which though hee begged in tearmes ill besceming a King; yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, King PERSEVS to the Conful PAVLVS; the Conful, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine 40 the Title, refused to make answere thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could bee expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that some might bee sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Neuertheleffe in this conference, hee was marueilous earnest, that he might be eallowed to retaine the name of King. And to this ende it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preserved his treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with fuch vaine hopes as these; That the Romans would neither violate a Sanctuarie. nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him have his desire to live at case, and be called King. Yea it feemes that hee had indeede, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this to Isle of Samothrace: both for that in one of his consultations about the war, he was dehorted by his friends, from feeking to exchange his Kingdome of Macedon, for \*fuch a paltrie Iland; and for that hee offered to lay vp the money which Eume-

nes demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwise, They vrge him to give place vnto necessitie, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercic of the people of Rome. This is so farre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arrives at Samothrace Cn. Off auius the Roman Admirall, with his fleet: who affayes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language to draw the King out of his lurking hole, wherein, for feare of imprisonment, he had imprisoned himselfe. When all would not ferue, a question was mooned to the Samothracians; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledge of 10 Sanctuaric, by attempting the murder of King Eumenes at Delphi? This went to the quicke. The Samothracians, being now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart; and fend word to the King, That Enander, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact committed at Delphi, whereof vnlesse he can cleare him selfe in judgement, hee must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Majestie, now past, makes them for beare to lay, that Perfeus himselfe is charged with the same crime. But what will this auaile, when the minister of the fact being brought into judgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? Perfeus therefore willeth Enander to haue confideration of the little fauour that can bee expected at the Romans hand, 20 who are like to bee prefidents and ouerfeers of this judgement; so as it were better to die valiantly, fince none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cause, where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion Euander seemes to like well: and either kills himselfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyfon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had flucke to Perseus in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to for lake him: fo as none are left with him, faue his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him vpon this occasion, will tell perilloustales, and fay, That the King hath lost the priviledge of this holy 30 Sanctuarie, by murdering Euander therein. Or if the Romans will affirme fo much, who shall dare to gaine fay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and even that also lyable to dispute, which preserves him from captiuitie; hee purposeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, vnto Cotys his good friend, into Thrace. Oroandes, a Cretian, lay at Samothrace with one shippe; who casily was perswaded to wast the King thence. With all secrecie the Kings money, as much as could bee so conneyed, was carried aboord by night; and the King himselfe, with his wife and \*children (if rather it were not true, that hee Plutarch in vit, had with him onely \* Philip his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his Liu lib. As a fonne, being his \* brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by Lindib.420 40 arope, and ouer a mudde wall. At his comming to the Sea side, hee found no Oroandes there: the Cretians had played a Cretian tricke, and he was gone with the money to his owne home. Soit began to waxe cleare day, whilest Perfeus was fearching all along the shoare: who had stayed so long about this, that hee might feare to be intercepted ere hee could recouer the Temple. Hee ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging; and thinking it not fafe to enter it the common way, lest hee should bee taken; hee hid himselse in an obscure corner. His Pages miffing him, ranne vp and downe making enquirie; till Octavius made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and Macedonians what socuer, abiding with their master in Samothrace, should have their lives and libertie, with all to them 50 belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in Mucedon, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the Romans. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise Ion, a Thessalonian, to whom the King had given the custodie of his children, delivered them vp to Octavius. Lastly, Perfeus himselfe,

SIIII 2

with his sonne Philip, accusing the gods of Samothrace, that had no better protected him; rendered himselse, and made the Roman victorie complete. If hee had not trusted in those gods of Samothrace, but employed his whole care in the defence of Macedon, without other hope of living, than of raigning therein; bee might well haue brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing, at once, those contrarie hopes of saving his Kingdome by armes, and himselfe by flight; hee is become a spectacle of miserie, and one among the number of those Princes, that have beene wretched by their owne default. Hee was presently sent away to Amylius; before whom hee fell to the ground so basely, that hee seemed thereby to dishonour the victoric ouer him-10 selfe, as gotten vpon one of abject qualitie, and therefore the leffe to bee esteemed. Amylius vsed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hossile a minde, made Warre vpon the Romans. Hereto good answere might have beene returned by one of better soirit. As for Perseus, hee answered all with a fearefull silence. Hee was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Conful tearmed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercie of the People of Rome. After these good words, being inuited to the Confuls Table, and respectively entreated, hee was committed prisoner to Q.

Such end had this Macedonian Warre, after foure yeeres continuance: and 20 fuch end therewithall had the Kingdome of Macedon; the glorie whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated vnto Rome.

#### d. IX.

GENTIVS, King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.



" Called now

Bout the same time, and with like celeritie, Anicius the Roman Prætor, who succeeded vnto App. Claudius; had the like successe against King Gentius the Illyrian. Gentius had an Armic of fifteene thousand; with which hee was at Lissus, readie to assist King Per-Seus as soone as the money should come, whereof hee had recei-

ued onely tenne Talents. But Anicius arrested him on the way; fought with him; ouercame him; and draue him into \* Scodra. This Towne was verie defensible by nature, besides the helpe of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of Illyria; which, allisted with the Kings presence, made it seeme 40 vnpossible to bee wonne, in any not a very long time. Yet Anicius was confident in his late victorie; and therefore presented his Armie before the walles, making countenance to give an affault. The Illyrians, that might eafily have defended themselues within the Towne, would needes iffue foorth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon foorthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King sent Embassadours; by whom, at first, hee desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the Roman Embassadours, to haue recourse to such mediation. But hee thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was 50 no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadours into prison; where they were still aliue. Having obtained three dayes respite, hee passed vpa Riuer, within halfe a myle of the Roman Campe, into the Lake of

Scodra, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother Carauantius was comming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so soolish as to returne into Scodra. Hee sent messengers craving accesse vnto the Prætor: before whom having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his folly present) hee fell downe humbly, and yeelded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were presently given vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of Rome not knowing that it was begun; vntill Perpenna, 10 one of the Embassadors that had beene imprisoned, brought word from Anicius

#### ò. X.

How the Romans behaued them selves in Greece and Macedon after their victory over PERSEVS.

how all had paffed.

30

20 Ow began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune : and tolooke tyrannically vpon those that had beene vnmannerly toward them before, whilest the Warre with Per/eus seemed full of danger. The Rhodian Embassadours were still at Rome, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was

thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with bad grace; faying, that they were fent from Rhodes to make an ouerture of peace; for a fmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no lesse grieuous to the Romans themselves, than to the Macedonians and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the Rhodians did con-30 gratulate with the Senate and People of Rome, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made answere, That the Rhodians had fent this Embassage to Rome, not for love to Rome, but in favour of the Macedonian; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the defire of some (couetous of the charge) to have Warre proclaimed against Rhodes; the Embassadours were so affrighted, that in mourning apparell, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengcance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from Rome being knowne at Rhodes, all that had beene any whit auerse from 40 the Romans in the late Warre of Macedon, were either taken and condemned, or fent prisoners to Rome; excepting some that slue themselves for scare, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and leffe would have done, if olde M. Cato, a man by nature vehement, had not vttered a milde

fentence, and aducrtifed the Senate, That in decreeing Warre against Rhodes, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that \* rather \*casarinora. the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedie to ransacke, than any just cause, apid salus, de had moued them thereto. This confideration, together with their good deserts line. in the Warres of Philip and Antiochus, helped well the Rhodians : among whome, none of any marke remained aliue, faue those that had beene of the Roman

50 Faction. All which notwithstanding, many yeeres passed, ere by importunate fuit, they could bee admitted into the societie of the Romans: a fayour which till now, they had not efteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equall friends.

With the like, or greater seueritie, did the Romans make themselues terrible in SIIIII 3

all parts of Greece, Amylius himselfe made progresse through the Countrev : vifiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure; yet not forgetting to make them understand what power hee had ouer them. More than five hundred of the chiefe citizens in Demetrias were flaine at one time by those of the Roman faction. and with helpe of the Roman fouldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Conful. the redresse was such, as requited not the paines of making supplication. His friends, that is to fay, those which betrayed vnto the Romans the liberty of their Countrey, hee featled like a King, with excessive cheere, yet so, that he had all things very cheape in his Campe : an easie matter, since no man durst be back- to ward in fending provisions, nor fet on them the due price. Embassadours likewise were lent from Rome; some, to give order for settling the estate of Macedon, towards which they had more particular infruction from the Senate than was viuall in fuch cases; and some, to visit the affaires of Greece. The Kingdome of Macedon was fet at liberty by Amylius and the Embassadours, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the Romans vsed to bestow. The best part of it was. That the Tribute which had beene payed vnto the Kings. was lessened by halfe. As for the rest; the Countrey was divided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobilitie were fent captine into Italy, with their wines and children, as many as were aboue fifteene 20 veeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new given by Amilius. Such mischiefe the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue any inconvenience that should bee worse in the suture. But concerning the Greekes, that were not subjects to Rome; the things done to them could deserve no better name than meere tyrannic, yea and shamelesse perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, dorh make the Oathes of confederation feeme of no validitie. The Embaffadors that were fent to visit the Greekes, ealled before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discourred an unserviceable disposition towards the Ro- 30 mans. These they sent to Rome; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to Perseus, which fell at length into the Romans hands : and in that respect, though they were no subjects, yet wanted there no colour, for vsing them as traytors, or at least as enemics. But fince onely two men were beheaded, for having beene openly on the Macedonian fide; and fince it is confessed, that the good Patriotes were no leffe afflicted in this inquifition, than they that had fold themselues to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the Achaens these Embassadors were to deale more formally: not so much because that Common-wealth was strong (though this were to bee regarded by thein, having no Commission to make ordenounce Warre) and like to prove vn- 40 tractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of figne, by letters, or otherwife, whereby any one of the Achaens could be fuspitiously charged to have held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also so, that neither Callicrates, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their feruice to the Romans, but onely such as were the best Patriotes. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to vie the benefit of the time: wherein, fince all men trembled for feare of Rome, the season ferned firly to ranke the Acheans with the rest. And hereto Callicrates was very vigent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, hee and his fellowes should bee 50 made to pay for their mischieuous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadours came among the Acheans: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as Callierates had before instructed him. Hee said, that some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended Perfeus. This

This being so; he defired that all such men might be condemned, whom after sentence given, he would name vnto them. After sentence given (cried out the whole affembly) what justice were this? name them first, and let them answere; which if they cannot well doe, we will soone condemne them. Then said the Roman boldly that all their Prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guiltie of this crime. If this were true faid Xenon, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence; then should Hikewise have been friend to Perseus: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I (hall throughly answere him, either here presently, or before the Senate at Rome. Voon these words of Xenon the Embassador laid hold, and said that even so it were To the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at Rome. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited aboue a thousand: willing them to appeare, and answere before the Senate. This might even be tearmed the captinitie of Greece; wherein fo many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their loue vnto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, and regard of the publike libertie, should dwell together in any of the Greekes. At their comming to Rome, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the Achaans. Many Embassages were sent from Achaia (where it is to be wondred, that any such honest care of these innocent men could bee remaining; since 20 honestie had beene thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the Acheans, nor yet held to bee offendors. But in stead of better answere it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrie, that thefe men should returne into Achaia. Neither could any sollicitation of the Achains, who never ceafed to importune the Senate for their libertie, prevaile at all; vntill after seventeene yeeres, fewer than thirtie of them were enlarged, of whom that wife and vertuous man Polybius, the great Historian was one. All the rest were either dead in prison. of having made offer to escape, whether vpon the way before they came to Rome, or whether out of jayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death

30 as malefactors. This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the Epirots. For the Senate being desirous to preserve the Macedonian Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratific the Souldiours, gauc order, That the whole Countrey of Epirus should be put to facke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by Æmylius with mischieuous subtiltie. Hauing taken leaue of the Greekes, and of the Macedonians, with bidding them well to vie the libertie beflowed vpon them by the people of Rome; he sent vnto the Epirots for tenne of the principall men out of enery Citic. These he commanded to deliuer vp all the Gold and Silver which they had; and fent along with them, into every of their 40 Townes, what companies of men he thought conucnient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed, they should fall to sacke, every one the Towne whereinto hee was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the Romans, spoiled by the Roman Souldiors; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaves. It may be granted, that some of the Epirots descrued punishment, as having favoured Perfeus. But since they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Remanes, had been already fent into Italie, there to receive their due; and fince this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the present 50 in good obedience, but had, even in this warre, done good fervice to the Romans: I hold this act fo wicked that I should not beleeve it, had any one Writer delivered the contrarie. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the lesse marueilous, that Go D was pleased to make Amylim childlesse, euen in the glorie of his

triumph, how great socuer otherwise his vertues were.

In

In such manner dealt the Romans, after their victory, with the Greekes and Macedonians. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacie of an Embassage sent from them to Antiochus; whereof before wee speake, we must speake somewhat of Antiochus his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadours came.

### δ. XI.

The Warre of ANTIOCHUS Upon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.

ter. Hee left behinde him three sonnes, Seleucus Philopator, Antiochus Epiphanes,

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Strab.lib.16. Iuft.lib.35.

NTIOCHUS the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his raigne and life. He died the six and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the fenenteenth or eighteenth of Ptolemie Epiphanes: while hee attempted to rob the Temple of Bel, or (according to Justine) of Jupi-

Euseb.in Cron. App.de bell.Syr. Ant. 12.cap.5.

Dan.11.v.21.

Mac.cap.3.

Demetrius Soter; and one daughter, Cleopatra, whom hee had given in marriage to Ptolemie Epiphanes, King of Egypt. Seleucus the fourth of that name, and the cl- 20 dest of Antiochus his sonnes; raigned in Syriatwelue vecres, according to Eulebius. Appian, and Sulpitius: though Iosephus give him but seven. A Prince, who as hee was flothfull by nature; fo the great loffe which his father Antiochus had received, tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeeres before his birth, Daniel gaue this judgement, Et stabit in loco eius vilissmus & indignus decore regio. And in his place (speaking of Antiochus the Father of this man) [hall flart up a wilde per son, unworthy the honor of a King. Vnder this Seleucus, those things were done which are spoken of Onias the High Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: What time as the holy Citie was inhabited with all Peace, because of the godlinesse of ONIAS the Priest, it came to passe, that even the King 20 did honor the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of Macchabees, of Simon of Beniamin, who by Mpollonius betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of Heliodorus sent by the King to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of Onias; of the Kings death, and of his successor Antiochus Epiphanes. It is therefore from the raigne of this King, that the bookes of the Macchabees take beginning. Which bookes feeme not to bee deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon Alexander the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storic, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. the brother and successor of this Seleucus; from whom downward to the death 40 of Simon Macchabeus (who died in the hundred threefcore and scuenteenth yeere of the Greekes in Syria) that first booke treateth. The Author of the second book. although he take the Story somewhat further off, by way of a Proæme, yet hee endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeere of the Grecian raigne, and with the death of Nicanor, flaine by Indas: remembring in the fourth Chapter the praclice of Islan the brother of Onias, who after the death of Seleucus, prenailed with Antiochus Epiphanes, his successor for the Priesthood. It is also held by Iansenius and Super Eccles of other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this Onias, that Arius King of the Spartans sent Embassadors to the Jewes, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence betweene them and the Greekes, Ionathan the brother and successor of 50 Indas remembreth in the Preamble of that Epiffle, which he himselfe directed to the people of Sparta by Numenius and Antipater his Embassadours, whom hee employed at the same time to the Senate of Rome; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which Arius had fent to Onias the High Priest, whereto Infephus

Now to this Selencus, the fourth of that name, succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, in the hundred and seuen and thirtieth yeere of the Greekes in Syria. Hice was the second some of the Great Antiochus: and he obtained his Kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also hee vsurped from his brothers

addes, that the name of the Lacedamonian Embassador was Demoteles, and that the

Letters had a fquare Volume, and were fealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in

CHAP.6. S.II. of the Historie of the World.

Ptolemie Philometor, his Nephew by his fifter Cleopatra, being then very yong,

to had been about seuen yeeres King of Ægypt. Ptolemie Epiphanes, the Father of this King Philometor, had raigned in Agypt four and twenty yeeres; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. Philip of Macedon, and the great Antiochus, had agreed to divide his Kingdome between them, whilest he was a childe. But they found such other busines. ere long, with the Romans, as made them giue ouer their vniust purpose ; especially Antiochus, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this Ptolemie, the Prouinces of Calofyria, Phanice, and Indea, which hee had wonne by his victory ouer Scopas, that was Generall of the Agyptian forces in those parts. Neuerthelesse, Ptolemie adhered to the Romans: whereby hee lived in the greater fecuritie. Hee left 20 behind him two fons; this Ptolemie Philometor, and Ptolemie Philoon, with a daughter. Cleopatra. Cleopatra was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the yonger, by whom shee was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these Egyptian Kings.

Ptolemie Philometor, so called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chafed out of his Kingdome, his yonger brother being fet vp against him. Phylcon hauing a frong party, got possession of Alexandria; and Philametor held himselfe in Memphis, craning succour of King Antiochus his vncle. Hereo! Antiechus was glad: who vnder colour to take vpon him the protection of the young Prince, fought by 30 all meanes possible to possesse himselfe of that Kingdome. He sent Apollonius the fonne of Mneftheus Embassadour into Egypt, and vnder colour to affilt the Kings

Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouernours of the yong King Philometor, to deliuer the King his Nephew with the principall places of that Kingdome into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and defire of his Nephewes fafety and well doing. And the better to answere all argument to the contratic he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of Syria to Joppe, and from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards Ieru. falem, where, by Iason the Priest (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) hee was with all 2.Mac.4. pompe and solemnitic received into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of Se-40 leucus, the brother and predecessour of Epiphanes, that impious Traitour Simon of Macacagas

the Tribe of Beniamin, Ruler of the Temple, when hee would have delivered the treasures thereof to Apollonius Gouernor of Calosyria and Phanicia, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heaven; the said apollonius being firucken by the Angel of God, and recovering agains at the prayer of Onias: yet sufficed not this example to terrific others from the like vngodly practices. Presently vpon the death of Seleucus, this lason, the brother of Onius, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselse, offered vnto the King three hundred and threefcore talents of filter, with other rents and fummes of money. Mac. 1.26.4. So hee got his defire, though he not long inioyed it.

This naughty dealing of Infon, and his being over-reached by another in the samekinde, calls to minde a by-word taken vpamong the Acheans, when as that mischieuous Callierates, who had beene too hard for all worthic and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went

One

Gonernour

One fire than other burnes more forcibly. One Wolfe than other Wolnes does bite more fore; One Hawke than other Hawkes more swift does fly. So one most mischieuous of men before, CALLICRATES, falle knaue as knaue might be. Met with MENALCIDAS more falle than be.

And even thus fell it out with Iason: who within three yeeres after, was betraved. and overbidden by Menelaus the brother of Simon, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Prietthood for himselfe: Iason thereupon being forced to flie 10 from Ierusalem, and to hide himselfe among the Ammonites.

From Ieru/alem, Antiochus marched into Phanicia, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into Agret; with which, Machental and with a mighty armic of land-forces, He went about toraigne ouer Ægypt, that

he might have the dominion of two Realmes, and entred Egypt with a mighty company, with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Nauie, and moved warre against PTOLEMEVS King of Egypt, but PTOLEMEVS was ofraid of him, and fled and

Verf. 18. 19.20. many were wounded to death. He wan many strong Cities, and tooke away the shoyles of the Land of Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecie of DANIEL: Hee Shall enterinto

Dance 11. v. 24. the quiet and plentiful Provinces, and he shall do that which his Fathers have not done, nor 20 his Fathers Fathers. Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of Syria fo great a victorie ouer the Agyptians, nor tooke from them so great riches. For hee gave a notable Hierom.in Dan. Ouerthrow to the Captaines of Ptolemie, betweene Pelusium and the hill Casium, af-

ter which he entred, and fackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of Egypt, Alexandria excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that ANTIO-CHVs had smitten Egypt, hee turned againe, and went up towards Ifracl and Icrufalem with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and tooke away the golden

Altar, and the Candlesticke for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the Powring Veffels, and the Bowles, and the golden Bafons, and the Vaile, and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. Hee tooke also the Silver and the Gold, and the 30.

precious Iewels, and the fecret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land after he had murdered many men. It was about the beginning of the Macedonian warre, that Antiochus tooke in

hand this Egyptian businesse. At what time he first layd claime to Calosyria; instifying his title by \* the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffely auerring, that this Prouince had not beene configned ouer to the Egyptian, or given Pulph.Legat. 81. in dowrie with Chopatra. Easie it was to approughis right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all Egypt. The Acheans, Rhodians, Athenians, and other of the Greekes, pressed him, by scuerall Embassages, to fome good conclusion. But his answere was that if the Alexandrians could be con- 40 tented to receive their King his Nephew Philometor, the elder brother of the Ptolemies, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when hee faw, that it was an hard piece of worke to take Alexandria by force: hee thought it

better to let the two brothers confume themselves with intestine warre, than by the terrour of his armes, threatning destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any defire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leaving the Ptolemies in very weake cstate; the yonger, almost ruinated by his inuation; the elder hated and for faken by his people.

But how weake focuer these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to bee so firong, that Antioches might leave them to the profecution thereof; and follow, at 50 good leifure, his other bufineffe at Ierusalem or ellewhere. So after the facke of Ierusalem, he rested him awhile at Antioch; and then made a journey into Cilicia, to suppresse the Rebellion of the Tharsians and other in those parts, who had bin giuen, as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of the Kings, called Antiochis. For

Governour of Syria in his absence he left one Andronicus, a man of great authoritie about him. In the meane while Menelaus the brother of Simon, the same who had thrust Islan out of the Pricsthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an Income, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother Lysimachus, fole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: wherof he presented a part to Andronicus the Kings Lieutenant, and fold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities adioining. This he did, as it seemeth, to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promised the same being now by Sostratus eagerly demanded. Hercof when Onias the Priest (formerly dispossessed by Iafon) had certaine knowledge, being mooned with zeale, and deteffing the facriledge of Menelaus, hee reprodued him for it; and

fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuary at Daphne.

CHAP.6. S.II. of the Historie of the World.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning as a suburb to Antioch. In compasse it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of Apollo and Diana, with a Groue, swecte Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a maner. abused to lust, and other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of onias, to commit himselfe to the protection of Apollo and Diana, or to claime priniledge, from the holines of a ground confecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for mine owne opinion; that the inconvenience is far leffe, to hold this booke as Apocryphall, than to judge this fearefull shift which 20 Onias (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allow-

able, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not saue the life of the pooreold man: for Mene Lavstaking Andronicus apart, prayed him to flay Macdina ana, ONIAS. So when he came to ONIAS, he counfelled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and per forading him to come out of the Sanctuary; so be flew him incontinently without any regard of righteousnesse. Hereof when complaint was made to Antiochus after his returne out of Cilicia, Hee tooke away ANDRONICVS his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the Citie. and in the same place where hee had committed the wickednesse against ONIAS, hee was Macres 4.0.38 Saine as amurderer. In taking reuenge of this innocent mans death, I should have

30 thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Iustice. But presently after this, at the fuit of one Ptolemie, a traytor to Ptolemie Philometor, he condemned innocent men to death; who iustly complained against Menelaus, and his brother Lysimachus, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the vesfels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne outragious will, and not by any regard of justice: since he revenged the death of Onias. yet flue those that were in the same cause with Onias; Who, had they told their cause, Versar. yea, before the Scythians, they should have been beard as innocent. By reason of such

his vnsteadinesse, this King was commonly termed Epimanes, that is, madde, in stead of Epiphanes, which fignifieth Noble or Illustrious.

After this, Antiochus made preparation for a second voyage into Agypt, and then Maciaic, s.v.i. were there feene throughout all the Citie of Icrusalem, forty dayes long, horfemen sunning in the avre with robes of gold, and as bands of Spearemen, and as troupes of Horsemen set in aray, encountring and coursing one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather forewarnings of Go D, all Histories have delivered vs, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of Ierusalem by Vespasian, a starre in the forme of a sword appeared in the Heavens directly over the City, after which there followed a flaughter like vnto this of Epiphanes, though farre greater. In the Cymbrian warres, Pliny Plindib. 2.0.57. tells vs, that Armies were seene fighting in the ayre from the morning till the eue-

In the time of Pope John the eleventh, a fountaine powred out blood in stead of water, in or nearethe Citie of Genoa; soone after which the Citie was taken by the Saracens, with great flaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, Vipera hath de Prodigilib.8. collected many, and very remarkable. But this one feemeth to me the most memo- Vipera de Prifrable, because the most notorious. All menknow, that in the Emperour Nero, the so favoin-

Off-fpring

Mac !. I.C. E.

Lib.6.

\* Cap. 5.5. 2.

Off spring of the Cesars, as well naturall as adopted, toke end; whereof this notable signe gaue warning.

Sueton.Gal)a.

When Linia was first married to Angustus, an Eagle let sal into her armes a white Henne, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. Linia caused this Henne to bee carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Henne came a faire encrease of white Poultrie, and from the little branch there sprang vp in time a Groue of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerours did vse to carrie in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Groue, and after the Triumphs ended, to set it againe in the same ground: which branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to fore shew the death of those persons to who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeere of Nero, all the broodes of the white Hennes died, and the whole Groue of Bayes withered at once. Moreouer, the heads of all the Casars Statues, and the Scepter placed in Angustus his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the Iewes did not thinke such strange signes to be evinworthy of regard; it appeares by their calling vpon God, and praying, that these tokens might turnet ogood.

Now, as the first voyage of Antiochus into Agypt was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein raigning: so was his second Expedition capsed by their good agreement. For the elder Ptolemie being left in Memphis, not firong enough to force his brother, who had defended Alexandria against all the power 20 of their vncle; thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by persualion than by armes. Physicon had not as yet forgotten the terrour of the former fiege: the Alexandrines though they loued not Philometor, yet loued they worse to liue in scarcitic of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) fince nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the yonger brother faw no likelihood of good iffue to bee hoped for without reconconciliation. These good helpes, and about all these, the louing disposition of Cleopatra, who then was in Alexandria, encouraged Philometor in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein hee flood of his vncle. For though Antiochus were gone out 30 of Agypt with his armie; yet had hee left behinde him a strong garrison in Pelustum; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of Agypt, to his owne vie. This consideration wrought also with Physcon, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of Cleopatra their fifter, the two brethren made an

end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to Antiochus, hee was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that hee had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King Philometor his nephew, and a meaning to subject his yonger brother vnto him, which he gaue in answere to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make sharpe warre vpon them both. And to that end hee presently fur- 40 nilhed and fent out his Nau'e towards Cyprus, and drew his land Armie into Calosyria, readie to enter £gypt the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as Rhinocorura, he met with Embassadours sent from Ptolemie. Their errand was partly to yeeld thankes to Antiochus for the establishing of Philometor in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That hee would rather bee pleased to signific what hee required to have done in Agypt, which should bee performed, thanto enter it as an enemie with so puissant an Armie But Antiochus returned this short answere, That he would neither call backe his Fleete, nor withdraw his Armie vpon any other condition, than that Ptolemie should surrender into his hands together with the Citic of Pelusium, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that 50 hee should also abandon and leave vnto him the He of Cyprus, with all the right that he had vnto either of them for euer. For answere vnto these demands, hee fet downea day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the Syrian Fleete entred Nilus, and recoursed as well those places which appertained to *Ptolemie* in *Arabia*, as in Ægypt it selfe; for *Mem-phu*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being vnable to resist him. The King having now no stoppe in his way to *Alexandria*; passed on thitherwards by easie journeyes.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein Egypt flood, the Romans had notice long agoe. But they found, or, were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a civill warre: and wherein Antiochus seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gaue fignification, that it would be much displeasing vnto them, to have the Kingdome to of Agypt taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not dor; being troubled with Per/ess; and therefore loth to prouoke Antiochus too farre. Neuertheleffe, the Agyptian Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in neede of helpe against their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to be expected, that not onely the Romans, but many of the Greekes, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. Rome had beene suffained with food from Egypt , in the warre of Hannibal; when Italy lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the Leyptian, had Aratus laide the soundation of that greatnesse, whereto the Acheans attained. And by the like helpe, had to Rhodes beene desended against Demetrius Poliorcetes. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the Ptolemies had done for fundry people abroad, ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requitall: but with continuance of sutable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers fent abroad confidently for ayde; especially to the Rhodians and Acheans, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the Romans , Physican and Cleopatra had fent, a yeere fince : but their Embaffadours lay till in Rome. Of the Acheans they defired in particular, that Lycortas the braue warriour might bee fent to them, as Generall of all the Auxiliaries, and his sonne Polybiu, Generall of the Horse. Hecreunto the Achiens readily condescended: and would immediatly 20 haue made performance; if Callierates had not interposed his milehieuous arte. Hee, whether feeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousnesse to the Romans; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose seruice the Kings defired; withflood the common voyce; which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be ayding vnto the Ftolemies. For it was not now (hee faide) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld vnto the Romans, what helpe focuer should bee required in the Macedonian warre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with bigge wordes, as it were in behalfe of the Romans. But Polybius affirmed, that 40 Martius the late Confull had fignified vnto him, that the Romans were past all neede othelpe: adding further, that a thousand foote, and two hundred horse, might well bee spared, to the ayde of their Benefactours, the Agyptian Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any service to the Romans; for as much as the Acheans could without trouble, raise thirtie or fortie thousand Souldiours. All this notwith standing, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of Call crates. For when it was thought that the Decree should have passed; hee brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from Martius; whereby the Asheans were defired to conforme themselves to the Roman Senate; and to labour as the Senate had 50 done, by sending Embassadours to set Agypt in peace. This was an advice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater bulinesse elsewhere, with such milde wordes, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the Acheans should doe any good in the

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fame kinde. Yet Polybius and his friends, durft not gaine-fay the Romane Councell : which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much diffresse; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was Perseus ouercome: and then might the Embassador sent from the Romane Senate, performe as much as any Armic could have done.

Audience had beene lately given by the Senate, vnto those Embassadors of Physicon and Cleopatra; which having trayed more then a whole yeere in the City. brought nothing of their businesse to effect untill now. The Embassadours deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them : though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) Philometer, no leffe than his Brother and to

770

In this Embassage of Ptolemie, now requesting helpe from Rome; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had beene before three or source veeres last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which beganne with the Macedonian Warre; either he, or Enlaus, or Lenaus (vpon whom the blame was afterwards layd) which had the gouernment of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not onely he determined to fet vpon Antiochus, for Calefyria; but would have interpoled himselse betweene the Romans and Perseus, as a competent Arbitratour: though it fell out well, that his Embassadour was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts, hee fell on the sudden, by the 29 rebellion of his brother and subiects, to line under protection of the same Antiochus. And now at such time as by atonement with his brother and subjects, hee might have feemed to fland in no neede of such protection, hee hath remaining none other helpe whereby to faue both his Kingdome and life, than what can bee obtained by their intercession which were imployed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and lifter shewed it selfe, even in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorely clad; the haire of their heades and beardes ouer-growne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their handes, branches of Oliuc. Thus they entred into the Senate; and there fell, groueling and prostrate vpon the floore. Their garments were not so meane and mournefull, nor their 30 lookes and Countenances so lad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For having told in what danger their King and Countrey stood; they made a pitifull and grieuous complaint vnto the Senate, befeeching them to have compassion of their estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly and faithfull to the Romans. They saide that the people of Rome had so much hecretofore fauoured this Antiochus in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased butto send their Embassadours, and let Antiochus know, that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before Alexandrea, and with-draw his Armie out of 40 Agypt, into Syria. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or vied any delay; then should Ptolemie and Cleopatra, be shortly driven out of their Realmes, and make repaire to Rome, with shamefull dishonour to the Senate, and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouch afed to relieue them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently C. Popilius Lenus, C. Decimius, and A. Hostilius, as Embassadors to determine and end the warre betweenethole Kings. In commission they had first to find King Ptolemie, and then Anticchus, and to let them both understand, that unlesse they surceased, and gaue ouer Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate, and peo- 50 ple of Rome, whom they found obstinate, or vsing delay. So these Romans, together with the Alexandrine Embassadours, tooke their leaue, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

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Whilest

Whilest Popilius and his fellowes were on their way toward Agypt, Antiochus had transported his Armic ouer Lusine, some fortie myles from Alexandria. So neere was hee to the end of his journey, when the Roman Embassadors met bim. Aftergreeting and falutations at their first encounter, Autiochus offered his right hand to Popilius: but Popilius filled it with a Role of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate, before hee did anie thing else. Antiochus did fo; and having a little while confidered of the businesse, hee tolde Popilies, That hee would aduise with his friends, and then give the Embassadours their answere. But Popilius, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of speech, which 10 hee had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him fuch an answere as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King aftonished at this so rude and violent a Commaundement, after hee had stayed and pawfed awhile, I will be content (quoth he) to doe what soeuer the Senate shall ordaine. Then Popilius gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the

Thus Antiochus departed out of Agypt, without anie good iffue of his conly Expedition; euen in such manner as \* Daniel had prophesied long before: Dancep.11. yea, fulfilling everie particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mif- version versions 20 chiefe to Ierufalem after his returne; like as if these things had rather beene historified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the Roman Embassadours, they stayed awhile, and settled the Kingdome of Egypt, leaving it vnto the elder brother. and appointing the younger to raigne ouer Cyrene. This done, they departed towards Cyprus; which they left, as it had beene, in the power of the Agyptian, hauing first sent away Antiochus Fleet, which had alreadic giuen an ouerthrow to the Egyptian ships.

d. XII.

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards EVMENES. PRUSIAS, MASANISSA, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instabilitie of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of PAVLYS, ANICIVS, and OCTAVIVS. With the Conclusion of the Worke.

Y this peremptorie demeanour of Popilius, in doing his Message, and by the readie obedience of King Antiochus to the will of the Scnate; wee may perceive how terrible the Romans were growne, through their conquest of Macedon. The same Popilius had been well contented, a yeare before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of

his naturall condition, and to give good language to the Acheans and Etolians, when hee went Embassadour to those people of Greece, that were of farre lesse power than the King Antiochus. Likewise, Antiochus had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadours which came from Rome, in such fort, as they complained not, much lesse vsed anie menacing tearmes, though hee performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as Antiochus.

Eumenes sent to Rome his brother Attalus, to gratulate the victorie ouer Per-50 feus, and to crave helpe or countenance of the Senate against the Gallogreekes, which molested him. Veriewelcome was Attalus, and louingly entertained by most of the Senatours: who bade him be consident, and requested of the Senate

CHAP. 6. S.12.

Polyb.ibid.

his brothers Kingdome for himfelfe; for it should surely be given him. These hopefull promises tickled Attalus with such ambition, that hee cyther approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaymed by the faithfull counsaile of Stratim a Phylician; whome Eumenes had sent to Rome of purpose to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Scnate, hee delinered the errand about which hee had beene fent; recounted his \*Liu.lib.45. owne services done to the Romans in the late Warre, \*wherewithall he forgat not to make of his brother as good mention as he could: and finally requefted. That \* Polyb, Legat. the Townes of Anus and Maronea might be bestowed upon himselfe. \* By his omitting to fue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceiued opinion, to that he meant to crave another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore, to make him understand how gracious hee was, they not onely graunted all his desire; but in the presents which they gauc to him (as was their custome to Embassadours that came with an acceptable message) they vsed singular magnificence. Neuertheleffe, Attalus tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had alreadie graunted. This did so highly difplease the Senate, that whilest hee was yet in Italie, they gaue order for the libertie of Enus and Maronea: thereby making vneffectuall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, reuoke. And as for the Gallogreekes, which were about to inuade the Kingdome of Pergamus; they fent Embassa-20 dours to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate beeing so manifest; Eumenes thought it worthie of his labour to make another voyage to Rome. Hee might well blame the follie of his second voyage thither, for this necessitie of the third: fince, by his malice to Perseus, he had layed open vnto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne dores. No sooner was he come into Italie, than the Senate was readie to fend him going. It was not thought expedient to vse him as an enemie, that came to visit them in loue: neyther could they, in so doing, haue auoided the note of fingular inconstancie: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would per- 30 mit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to Rome; and by vertue thereoffent him home, without expence of much further

Prusias King of Bithynia had beene at Rome somewhat before; where he was welcommed after a better fashion. Hee had learned to behaue himselfe as humbly as the proud Romans could expect or desire. For entring into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kiffed the threshold, calling the Fathers his gods and sauiours: as also hee vsed to weare a Cap, after the manner of slaues newly manumised, professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of Rome. Hee was indeede naturally a flaue, and one that by fuch abject flatteric kept himselfe40 fafe; though doing otherwife greater mischiefe than anie wherewith Perseus had beene charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne N icomedes, whome he brought with him to Rome, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have some Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the graunt would have beene vnjust, he received a cold answere. But concerning the Wardship of his sonne, it was vndertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to Agypt, in freeing it from Antiochus, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the Romans gave vnto the children of Kings, that were to their pa-

But aboue all other Kings, Masanissa held his credit with the Romans good. His quarrels were endlesse with the Carthaginians: which made the friendship of the Romans to him the more assured. In all controucrsies they gave judgement

on his side: and whereas hee had inuaded the Countrey of Emporia, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the Romans (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this opprelfion) compelled finally the Carthaginians both to let goe all their hold, and to pay fine hundred Talents to the Numidian, for having hindered him of his due so long. Now indeede had Rome good leylure to deuise upon the ruine of Carthage: after which, the race of Masaniffa himselfe was shortly by them rooted vp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreamed . Hee fent to Rome one of his sonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer Perseus; and offered to come this 10 ther himselfe, there to sacrifice for joy vnto supiter in the Capitol. His good will was louingly accepted; his sonne rewarded; and hee entreated to stay

Cotys the Thracian sent Embassadours, to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him giuen to Perseus, for that the Macedonian had him bound by hostages; and to entreat, That his sonne, which was taken with the children of Perseu, might be set at libertie for convenient ransome. His excuse was not taken; fince hee had voluntarily obliged himselfe to Perseus, by giving hostages, without necessitie: Yet was his sonne giuen backe to him ransome-free; with admonition, to carrie himselfe better toward the Romans in time following. His King-20 dome lay betweene Macedon and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for those vnhappic Kings, Perseus and Gentius, they were ledde through Rome, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of Emplius and Anicius. Perseus had often made suite to Emylius, that hee might not be put to fuch difgrace: but hee still received one skornefull answere, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant, that hee might kill himselfe. And furely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than hee found, hee would rather have fought his death in Macedon, than have beene beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the Roman 20 clemencie, whereof Amylius had given him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow King, had beene ledde in chaynes through the freetes, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the Capitol, there to doe facrifice, hee should command the captines to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were ouercome, might be both together at the vimost. This last sentence of death was remitted vnto Perseus : yet so, that hee had little joy of his life; but eyther familhed himselfe, or (for it is diversly reported) was 40 kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of fleepe. Of his fonnes, two died; it is uncertaine how. The youngest called Alexander (onely in name like vnto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a loyner, or Turner. or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the Roman Officers. In such pouertie ended the Royall House of Macedon; and it ended on the suddaine; though some eightscore yeares after the death of that Monarch, vnto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If Perfeus had knowne it before, that his owne sonne should one day bee compelled to earne his living by handie-worke, in a painefull Occupation; it is 50 like, that he would not, as in a wantonnesse of Soueraignetie, have commaunded those poore men to be slaine, which had recoursed his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been verie gentle, and would haue considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most undertroden wretches, are all subject vnto One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command.

Tttttt 3

But such is our vnhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsaile, Doe as yee would be done vonto, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie , wee entertaine that arrogant thought, I will be like to the Most High: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One bath said truly:

Inuenal Sat. 10.

-- v v -- Et qui volunt occidere quenquam Posse volunt -----

Euen they that have no murdrous will, would have it in their power to kill.

19

All, or the most, have a vaine desire of abilitie to doe euill without controlle: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. Goo, who best can judge what is expedient, hath graunted fuch power to verie few : among whome alfo, verie few there are, that vie it not to their owne burt. For who fees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soucraigne authoritie to the vtmost extent, enableth (befides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne some nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, not with flanding their brotherhood, or other neerenesse in bloud, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that gouernes one, the most vnworthie of his whole 20 house, yet raigning oner all? The vntimely death of manie Princes, which could not humble themselves to such flatterie; and the common practice of the Turkish Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hercof. Hercto may be added, That the heire of the same Roger Mortimer, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King Edward the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of England: which had be obtained, then had all the power of Edward fallen into the race of his mortall enemie, to exercise the same vpon the Line of that vnhappie King. Such examples of the instabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish 30 the transitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the cuill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so doe they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained a King able to con-\*The true Law ceine and teach, That \* Goo is the forest and sharpest Schoolemaster, that can be deuised, for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controlment to turne it upside-downe at their pleasure.

of free Monarchies.

Now, concerning the Triumph of L. Emylius Paulus; it was in all points like vnto that of T. Quintius Flaminius: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was led along therein, as part of his owne spoyles; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the 40 quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by Paulus into the Roman Treasurie, that from thenceforth, vntill the civill Warres, which followed vpon the death of Iulius Casar, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with anie Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have beene hindered by the fouldiors; who grudged at their Generall, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiors herein, and brought them to reason by seuere exhortations. Thus Paulus enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuerthelesse, it pleased Goo to take away from him his two remayning sonnes, that were not given in adoption: of which, the one died fine dayes before the Triumph; the other, three dayes 50 after it. This loffe hee bore wifely: and told the People, That hee hoped to fee the Commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the joy of his victorie was requited with his owne private calamitie, in stead of the publike.

About

About the same time, Offauius the Admirall, who had brought Perseus out of Samothrace; and Anicius the Prætor, who had conquered Illyria, and taken King Gentius prisoner; made their seuerall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent fpectacles; together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citic, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in person; were enough to say vnto Rome, Sume superbiam, Take vpon thee the Maieflie, that thy deferts baue purchased.

DY this which we have alreadic fet downe, is seene the beginning and end of 10 D the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of Rome which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field; having rooted vp, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the stormes of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, have bin the subject of those ancient Histories, which have beene preserved, and yet remaine among vs; and 20 withall of so many tragical Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mightie men haue complained against Infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these vndertakings, the greatest Lords of the world have beene stirred vo. rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth vp the Aire, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation, and fo many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of Cineas to Pyrrhus proues. And certainly, as Fame hath often beene dangerous to the liuing, fo is it to the dead of no vse at all because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargaine of buying this lasting discourse, vnder-30 flood by them which are diffolued; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have stolne out of the world without noise; than to be put in minde, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and crueltic, by giving in spoile the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and infolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with fo many and fo variable forts of forrowes.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire (omitting that of the Germanes, which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there hath been no State searefull in the East, but that of the Turke; nor in the West any Prince that hath spred his wings farre ouer his nest, but the Spaniard, who since the time that Ferdinand expelled the 40 Moores out of Granade, have made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many Kingdomes which they possesse in Europe, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the Turke is now counterpoised by the Persian, so in stead of so many Millions as have been spent by the English, French, and Netherlands in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is casie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeares or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing fireames may be brought backe into their naturall channels and old bankes. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be so regarded; the one seeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and fincere profession thereof, the one to joyne all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to Spaine.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundleffe ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath bin already faid; That the Kings and Princes of the world have alwayes laid before them, the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which præceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miserie of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of GoD, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdome of the world. without speaking a word; which GoD with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleeved; GoD, which hath made him and loues him, is alwayes deferred. I have considered (faith SALOMON) all the workes that are under the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie, 10 and vexation of spirit: but who beleeves it, till Death tells it vs? It was Death, which opening the conscience of Charles the fift, made him enjoyne his sonne Philip to reftore Nauerre; and King Francis the first of France, to command that inflice should be done upon the Murderers of the Protestants in Merindel and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forepassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that filles his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the 20 most beautifull, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just and mightie Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou onely hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre ftretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, Hie inset.

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calles it selfe, The first part of the Generall Historie of the World, implying a Second and Third Volume; which I also intended, and have hewne out; besides many other discouragements, 30 perswading my silence; it hath pleased G o p to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose vnspeakeable and neuer enough lamented loffe, hath taught me to fay with I os, Ver faeft in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.

FINIS.

# To the Reader.



He vee of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Histories, that reach to anie length of time; and most of all, to those that are most generall: since they cannot, like Annales, yearely fet downe all Occurrences not coharent. This heere following, may ferue as an Index to the prefent Part of this Worke; pointing vnto the severall matters, that having fallen

10 out at one time, are farre dissoyned in the Relation. Certainely it is not perfect: neither doe I thinke, that anie can be. For how soener the yeares of the first Patriarchs may seeme to have beene well-neere compleat, yet in the raignes of the Kings of Iuda and I fract, wee finde manie fractions, and the last years, or years, of one King reckened also as the formost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in manie other; though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the diverse and imperfect formes of the yeare, which were in vie among fundrie Nations: caufing the \* Summer \* See Lib. 1. Moneths, in processe of some Ages, to fall into the Winter; and so breeding extreme Chap.3.5.6. confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chuse, out of so manie, and so viterly disagreeing computations, as have alreadie gotten an-20 thoritie, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alleaged, in excuse of such error as a more intentine and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde herein. It may ferue to free the Booke, and likewife the Reader (if but of meane judgement) from anie notorious Anachronicisme; which ought to suffice. The Booke indeed will need it, even in that regard; not onely for some errors of the Presse, in the numbring of yeares, but for some hastie mis-reckonings of mine owne; which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his owne eafe.

The Titles over the Columnes, have reference to that which followes under them; 30 as will readily be conceined. Where two Titles, or more, are over the head, as Nahanasar there doe the numbers underneath answere proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Ierusalem were finished in the 319. yeare from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from NABONASSAR. In like manner it is to be understood, That I E HO S OP HAT began his raigne in the 3774. of the IVLIAN Era, in the 2092. of the World, and in the 99. yeare of the Temple. This needes not more illustration; nor indeede so much, to those that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To avoid prolixitie, I have forborne to infert those yeares, which I finde not signed with some regardable accident : as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Raigne; some change of Government; some 40 Battaile fought; or the like. So, of the 13. yeares wherein SYLVIVS CAPETUS raigned over the Latines, I note onely the first; that is, omitting all betweene the 4. of IEHOSOPHAT, wherein CAPETVS began, unto the 17, wherein SYLVIVS A-VENTINUS succeeded, and wherein I EHORAM fo st raigned with I EHOSOPHAT bis father. For I thoubt it vaine to boue filled up a Page with 12. lines of idle cyphers; numbring forth 2.3.4.5. and fo fill onwards, till I had come to the first of A VENTI-NVS. and 17. of IEHOSOPHAT. In letting downe the Kings, there is noted over the head of euerie one, what place he held in order of Succession; as whether he were the first, second, fift, seventh, or so forth, in ranke, of those that raigned in his Country, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeare of his raigne; at the end, or foct 50 of the name (as the pace gives leave) is the whole number of yeares in which he raigned; in the spaces following underneath are those yeares of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeare of anie remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there is it to be understood, that the Same yeare helonged, not onely to the King then beginning, but unto some one, or more, of

## To the Reader.

his fore-goers: as the first years of IEHORAN King of Israel was the same with the second of his brother AHAZIA, and the 22. of his father AHAB. So, where two or three names are found in one space; as in the 2077, yeare of the World, ZIMRI, TIBNI, and OMRI: it is meant, that everie one of them raigned in some part of the same yeare; which is reckoned the second of ELA, and the first of OMRI. Particularly, under the yeares of the Agyptian Kings are let downe the yeares of those Dynasties. which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, other whiles, the day of the moneth upon which NABONASSARS yeare began: which, how it varied from other yeares, may be found in the place last above cited.

Concerning the Æra, or accompt of yeres, from IPHITVS, who began the Olympiads, 10 from Rome built, from NABONASSAR, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath beene (aid, where due place was, in the Booke it selfe: so as it remaineth onely to note, that under the title of Olympiads is fet downe first the number of the Olympiad. and beneath it, the yeare of that Olympiad: as that Cyr vs began his raigne in Persia.

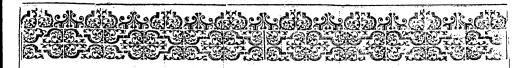
in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeare thereof.

Now, for that the yeares of the world, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of NABONAS-SAR, and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April some about Midsummer, and some at other times: the better to expresse their seucrall beginnings, some painefull Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their seucrall Columnes; opposing part of the one yeare to part of the other: not (as I have here done) 20 cutting all overthwart with one streight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared, as more troublesome than vefull; since the more part would not baue apprehended the meaning, and fince the learned might well be without it. It will onely be needfull to obserue, that howsoeuer the Era of the Olympiads be 24. yeares elder than that of Rome, and 29, than that of NABONASSAR, yet the raigne of some King may have begun at such a time of the yeare as did not sute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will eafily finde my meaning: the vulgar will not finde the difficultie. One familiar example may explane all. Queene Elizabeth began her raigne the 17. of Nouember, in the yeare of our LORD 1558: Shee was crowned; held a Parliament; brake it up; threw downe Images; and reformed manie things in Re- 20 ligion; all in her first yeare: yet not all in that yeare 1558, but the greater part in the yeare following; whether we begin with the first of Ianuarie, or with the 25. of March. The like may be other whiles found in this Table; but so, as the difference is never of a whole

The IVLIAN Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the yeares of the World, was deuised by that honorable and excellently learned IOSEPH SCALIGER: being accommodated to the IVLIAN yeares, now in vse among vs. It consists th of 7980 yeares; which refult from the multiplication of 19.28. and 15, that is, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the yeares of an Indiction. Being divided by anie of thefe, it leaves the number of the present yeare; or if no fraction remaine, it showes the last 40 yeare of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the 4498. of this Period, when was fought the great battaile of Canna, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sunne 18, and consequently the Dominicall letter F. as may be found by dividing the Same number of the IVLIAN Period 4498, by 19 for the Prime, by 28. for the Cycle of the Sunne. This IVLIAN Period, after the prefent accompt, alwayes exceedes the yeares of the World by 682. Besides the former ves, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a yeare, than anie other Æra (as From the beginning of the World, From the Floud, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertaine po-

More I shall not need to write, as touching the vse or explication of these Tables. Nei- 50 ther was thus much requisite to such as are connersant in workes of this kinde: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plaine enough to the vulgar.

Inlian



# CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE

YEERES OF THE FULLAN PERIOD, WORLD, PATRIARCHS, &c.

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	Iuitan. VVorld.	Noah.	Sem.	Arpl	a Salah	. Heber	Peleg.	Ren.	Allyria	Sara	g. Egypt.	Nabor	Terah		<u>a</u>
	F.oud 2618	-	<del> </del>	xad		+		<u> </u>	1 20		3/1.		1	Sicyon.	]
	1936	880	378	278	243	213	179	149	35	11	7 89	87	58	I AE; ya	5
	2649 1967 310	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	1. Ni-		3 120	118	89	32	
	2070 1988 221 ·	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	2 2	169	141	139	110	1. En.	
The Last years of Peleg his life.	1996	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	1.47	118	9	Ì
The death of Nahor.	1997 340	941	43 <i>9</i>	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Noah dyea	200 <i>6</i> 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16. Dynastie in Egypt.Vid.L.2 c.2. §.3,4,5,&c.	200 <i>9</i> 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 (. Miz raim or O firu, 261		131	22	1. d. bram. 175
The late war	2701 2019 262		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Sewira- mis, 42	200	1		141	3 <b>2</b>	11
The last yeere	2026		468	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
Th-1.0.0	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	3 1. Telchin or Selchin, 20	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	3 2 6			31	230	41		171	17	41
-	Julean. VV orld. Floud	Sem.	Arpha	xad.	Salah.	Heber.	·Affy	ria	Ægyp	, [	Terah.	C			
	2735 2053 296	495	39	5	360	530	3 5		45		175	1. A)		4	5
	2743 2061 404	503	40	3	368	3;8	. Nini.	u, 28	53		183	5		5	3
	2760 2078 421	520	420	>	385	355	18		70		200	1. The Thelass	lxion or	79	<b>5</b>
Abram receives the Promife. Terah dyes in Yaran l.z. c. 1 . § . I , 2 , 3 .	2083	525	42	5	390	360	23		.75		205	6		75	
Abram enters inte	World. Promissi.	Sem.	Arpha	xad.	Salah.	Heber.	Abra	m.	A∬yri	a.	Ægypt.	Sic	on.		
(Asan, and defends ate Egyps The first of the 430. years of Scrussude	2084	526	4	26	391	361	76		24		76		7		
Abram returnes into Canaan. Abram his victo-	2085	527	42	7	392	362	77	,	25		7 <b>7</b>	8			
noram his victo- ne over Chedorlao mer, & other Kings. l.z.c.1.5.8,9.&c.	2093	535	43	5	400	370	85		33		85	1	6		
	2777 2095 12	537	43,7		402	372	87		35		87	1	8		
	2778 2096 13	538	438		403	373	88		36		88	19	,		

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1	Iulian. World. Promise.	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abra-	Asyria	Ægypt.	Sic <del>y</del> on,		
	2781   2099   16	541	406	376	91	6 1.Ari- 115 30	91	22		
Isac borne when Abraham was 100. veeres old compleate 101. current.	2791 2109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. <i>lfanc</i> 180	
The last yeers of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18	
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	1 Ara- lius 40	121	52	21	
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. АЕду- гиз, 34	22	
Sarai the wife of Abraham dyed this yeere.	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37	
Ilaactooke Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. yeeresold compleate.	2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41	
The last yeere of Scm.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50	
	Vorld. Premife.	Heber	Abra- ham		Iacob.	Assyria	Ægypt.	Sicyon	dr- gines.	
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	T. T'burn machus,	5	
	285! 2169 86	446	161	61	1 laco	8 1. Ba- less 30	161	6	1. Ina- chus, 50	
Abraham dyed this yeere.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
Heber dyed this yeere.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19	
The 17. Dynestic, called of the Shep- beards, beginning this yeers, lasted 103 yeers.	116			91	31	1. Arma- mithres,	101	36	31	
	2 8 9 I 2 2 0 9 1 2 6			101	41	11	201	g. Leucij		
-	290 I 22 I 9 1 3 6			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 1. Phoro- neus, 60	
The flond of Ogyges, a thousand and twentie yeeres before the Olympiads.  See L.t.c.7. §.2.	2237 154			1 29	69	I O 1 Belochus Prijeus, 31	7.7	29	19	
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	feph.
	1944 2262 179			154	94	26	25 <b>4</b> 64	1. Mefi.	44	3
See L.2. c.2. 2.6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	3,4	3 & 4 t. Typhon, and af him Hercul. 72	7. 9	5 2	11
	2954 1272 189			162	¥ 102	II I. Ba leus 5		11	54	13

	Iulian World			Isaac.	Tacob.	1[jyri.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argines.	T
	Promif	i.	-!	<u> </u>		"	5,1		200	
Ioseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 104			169	109	6	1.0141,7	16	50	1 5
-	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. Apie.	20
The Last yeere of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12	27	10	7 :5
Israel into Egypt,	2980 2298 215				130	27	22	37	20	32
The eighteenth Dynastise in Ægypt, which isted 348, yeeres.	2302				154	3 I	26	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	338	Pera-	31	50
	2996 2314 231				146	43	8	6	1. Argus,	7.5
Iacob. dyes in £eypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39	7	3	56
	Iuli.in. World. Promise.	loseph.	Affy	ria.	Ægy	pt.	Sicyon,	Argu	es.	
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Altad		48	3	16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32		79 54	ı,	11 . Phm-	42		
	3038 23 <b>5</b> 6 273	97	13 1.Mam	ir°,^c	80 cc		2	43		
The last yeere of Ioseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	.	93 68		15	56		
	2384 2381		29		108		30	r. Piraji Crestiu	es, or	
	;068 2386 203		14 Manca		110		3 2	3		
	3074 2292 300		7		6 1, "efojiris th 91	e Great 33	38	9		
	3085 2403 320	-	13		13		.Orth.	20		-
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spher Ipheress.	rus 07	25 11 c		14	33		
	7107 2425 742		10		Sejoffris the	fecond I A	23	42		
	3116 243 <del>4</del> 351	1.Mofes. 120	19		10		32	51		

	Iulian World. Promisc.	Moses	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon. Arg	ines.		
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1.Mamilas,or Mamelus. 30	12 135	34	53		
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14	36	6 1 Phor bas. 35		
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1.01°,2.01 B# siris, 38. 138	37	2	Athe- nians.	
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1.Sparetus,40	28 165	13 1. Marathius, 20	29		
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. Leerops 50	
Moses visites his brethren the Israelites; kills an Ægyptian, and syes into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1.Trio- pas, 46	5	
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. Thermusis. or As- cencherts, Qu. 12. 176	12	5	9	
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. Ratheris, er dehoris, 9. 188	24	17	21	
	3178 2496 413	63	31	8 195	14 1. Marathus 20	24	28	
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1.Chĕcres,16 197	3	26	30	
	3188 2506 422	73	18 1. Ascatades. 40	205	11	34	38	
Moses his wonders in & Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16	18	41	45	
	Iulian. World. Exedus.	Moses	Asyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	
The Passeouer. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The sirst of the 480. yeeres from Exodus to building the Temple.	3 196 2514 1	8 x	9	1. Acherres, 8.	19	42	46	
The Floud of Deucalion, and Conflagra- tion of Phaeton about this time.	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	1. Echirens		48	
	3 201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. Cross- pus, 21	2 1. Cra- Hauj, 10	
	3204 2522 9	89	17	1.Cherres, 15 221	7	4	4	
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 s.Amplny- tryon, 12	
		104	32	14 1. Armeus, or Danaus, 5. 236		19	9	
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	Sthene lus, 11	12	

	Iulian. World. Exodus.	Moses	A∬yria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	
	3 <sup>2</sup> 23 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 Erillio *:us. 50	
	3224 25 <b>4</b> 2 29	109	37	15 1.Ramesses,68 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. Amyntas, 45	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 246	3 <b>2</b>	8	7	I Darda nus, 64
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Da- naus, 50	11	5
The last yeere of Moscs.	3235 2553 40	120	8	1 2 252	38	3	13	7
	Iulian. World. Exodus.	Ifrael.	∕i∬yria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon,	Argos.	Athens	Troy.
The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.	3236 2554 41	1 1 Iosua 18	9	13 2<3	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. Corax, 30	21	31	25
	325 <b>4</b> 2572 59	2 1 <i>Otho-</i> niel,40	27	31 271	2	22	3 <b>2</b>	36
	3 2 7 3 2 5 9 <b>1</b> 7 8	20	20 1. Belochus the second. 25.	50 290	2.1	41	5 1. <i>Pan-</i> diõ, 40	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1.Ерореня, 35	11 2.Lyn- ce <sup>9</sup> ,41	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1. Menophis, 309 40.	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1. EriEtho- niw, 46
,	2294 2612 99	1 Ehud 80		3 311	12	12	22	2
	32 <b>9</b> 8 2616 103	5	21 1. Belopares. 30	7 315	16	16	26	6
	33 <sup>1</sup> 3 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1.EreAhe- w. 50	21
	3318 2636 123	25	2.1	27 335	18 1. Lamedon.		6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 34 <b>1</b>	7	12 1. A- bas. 22		32
	3328 2646 133	35	1. Lamprides 32.	37 345	11	5	16	36

Control				·				
The 19. Dynastie : of the Larthes, 94. yeeres. See lib.2. c.26. §.4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1 Zethus,or Sethefii, 55	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	I.Tra
Tantalus in Phrygia.	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1.Præ.	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	3 <b>I</b>	27 27	19 1.Sicvon, 45.	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. Sofares, 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	3 <b>2</b> 3 2	6	17	7 1. Cecros: the jecons!	25
onne sus.	3364 2 <b>6</b> 82 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 . Acti- fus, 31	,	26
Ion and Xuthus the some of Hellen. e 1.2. c.17. §.6.	3374 2692 179	4. t. Debora & Ba. 40	15	43 43	17	71	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24. Lampares,	49	23	17	18	42
	33 <sup>8</sup> 7 2 <b>7</b> 05 192	14	8	18 1.Ramses, 66. 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrifius, the Kingdome of the gives meed indeed into many (mall perseand over- run in that of Moeins whereof four Ry gradefended from the entergrown Pelops, a inthe Persegne, ollowing.	3394 2712 199	31	15	8 63	37	31	32	56
lus. Pelans	ino- nus.							
Thye- tie  Are- us  Ni pe	cip-	Tyn-		Perfe.	Andro			
(thus.)	cne_	dare.	Sthe lus	Pol- lux.	rlcz- us.			
(r-) Iphige Electric fles.			, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Amphitryon.	Ale- a. Ale- Aryon	Ar.		-
				Hercu les.				

	lulian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	A∬yria.	Egypt.	Sicy		Nice-	Athens	Troy.
	3399 2717 304	26	20	13 68	4	2		37	1. Ilius, 55.
	3 <b>4</b> 02 <b>2720</b> 20 <b>7</b>	29	23	16 71	4	- 1.	t Enri Theus, 45	40	4
	3403 3721 208	30	24	17 72	t.P bus	oly-	2	, Pandien the 2. 25	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. Pannias,45	24 79	7		y	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1.Gede- 01,40.	5	28 83	1	2	13	12	16
Pandion chafed out of his Kingdome, which is re- sured by his forme Aegeus, hig few yeeres after. The mission of this interregrum, and rechoning the yeeres take fartic eight of Aegaus, or the numbrum them a-	,-	14	18	41 96	2	5	26	25	29
art by themselues, breede answerable difference in the mes of the Athenians following: as of Mnestheus, acops, and the reft.	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	,	31	9 1. 2. 3. 48.	34
Oedipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112		1 Ina- 142	4 <sup>2</sup>	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61		5	t. Atreu and Thye Hes, 6	16	49
	3453 2771 258 40		44	19 1. Amenop. 122	his, 1	1	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259		45	2 122		2	8	23	1. Laomedon,
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1.Sofarmus 1	9 3		13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	1.The		5 1 2		15	11	26	4
	3474 2792 379	18	27 1.Mitreu 2	7 14		3 2	28	43	21
	3480 2798 286	3 1.100		28	9	38	34	10 1,Th fens, 2	
	348 280 29	3 6	1 2	33 154		22 .Phe us, 8		6	32
	3490 2808 II		17	3 1	8 59	6	44	. 11	1. Priamus, 40
	3493 2811 298 3497 2815 18	1 14	20	1. Annen 162	0	23 . Ads fus, 4	47	14	4
		24	5	,	24 t. Po phides	'y- 31	18	8	
	35	10	28 I.Tantane	132	170	5	5	5 22	12

	Iulian Werla	I Ifrael	A[yria.	1	Egypt.	Sicyon	Mice-	Athen	Troy.
	Exodus 3502	.	"		10	1	na.	<del> </del>	-
	2820	ta,6.	2		171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ib.	. 8		16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 215	3	10		18 179	14	64	II I.Mn sthe° 2.	21
	3512 2830 317	. 5	1 2		20 181	16	ı, Aga- memnon,		23
	3515 2833 320	11 1.Elon	, ,		23 184	19	4	6	26
The warre of Troy beganne this yeere.	3519 2837 324	5	19	1.1	21 Thuoris, 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 3843 330	1 2 1 . Ab- don, 8			7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie, called Of the Diapo- litani, beganne this yeere in Ægypt, and lasted 178. yeeres, Sce lib. 2. c. 26. §. 4.	2 <sup>8</sup> 44 331	2	26	r.	20 Dynastie. 178	30	15	17	37
	35 28 2846 33 2	4	28		3	25 1. Pelaf- gus, 20.	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. yeeres, before the be- ginning of the Olympiads. See 1. 2. c. 14. §. 1.	2847 334	5	29		4	2	18	20	40. Troy ta
	Inlian. World. Exodus.	From Troj iaken.	Israel.	יקצו	ia Egypt	Sicyon.	Мусе- r.a.	Athen.	The King- dome of the Latines.
·	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1,Aegy-  lhus, 6.	21	
	3533 2851 328	4	13 1.Samson, 20	1.Te		6	4	24	1 1. Aeneas, 3.
	353 <b>4</b> 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1. Demo phou, 33	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1.0re- stes,70	3	1. Ascaniu, 38
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1. zeu- Jippus 32	13	15	13
	3553 2871 258	2	14 r. Eli, 40.	2.1	28	6	18	20	18
1	272	38	15	3 5	42	20	32	I 3 1. Oxyn- 101, 12.	32
]3	573 891 278	44	21	1.Thy neus:		26	38	7	38
	574 892 379	45	23	2	49	27	39	8 1	. Syl. Posthu- uu, 29.

	Iulian. World. Exodus.	From Troy taken.	Iſra	iel.	A¶yria	Egypt.	Sicyon,	Myce- na.	Athens	The King- dome of the Latines.
The Sycionian Kings ended in Zeusippus.	284	50	2	7	7	54	32	44	I4 t. Apini- las, t.	6
	3580 2898 385	51	2	.8	8	55		45	I 5 1. Timae- tes, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	3	36		63		53	16 1. Melan thus, 37.	. 15
	3593 <b>3911</b> 208	64	1.Samuel. him Saul,	5 andajšer 40.	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	1	1	3 I 1.Derci- /111,40.	78		68	16	4 1.Syluius Æ. neas,31.
	3606 2924 411	77	1	4	4	81		I. Telame. nus, 2.	19	4
The described the sterractive into Pelopomeelin, gause and to the Kingdome of Mysens , and beginning to the Kingdome of Sparta, Counting and M. Houe, the Kings whereof I forbear a con- ference this Table.	3609 29 <b>27</b> 414	80	1	17		84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	<u> </u>	3	23	100			17 1. Co. 4r <sup>9</sup> , 21	. 23
	Iulian World. Exodus.		From Troy taken.	Iſ	rael.	A∬yria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines,	
	3633 29 <b>51</b> 438		104	s. Da	nid, 40.	31	108	و	31	
	3634 2952 439		105		2	3 2.	109	10	5 1. \$9 l, La unus, 50.	
	3 643 <b>29</b> 61 448		114	1	1	32 1.Енра les, 38.	118	19	10	
The Medontida Jucceede unio the A- thenian Kings, after the death of Codrus. See L. 2. C. 17. S. 10.	3646 2964 451		117	1	14	4	121	1 1.Me- don,20	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	3	4	24	141	2 1. Aga- flus,36.	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt. Sec L. 2.C. 26. \$. 5.	3673 2991 478	Tem- ple 1.	144	i. Salo	<i>mon</i> ,40	31	148	8	40	-
Salomon beganne to build the Temple 480. yeeres compleat after the deliuerance out of Ægypt,	29 <b>9</b> 4 481	1	147		4	34	151	11	43	
	3681	6	152		9	33 1,Laofthe- 1161, 45.	156	16	48	
	36 84 3002	9	155	,	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba 39.	
	3692 3 <b>01</b> 0	17	163	2	0	12	1.Sejac 26 167	27	9	
	3 <i>7</i> 02 3020	27	173	3	o	22	11	3 1.Archip pu1,19.	19	
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	Iulian. World.		From Troy taken.	Iſr	ael.	Aſ	Iyria.	Egypt.	Athen	Latines	
The 21. Dynastic in Egypt, which la- fied 130. yeeres.	3704 3022	29	175		32		24	13	3	21	
The lon-changer, ition after the taking of Trey 180, yeares. See L. 2.C. 17. \$. 6.	3 <b>7</b> 09 3027	34	180		37		29	18 6	8	26	
	Iulian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Iuda	١.	Isra	el.	AJjyr	ia.	Egypt.	Athens	Latines
	3713 3031 38	184	1. Reho	boam,	I. lerob	0Am, 22.	33		32 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6		. 6		5	8	1.(bem- mis, 50 15.	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9		9		4	1	4	4 1 Tersip- 145, 41	38
	3723 3 <b>9</b> 41 48	194	11	:	11		43	3	6 20	3	7 1 Syl. A 195, 26.
	3726 3044 51	197	1.	<b>f</b>	14	+	1.Pyrit	hi.1des 20	9	6	4
	375° 3048 55	201	1. Abisa		18		5		13 27	10	8
3	3051 58	204	3 1. Ala	41.	21		8		16 30	1 3	11
	37/4 3052 59	205	2		22 2 1. Nad	ab. 2.	9		17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3		2 1. Baafh	1,24.	10		18 32	15	13
	749 1007 74	220	17		15		24		32 46	29	8 1. Syl. Capys, 28
	3756 3074 81	227	2.4	ł	22	:	1. Ophr	atem,	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	20	5	24 1. Ela,	2.	3		41 55	38	IO
Of these Israelitish Kings. See lib. 2. . 19. \$.5.	3°77 8 <b>4</b>	230	27		\ \ \sum_{\infty} \ \ \sum_{\infty} \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	si.	4		42 56	39	. 11
	3080 87	233	30	·	4	1 1 2	7		45	5 1. Pher- bas,3 I.	14
	37 <b>6</b> 8 3086 93	239	3.0	5	10		13		ops,56. 65.	7	20
	3770 3088 05	241		8	1. Aha	B b,22.	15		3	9	22
	2774 1092 99	245	. Ichof.	aphat,	5		15		7 71	13	26

	Iulian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Iuda.	Ifraol.	∆∬yria	Egypt.	Athens	La- tines.	
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	36 1. Ophra. 1. aucs, 50.	9 73	15	28	
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1.831, Ca P.4113,13	
Of Ichoram his fundrie beginnings to reigne, See lib. 2. c. 20. \$. 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. lehoram.	21 9 1.Ahazia,2.	15	23 87	29	10 1. Syl.Ty- bernus, E	
	3791 3109 116	263	18	2 2 2 10 1. I.horam, 12.	16	24 88	30	2	
	3793 3111 118	264	20	3	18	26 90	6 1.Sieza- les, 30.	4	
	3795 3113 120	266	1. lehoram againe, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6	
Ichofaphat dies , and Ichoram rengaes alone.	3798 3116 123	269	<sup>25</sup>	8	23	3 <b>I</b> 95	6	11 1. 7/1. A 30. Fd, 41.	
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. Ahazia.1.	12	27	35 99	10	ş	
·	3803 3121 128	274	1. Athalia,	11 1. Ichu, 28.	28	36 100	I f	6	
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1. Io.15, 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12	
Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. \$.6.	3819 3137 144	290	II	17	44	52 116	27	22	
	3825 3143 148	<sup>294</sup> .	15	21	48	56 120	tui, 28.	26	
	3 <sup>8</sup> 24 3142 149	295	16	22	49	. (sphre- es, 50. I 2 I	2	27	
	3826 3144 151	<b>3</b> 97	18	24	37 - Octazapes or t. Anatyn Janaxes42	3	4	29	
:	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. Ichoabez.	6	8 128	9	34	
The end of the 21. Dynastie. The Dy- nasties following, I omit.	383 <b>3</b> 3151 158	304	25	3	8	130	11	36	
	3157 164	310	3 r	9	14	16	17	12 1.S) l. Al- ladius,19	
Ioas reigned with his Father. Lib. 2. c.22.5.7.	3163	316	37	13 1. loas.	20	22	23	7	
Ioas reignes alone.	3 <sup>8</sup> 47 3165 172	318	39	1. loas, 16.	22	:4	25	9	
	3848 3166 173	319	40 1. Amazia, 20.	2	23	25	26	10	-
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	Iulian. FVorld. Temple.	Troy.	Inda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	· S i.Phere- dus, 19	13	
	3858 3766 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 1.Syl A- uentinus, 37-	
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1.1croboam,41.	37	39	12	5	
	3868 3186 192	<b>3</b> 39	21	7	38 1.Sardana. palu:,20.	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	34 t	23	9	3.	47	9 1. Ari- 1. phron 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	.27	13	7	i.Mycc-	5	16	
	Iulian, World. Temple.	Troy.	Inda.	Ifrael.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latines.	Media
L. 2. C. 22. §.11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interreg- num eleuen yeeres.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880	351	4	19	13	1. Boc- chorus, 44		22	
L,2. c, 22. §. 12.	2887 3205 212	358.~	11	26	30 Sarda Japalus Jaine,	8	18	29	
L. 2. c. 33. S. 1. & 4.	3888 32 <b>6</b> 6 213	359	10 1. Unia, or, Anaria, 52-	27		9	19	30	1 1. Arba- ses,28.
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	IO I The- Speins, 27	32	3
L.2. c. 23. §. 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	3.1	I 1.Belofus, or Phul. 48.	13	3	34	5
	3895	366	8	3.4	4	16	6	1.4 1.Syl. Pro cas, 23.	8
L. 2. c. 23. &.1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1.Interreg- num, 23. yeeres.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1. Sofar- mus, 30.
	3917 3235 242	388	30	1.9	26	38	II 1. Agam nestor, 20	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	3	I 5 1. Syl: A- mulius,44	3
×	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	t. Tychis and after him Any fis. 6.	8	. 7	9
Zacharia begin at the very end of the yeere. L.2. c. 23. 5. 1.		396	38	zacharia fixe	34	2	9	8	10

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: '	Iulian, World. Temple.				Iuda.	Ifrael.	Affyria	Egypt	Athens	La- tines.	Medi
·	3926 3244 251	397			39	Shallum one mouth 17 Menahen	35	3	10	9	11
This yeere neerely concurres with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	t Sabacus the Ethic pian. 50	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	Tphitus	Olym- piads.	50	18 1. Peka- hia, 2.	46	8	1 2 t. ~ Ejely- lus, 2 ;	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2. C.23. \$.5.	3938 3256 <b>2</b> 63	409	1	I	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	2	52	19 1. Peki Romelia.	48	10	3	22	24
L.2.c.23.&.6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	3	II i Iotbam I ć	2	2 1. Tiglath Phulj av, 20	11	4	23	25
	Iulian. World. Temple.	Iphit :	Olym- piads.	Inda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	La= tines.	Med:i.	
	3264 3271	9	3 1	7	8	7	17	10	29	t. Meds-	
	3955 3273 280	18	5	16 12 1. Ahaz,	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6	5	1. Inter- roonum 7.	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	6	6	2	2 I	3 <b>1</b>	I3 1. Aleme	43	15	
	Iulian. World. Temple	Ro <b>me.</b> Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Inda,	Ifrael.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Romãs.	Media
Rome built. Lib. 2. chap. 24. \$. 5. S. Carops the First governing in Athens for ten yeeres: after whom succeeded sixe cho	3962 3280 287	r	25	7	8	4	23	33	I 1. Ca- : ops, 10	1 1.Romu- lus, 37.	17
seneach after other for the like time; and thence the office became Annuall.	3966 3284 291	5	29	8	12	20 1.Hofea, 9•	27	37	5	5 -	21
The Era of Nabonassar. L.2. c.25. d. I.	3967 3285 292	6 1	30	2	13	2	Salma- nafiar or Nabonaf- far, 10	38	6	6	22
Ezekia began in the very end of this yeere. L.2. c.25. §.1.	3 <b>9</b> 68 3286 <b>29</b> 3	7	31	8	1.4 13 Ezikia,29	3	2	39	7	7	23
This yeere concurres with the first of Ezekia. Ibid.	3969 3287 294	3	32	3	15	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Messenian Warre. Whereof See L. 2. C. 27. S.4. It lasted 20. yeeres.	3971	10	34	9	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria besieged by Salmanassar.	397 <sup>2</sup> 3290 297	6	35	9	4	7	6	43		11	27

	-05.		<u>1</u>	10			1				<sub>1</sub>
The captinitie of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292 299	8	37	ı	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15	39	10	8		10 4 1. Sena-	47		15	31
L. 2. c. 26. §. 7.	3980 3298	19	43	11	12	Kings of the (bal		1. Se-		19	35 .
schaenerius Ai mie aejiroied, and be flaine.	3982 3300	21	45	12	14	deans.	7	3		21	37
L.2. C.25. 9.2.	307 3983 3301	16	46	1 2	15	1. Mero dach or	5 1. Afar-	4		22	38
	3986 3986	25		13		Mardecem pailus	haddens 10				4 L. Cardi-
Merodach gess the whole Empire. This	3304	32	49	1 14	18	4	4	7		25	seas, 13
yeers or in the end of the yeers foregoing, An Eclipse of C	3311	27	56	4_	25	t, Mero- dach, 40	11	14		32	8
	Islian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit:	Olymp.	Isida.	Chal- dea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Two Eclipses of the Moone, in the second yeere of Mardocempadus.	39 <b>94</b> 3312 219	33	57	15	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36	60	15	29	5	18	.36	12	1 1. <i>Gy</i> ges, γ8	
	3998 3316 323	37	61	16 1	I 4 1. Ma- na∬cs 55	6	19	37	13	2	
	3999 3317 324	38	62	16	2	7	20	Inter-reg-	5 1. Deio- ces, 53.	3	
	4000	39	63	16	3	8	21	2 1 Numa Pompilius,	2	4	
L. 2. c.27. §.2.	4013 3331 338	52	76	19	16	21	1. Inter- reg- num, 2	14	15	17	
	3333	54	78	20	18	23	Prin-	16	17	19	
The beginning of the Jecond Messenian Warre; which lasted about 18. yeeres. L.2. C.27. S.4.		68	92	23	32	37	1. Pfaro mitscus,	30	31	33	
L.2. c.28. è.3.	4033 3351 258	67	96	24	36	1. Ben Meredac	5	34	35	37	
	3353 360	7+	98	25	38	3	7	36	37	1. Ar-	
	4043 3361 368	82	106	27	46	11	15	3 1. Tullu Ho31lsus	45	9	
	4052 3370	86	115	1 29	55	20	24	10	6. 1. Piran	18	
	4053	92	116	29	15	- 21	25	11	2	19	

	tiiltan.	1 / 1	·	<del>i</del>		<del></del>		7		·
	World.	Nabon	Iphir.	Olymp.	Inda.	Chal- den.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
The Expedition of the Scythians. L.2. c.28. 0.3. & 4.	4°54 3372 379	93	117	30 ¥	2	3 1. Nabu- laffar,31	26	12	3	20
	4°55 3373 380	94 89	118	30	16 1. loß-	2	27	13	4	2 I
L. 2. c. 28. 2.2.	4073 3391 398	112	136	34	19	20	1. Ne-	31	22	39
	4075 3393 400	114	138	35	2 I	22	3	4 1. Aneus Mareins, 34	24	41
:	4076 3394 <b>401</b>	115	139	35	22	23	4	2	7 1. ()48 <b>4</b> -	142
	4084 3403 409	123	147	37	30	31	12	10	9	3 t. Sacy-
L.2. c.28. §.1. & 2.	4085 3403 410	124	148	37	3 I Ielos az 3 mentes	32	13	11	10	2
Nabuchodonosor had reigned one years with 11/2.  Father, which is to be regarded in Aftenomical objections oversing his time.  L.2. C.28. S.6. & C.25. S.1.	4086 3404 411	125	149	38	18 1. Ishoi: km, 11	33	14	12	11	3
	4089 3407 414	128	152	38 4	4	4 1 Nabuche knojorshe Great, 44	17	15	14	6
	4090	129	153	3 <i>9</i>	5	2	1.Pfam- mis, 12.	16	15	7.
	4096 3414 421	135	159	40	11 9 1.Ichoni: menths	8	7	22	21	hajrati ter, 57
Zedekia his iourney to Balylon.	4099 3417 424	138	162	-ļI	redekia 11. seeres 4	11	10	5 1. L.Tar ; ms Pis- ini, 38	2-4	4
	4102 3420 427	141	165	-}3 1	7	1.4	1. Aprils or Hopbra	4	27	1
lerufalem taken by Nabuchodenotor: with whose 18. for the more part, and partly with whose 19. this yeere concurres.		145	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11
	Iulian. World	Rome. Nabon	Iphit :	Olym- pinds.	Capti.	Chal- dea.	Egypt.	Ronse.	Media	Lydia,
Ierufalem destroyed.	4107 3425	140	170	43	1	19	6	9 .	32	12
Ægypt conquerea by Nabuchodonofor.	4111 3429	150	174	44	5	23	1Phar, lis- obra flain & the king dome of E-	13	36	16
	4116 3434	155	179	45	10	28	ayps gener ned firste yeeres by Vicereyes.	18	8 1. Afiya 31.	21
Nabuchodonosor lines wilde; and his Kingdome is gonerned by others for him., during feuen yeeres. L.3. c.1. §.13.		164	188	47	19	27 1. Euilma rodach. 2.	15	27	10	30
	4127 3445	166	190	48	21	39 1. 5\(\)izli- [ar, \(\overline{\psi}\) \(\ni\)	17	29	1 2	32

		Rome.	<del></del> -	(	7	(	<del></del>	ī	1		
l,	Iulian. World.	Nabo	Iphit:	Olym piads.	- Inda.	Chal- dea.	Egypt	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
hadnezzar reconers his sense and	1	170	194	49	25	43 Labora Sardach 9	21	33	16	36	
Lib.3. Chap.1. 5.6.	449 4133	165	┼	1 2	┼──	moneths.	<del> </del>	<u> </u>		<u> </u>	<u> </u>
of Icchonia his captinitie com-	7-33 3451	167	196		27	t. Euilme rodach, 20	23	35	18	38	
	4137	176	1	50	<del> </del>	<u> </u>	<del> </del>	6	-	<del> </del>	_
	3455	171	200	4	31	5	27	t. Sernin Fullus, 4	22	42	
at yere feemes concurrent with Amolie his	4151	190	214	54	45	19	Ama-	15	Cyaxare.	56	
	3469	185	ļ	3			Jis , 34		the Mede	)"	l
1	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	ı Cræ-	
	3471 Iulian.	187	-	14	<del>                                     </del>	<u> </u>	<del> </del>	ļ. <u> </u>	ļ	sus. 14	<u> </u>
	World.	1	Iphis .	Olym piads.		Chal- daa.	Egypt	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Iewes
	4154	193	217	55	I 1.Cyrus it Perfia, 2	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472 4159	198	-	56		6	-	<u> </u>	-		<u> </u>
	3477	193	222	2	6	1. Baltha		2.3	9	7	53
us makes himselfe Tyrant in	4164 3482	198	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	4166	205	1	58	╁	<del> </del>	-	1	1	14	├
	<b>₹48</b> 4	200	229	_ ,	13	8	15	30	16	Græfusta ken by Cy rus.	60
of the Chataean Empire.	4175 3493	214	238	60	22	17. Bal- thafar flaine.	24	39	25		69
	1176	215	1	60		1. Da-	<del> </del>		í .		
- CC 1 E	3494	210	239	2	23	rises the Mede 2.	25	40	26		70
7 011	1177	216	240	60	1Cyrus	2	26	41	Yeeres from		Zoroba- bel.
	495_ 181	211	l	61	7.	l		7	1 Cyrus	Onely Zo	robabe
	499	215	244	4	5		30	7 L.Tarqui- nius Super bus, 25	5	& Nehe remembre uernors of	mias are d as Go
l l	184	223	247	62	2 1. Cam-		33	4	8	unto the g	2. of Ar- Mnc-
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